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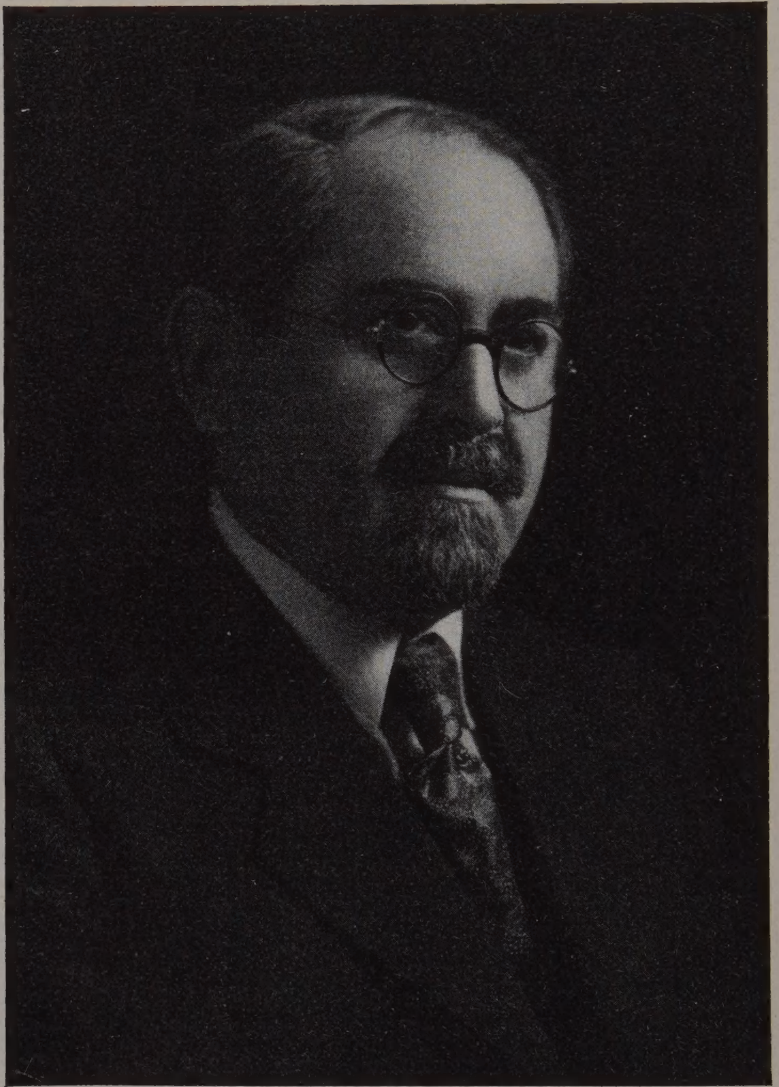


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THE ORIGIN OF THE WEEK AND THE OLDEST WEST ASIATIC CALENDAR¹

HILDEGARD AND JULIUS LEWY, Cincinnati, Ohio

IT HAS been generally assumed that the observation of the four phases of the moon led the peoples of the ancient Near East to the division of the lunar month into four equal periods of approximately $7 \frac{3}{8}$ days each, and that from this

¹ The following abbreviations will be used hereafter: *Afo*=Archiv für Orientforschung. — *AJSL*=The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures. — *BA*=Beiträge zur Assyriologie und Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. — *BASOR*=Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research. — *BE XXXI*=The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. XXXI, München 1914 (published by Langdon). — *BIN IV*=Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies, Yale University, vol. IV, New Haven 1927 (published by Clay). — *CCT*, *CCT II-IV*=Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum, parts I-IV, London 1921-1927. — *CT*=Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum. — *HUCA*=Hebrew Union College Annual. — *JRAS*=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. — *JSOR*=Journal of the Society of Oriental Research. — *KAH II*=O. Schröder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts, Heft 2, Leipzig 1922. — *KAR I-IX*=Ebeling, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts, fasc. I-IX, Leipzig 1919-1923. — *KAV*=Schröder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts, Leipzig 1920. — *KB*=Keilschriftliche Bibliothek. — *KTHahn*=J. Lewy, Die Kulteptexte aus der Sammlung Frida Hahn, Leipzig 1930. — *KU III-V*=Köhler und Ungnad, Hammurabi's Gesetz, vols. III-V, Leipzig 1909-1911. — *KU VI*=Koschaker und Ungnad, Hammurabi's Gesetz, vol. VI, Leipzig 1923. — *LC*=Thureau-Dangin, Lettres et Contrats de l'époque de la Première Dynastie Babylonienne, Paris 1910. — *MAOG*=Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft. — *MVA(e)G*=Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch(-Ägyptisch)en Gesellschaft. — *OECT*=Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts. — *OLZ*=Orientalistische Literaturzeitung. — *PSBA*=Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. — *II R*, *IV R*², *V R*=Rawlinson, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, vol. II, London 1866; vol. IV

subdivision of the month the institution known as the seven-day-week was derived². This theory meets, however, with several difficulties among which we mention only the most serious one: precisely as the lunar month never comprises a whole number of days because — being dependent on different cosmic phenomena — both units belong to heterogeneous systems of time reckoning, so also the lunar month and the seven-day-week are incongruous units the beginnings of which coincide only occasionally; in other words, the simultaneous use of the units day and seven-day-week, on the one hand, and lunar month, on the other, implies the superposition of two incompatible systems of reckoning, a fact which entitles us to resume the centuries old investigation into the origin of the week on the assumption that both day and week are time-units the creation of which was independent of the course of the moon.

Before attempting to determine the phenomena on the observation of which the seven-day-week was based, it is necessary to state that, in regard to our sources of information, we are not restricted to the use of the comparatively late biblical and pseudoepigraphic books. As was pointed out by various

(second edition), London 1891; vol. V, London 1884. — *RA* = *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*. — *SRT* = Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts*, Upland, Pa. 1924. — *TC*, *TC II*, *TC III* = Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales, Tablettes Cappadociennes, 1^{re} série, Paris 1920 (published by Contenau); 2^e série, Paris 1928 (published by Thureau-Dangin); 3^e série, Paris 1935–37 (published by J. Lewy). — *UPM* = University of Pennsylvania. The Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section. — *VAB IV–VI* = Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, vols. IV–VI, Leipzig 1912–1914. — *VS* = Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin. — *ZA* = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*. — *ZAW* = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. — *ZDMG* = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. — *ZDPV* = *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*.

² See the views of various authors summarized by Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, II, Leipzig 1911, pp. 6 ff.; cf. Mahler, *Handbuch der jüdischen Chronologie*, Leipzig 1916, pp. 40 ff.; Nielsen, *Die altarabische Mondreligion und die mosaische Ueberlieferung*, Strassburg 1904, pp. 52 ff.; Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, Zweite Reihe I, Leipzig 1898, p. 361 even goes so far as to designate the numbers four and seven as “die Grundzahlen des Mondsystems”.

authors³, a seven-day period is well known in cuneiform literature, especially in religious texts; whence it must be concluded that the use of the week as time-unit was not limited to the inhabitants of ancient Palestine but was, at least at certain periods, common to all peoples of the Fertile Crescent. One fact in regard to the occurrence of the seven-day-week in the cuneiform sources is of special importance for the present investigation: in certain Assyrian menologies⁴, the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th day of the month are designated as ill-fated days on which people had to abstain from certain actions. The inclusion of the 19th day (i. e., as was noted by various authors⁵, the 49th day of the preceding month) into this series of multiples of seven indicates that this system of ominous days comprised seven full weeks reaching from the beginning of one month into the next without a break and regardless of the lunar phases⁶. In other words, we find here a proof that originally the Assyrians — like the Israelites — made no attempt to synchronize the beginning of the weeks with the phases of the moon by interrupting the succession of these seven weeks at the end of each month⁷.

The cuneiform sources enable us to trace the use of the week at least as far back as the twenty-third century B.C.; for thus far the oldest mention of a period of seven days dates from the time of Gudea who, in two of his inscriptions, states that the dedication of a temple was celebrated by a feast lasting seven

³ See, e. g., Hehn, *Siebenzahl und Sabbat bei den Babyloniern und im Alten Testament*, Leipzig 1907, pp. 40 ff.; Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars*, London 1935, pp. 73; 83 f.; Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer*, Leipzig 1915, pp. 99 f.; 119 ff.

⁴ See the passages quoted by Langdon, *loc. cit.*, and Landsberger, *loc. cit.*

⁵ See, e. g., Roscher, *Die enneadischen und hebdomadischen Fristen und Wochen der ältesten Griechen*, Leipzig 1903, p. 29 and Landsberger, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

⁶ Needless to say that the 5th, 12th, and 19th day of the second month which marked the end of the 5th, 6th, and 7th week, respectively, could under no circumstances coincide with lunar phases.

⁷ This inference disposes at the same time of the bold speculations of Nielsen, *loc. cit.*

days⁸, while in another text he refers to the seven days during which certain stelae were set up in this newly erected house of worship⁹. It is of particular interest to note that here the seven-day period is found in passages relating to two religious celebrations. Similarly, the later cuneiform sources where the time-unit here under discussion occurs belong, aside from the aforementioned menologies, to omina¹⁰, mythological legends¹¹, and penitential or other rituals¹²; hence it seems that in historic times the seven-day-week was used in Babylonia and Assyria only in the cult, whereas in the administration and in civil life the lunar month formed the basis of time reckoning. In consideration of the well-known fact that throughout the ages religious rituals preserve calendaric systems which have long since become obsolete in civil life¹³, this observation leads to the conclusion that the seven-day-week belongs to a calendar which, as early as the twenty-third century B.C., had been abandoned in Babylonia and Assyria in favor of the lunar or luni-solar system¹⁴.

⁸ See Gudea, Cyl. B, col. XVII, l. 19; Statue B, col. VII, l. 30. For a transliteration and translation of these inscriptions see Thureau-Dangin, *Les inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad*, Paris 1905, pp. 174 ff. and 104 ff.

⁹ See Cyl. A, col. XXIII, l. 4 (Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-5).

¹⁰ See, e. g., the text published by Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie chaldéenne*, Paris 1903-1912, *Sin*, no. III (l. 136).

¹¹ See, e. g., the Sumerian Version of the Deluge Story published by Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, UPM V, Philadelphia 1914, no. 1 (col. V, l. 3), transliterated and translated by Poebel, UPM IV, Philadelphia 1914, pp. 13 ff.

¹² See, e. g., the text VAT 9946 (l. 6) published in transliteration and translation by Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier*, Berlin und Leipzig 1931, pp. 45 ff., or the Kouyunjik text 81-2-4, 49 published by Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* IV, London 1896, no. 370, transliterated and translated by Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire* I, Ann Arbor 1930, pp. 256 ff. and Pfeiffer, *State Letters of Assyria*, New Haven 1935, pp. 189 f. (Partial transliterations and translations of the letter were published by Morgenstern, *MVAG* X, 3, Berlin 1905, pp. 138 f. and Behrens, *Assyrisch-Babylonische Briefe kultischen Inhalts*, Leipzig 1906, pp. 95 f.)

¹³ It is hardly necessary to recall in this connection the use of the obsolete luni-solar system in the present-day Israelite religious calendar; for further examples we refer to H. Lewy, *Orientalia* X, 1941, p. 5 and *passim*.

¹⁴ As will be realized later, it is quite possible that the introduction by Ashurbanipal of a series of seven ominous days at the end of seven con-

I. THE TIME UNIT DAY

What was the nature of this archaic calendar which eventually gave way to the luni-solar system? As regards the time-unit day which evidently belongs to the same scheme as the seven-day-week, it is significant that in Akkadian the same word *ûmum* expresses the notions "day" and "wind". Similarly in Sumerian both of the signs used for "day", viz., *UD*¹⁵ and *UG*¹⁶, occur also in the sense of "wind", "storm"¹⁷. In Hebrew, too, the word יום "day" was occasionally used for "wind", as is shown by the expression עַד יִפּוּחַ הַיּוֹם "until the day blows" in Cant. 2.17 and 4.6. This use of the word יום has very plausibly been explained by the regular daily recurrence of land and sea winds which are so characteristic a feature of the western regions of Palestine¹⁸. Auhagen describes this phenomenon as follows¹⁹: "Sobald sich morgens das Land durch die Sonnenbestrahlung mehr und mehr erwärmt und so über dem Lande ein aufsteigender Luftstrom entsteht, beginnt die kühlere Seeluft vom Mittelmeer landeinwärts einzudringen. Mit fortschreitender Erwärmung des Bodens wächst die Stärke des Windes, bis sie etwa gegen 3 Uhr nachmittags ihren Höhepunkt erreicht und nun wieder allmählich nachlässt. In der Nacht findet dann gewöhnlich das Umgekehrte statt. Das Land strahlt bei sternklarem Himmel die am Tage angesammelte Wärme schnell aus, so dass etwa gegen Mitternacht die Luft über dem Lande kühler ist als über dem Meere und nun der Wind vom Lande zur See hinstreicht. Zur Zeit des Windwechsels, morgens zwischen

secutive weeks into the aforementioned Assyrian menologies was not, as assumed by Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 ff., due to an innovation but rather represented the revival of a very old custom.

¹⁵ See Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*, Leipzig 1914, p. 44, s. v. *ud* I and II; cf. Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon*, no. 381, 11.

¹⁶ For *UG* in the sense of "day", "light" see Thureau-Dangin, *ZA* XV, 1900, pp. 48 f., and cf. Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 41, s. v. *ug* I.

¹⁷ For *UG* in the sense of "wind", "storm" see Deimel, *op. cit.*, no. 444, 5.

¹⁸ See, e. g., Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie* I, Freiburg und Leipzig 1894, p. 51.

¹⁹ See p. 3 of his study *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Landesnatur und der Landwirtschaft Syriens*, Berlin 1907.

6 und 8 Uhr und etwa um Mitternacht, herrscht Windstille." How strong an influence these regular diurnal breezes exerted upon life in the semitropical climate of the Near East is shown by the fact that the Arabic verb *râḥa* "to blow" is used in the sense of "doing some work in the evening", a use which indicates that the ancient peoples living under this climate adapted their daily work and routine to the occurrence of the daily wind. Since these daily breezes are, of course, not limited to the western parts of Syria and Palestine but are found in more or less outspoken form in every coastal region where similar climatic conditions prevail, it is also obvious that the double sense of the Akkadian word *ûmum* and the double use of the Sumerian ideograms *UD* and *UG*²⁰ must be attributed to the important part which the diurnal winds played in the life of the ancient inhabitants of these regions²¹. When added to the results of a comparative study of the calendars of various primitive peoples, viz., that regularly returning climatic and meteorological phenomena usually furnish the basis for the most elementary forms of time reckoning²², our considerations lead to the conclusion that the peoples of the ancient Near East chose the time-unit day in accordance with the coming and going of the diurnal winds long before they made the sun the subject of systematic observation.

II. THE TIME UNIT WEEK AND ITS RELATION TO THE HEPTADS IN COSMOLOGY AND THEOLOGY

Having recognized the dependence upon the wind of the time-unit day in the early Near Eastern calendar, we deem it advisable to investigate our sources with regard to the possibility that the larger time-units also may in some way be connected with anemological conditions. The daily breezes which make the intense

²⁰ See above, p. 5.

²¹ For the meteorological conditions in Babylonia see the article by C. W. B. Normand in the *Quarterly Journal of the Royal Meteorological Society* XLV, 1919, pp. 371 ff.; W. G. Kendrew, *The Climates of the Continents*, Oxford 1937, p. 178.

²² See, e. g., the observations of Ginzler, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 150 f.

summer heat bearable were, of course, not the only winds to influence the life of the early settlers of the Fertile Crescent. The rain-carrying winds from the sea were often longed for by people engaged in agriculture, because their absence endangered the crops and therefore meant want and famine²³; other winds were greeted by the fishermen, because they carried their small craft out to the open sea; still others were dreaded because they endangered the ships and the lives of the sailors²⁴, and those bringing cyclones and thunderstorms were feared particularly by the farmers, for they ruined the harvest, drowned the cattle, and sometimes even destroyed the habitations²⁵. Thus people must have learned at an early epoch to distinguish between the different qualities of the winds according to the directions from which they came. Numerous texts know four main winds giving their names to the four principal directions²⁶

²³ Among non-biblical sources we refer, e. g., to the bilingual text Ki. 1904-10-9, 87 (published by Meek, *AJSL* XXXV, 1919, p. 138, transliterated and translated by Langdon, *OECT* VI, 1927, pp. 32 f.; cf. the duplicate K. 5119 published in transliteration, translation, and facsimile by Gurney, *JRAS* 1935, pp. 459 ff.), where it is said that when the storm-god ^dIM got enraged, he stopped "rain and verdure" for three years.

²⁴ See, e. g., the legend of Adapa (published by Scheil, *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* XX, 1898, pp. 127 ff.; transliterated and translated, *inter alia*, by Jensen, *KB* VI, 1, pp. 92 ff.) which relates how Adapa, the fisherman, while out at sea in his boat, was thrown into the water by the south wind.

²⁵ See, e. g., the hymn to the storm-god Enlil, KAR VIII, no. 375 (partly transliterated and translated by Nötscher, *Ellil in Sumer und Akkad*, Hannover 1927, pp. 99 ff.) or the prayer addressed to the storm in general, K. 2875, obv.+VAT 410, obv., published partly by Macmillan, *BA* V, 1906, pp. 617 f., partly by Reisner, *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit*, Berlin 1896, no. 58, pp. 111 f., transliterated and translated by Macmillan, *op. cit.*, pp. 533 f. and Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, Paris 1909, pp. 18 ff.

²⁶ The idea which the ancient peoples made themselves of the interdependence of the winds and the directions — or points of the compass — is perhaps best illustrated by the following lines from an inscription engraved on the head of a stone figure representing a wind-demon (see the publication by Schileico, *RA* XI, 1914, pp. 57 ff.): ⁶šāru iz-zu ⁸mu-ma-a-ir kibrāti^{me} ⁹mu-šaḫ-ri-ib ¹⁰šadē^{neš} ellūti^{meš} "furious wind commanding the directions, ⁹devastating ¹⁰the pure mountains." (For the use of

and corresponding approximately to our four points of the compass²⁷. However, as was correctly felt by Jensen²⁸, this division of the horizon into four parts apparently superseded another system in which seven winds defined seven main directions dividing the compass into seven sectors²⁹. Evidence of this double division of the horizon into four and seven parts respectively comes, in the first place, from those sources which speak in a similar context sometimes of four, at other times of seven winds; thus we find, for instance, in an incantation the following prayer: "May the four winds blow and dissolve his ban"³⁰, while a similar text expresses the same idea in these words: "May my spell be dissolved, my chain be loosened, may the seven winds carry away my woes"³¹. Sometimes we even find attempts to fit both cosmological schemes into one pattern; so we read in a Sumerian exorcism: "By the seven winds, by the four regions of heaven and earth mayest thou be exorcised!"³²

kibrum, pl. *kibrâtum* "shore" in the sense of "direction", "region" see below, p. 17, note 66.)

²⁷ See, e. g., the text K.2022+13608+13610 (published CT XVIII, pl. 43 ff.), ll. 1-4 and 66-69 and cf. the attribute *šar kibrâtim arba'im* "king of the four regions (of the world)" which appears among the royal titles as early as the time of the Dynasty of Akkad. The four quarters of the compass formed by the four main directions were, of course, capable of being subdivided into two or three parts each; for the four or eight minor directions resulting from this subdivision we refer to the study by Tallqvist, *Himmels-gegenden und Winde*, *Studia Orientalia* II, Societas Orientalis Fennica, Helsinki 1928, pp. 105 ff.

²⁸ See *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, Strassburg 1890, pp. 174 f.

²⁹ For reasons to be discussed later, we do, however, not accept the view expressed by Jensen, *loc. cit.*, that the division of the horizon into four parts was characteristic of the Semites whereas the division into seven parts belonged to the Sumerian cosmology.

³⁰ See the tablet K.150 (published IV R² 52, col. III), ll. 51-52 = *šurpu*, tablet II, col. III, l. 166 (a transliteration and translation are to be found in Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion*, Leipzig 1901, pp. 10f.): ⁵¹*šârêmeš* *ir-bit-ti li-zi-qu-nim-ma* ⁵²*li-paṭ-ṭi-ru ma-mit-su*.

³¹ See the tablet K. 254 (published IV R² 59, 2), rev., ll. 12-13 (a transliteration and translation are to be found in Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, Leipzig 1885, no. IX, pp. 100 f.): ¹*i-l-ti lip-pa-ṭir ka-si-ti li-ir-mu* ¹³*ta-ni-ḫi-ia lit-ba-lu si-bit šârêbi-a*.

³² See Lutz, *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts*, UPM I, 2, Phila-

The same attempt was made by the author of an Akkadian omina-text who wrote the following lines: “²⁴[If the lightning] flashes [from s]outh to east, rain and flood will come; ²⁵[if the lightning] flashes [from n]orth to east, a flood will come; ²⁶[if the lightning] flashes [from south and north] to east and west, (i. e.,) the lightning flashes 7 times, Adad shall thunder once, twice, thrice, four times, five times, six times, seven times”³³. Here the idea that the lightning flashes from all sides is first expressed in the four-direction-system by the indication “from south and north to east and west” and then in the seven-direction-scheme by the remark “if it flashes seven times”. The amalgamation of the two systems is particularly well illustrated, in the Epic of Creation, in the passage dealing with Marduk’s preparations for his fight against Ti’âmat; the relevant lines run as follows³⁴: “⁴¹He (Marduk) made a net to surround the middle of Ti’âmat; ⁴²he caused the four winds to seize (the net) in order that nothing of her might escape; ⁴³the south wind, the north wind, the east wind, the west wind. ⁴⁴He caused to be near to his side the net, the gift of his father Anu. ⁴⁵He created the evil wind Imḥullu, the Storm, the Hurricane, ⁴⁶the Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold³⁵ Wind, the Devastating Wind, the Unequalled Wind; ⁴⁷he caused to come forth the winds he created, the seven of them.” It is evident that ll. 41–43 represent an interpolation into an older text which merely spoke of the seven winds created by Marduk; for the four winds (south,

delphia 1919, no. 112, rev., col. III, l. 1: *zi im-imin-bi zi an-ki ub-da-limmú-ba hé-pâd*.

³³ See K.2326+79–7–8, 179, rev., col. II, ll. 18–29+Sm.1686 (published in transliteration and facsimile by Virolleaud, *op. cit.*, *Adad*, no. XX, translated by Jastrow, *Die Religion Babylonien und Assyrien* II, 2, Giessen 1912, pp. 724 ff.), ll. 24–26: [*šumma birqu ultu š]âti ana šadê ib-riq zunnu u milu illakûniⁿⁱ ²⁵[– birqu ultu il]lâni ana šadê ib-riq milu illakam^{kam} ²⁶[– birqu ultu šâti u illâni] ana šadê u amurri birqu adi 7-šu ib-riq ^dAdad iragam 1-šu 2-šu 3-šu 4-šu 5-šu 6-šu 7-šu.*

³⁴ See *Enuma Eliš*, tablet IV, ll. 41 ff. For transliterations and translations of the whole epic we refer to Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation*, Oxford 1923, or Labat, *Le poème babylonien de la création*, Paris 1935.

³⁵ Labat’s translation “Vent-sextuple” (*op. cit.*, p. 125) seems to be due to a misprint.

north, east, and west wind) whom, according to l. 42, Marduk "caused to seize", do not occur at all in the tale of the actual fight³⁶, whereas at least one of the seven winds plays a part in Marduk's victory over Ti'amat (tablet IV, ll. 95-99)³⁷. This is not without interest for the present investigation because it shows that as early as the First Babylonian Dynasty when, in all likelihood, the final redaction of the Epic of Creation was drawn up³⁸, it was deemed necessary to insert an allusion to the four winds and, thus, to the four-direction-system which, for all practical purposes, seems to have replaced the seven-direction-scheme. If this conclusion is correct, we find here a first proof of the assumption³⁹ that the seven-direction-system was the older of the two⁴⁰.

A particularly precious piece of information in regard to the seven-direction-scheme is furnished by the tablet no. 92687 of the British Museum⁴¹, often referred to as "the Babylonian

³⁶ The north wind is mentioned once again after Ti'amat has already been slain; it is then said to have carried away her blood (see tablet IV, l. 132).

³⁷ That ll. 41-43 are an interpolation appears further likely in view of the contradiction which exists between lines 41 and 44; whereas in the former Marduk is said to have made the net in which he subsequently caught Ti'amat, he is, in the latter, supposed to have received it as "a gift from his father Anu".

³⁸ For the approximate date of the extant redaction of the Epic of Creation see Labat, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff.

³⁹ See above, p. 8.

⁴⁰ Among the passages alluding to the seven winds, we further mention K.3923 (published in transliteration and facsimile by Virolleaud, *op. cit.*, Second Supplément, *Ištar* no. LXXIX), l. 6: *ina arab-da-ri ūm XXV^{ka}m* [. . . .] *7 šārê tâbûti illakû* "in the month of *adâru*, on the 25th day [. . . .], the 7 good winds will come"; BE XXXI, no. 60, obv., col. II, l. 19 (for a transliteration and translation see *ibidem*, p. 61): *an-imin ki-imin im-imin im-gal-imin* "seven heavens, seven earths, seven winds, seven great winds"; SRT no. 8, l. 17: *im-imin-na* "the seven winds".

⁴¹ The text was first published in transliteration, translation, and facsimile by Peiser and Strassmaier, *ZA* IV, 1889, pp. 361 ff.; a more recent copy is to be found in CT XXII, pl. XLVIII. The best photograph of the obverse was reproduced by Unger, *Babylon*, Berlin und Leipzig 1931, pl. 3, fig. 3, who added (on pp. 254-258) a transliteration, translation, and discussion of the text. The transliteration and translation by Weidner, *Boghazköi-Studien*, Heft VI, Leipzig 1922, pp. 86 ff. are of little value.

world map". The tablet bears on its obverse a drawing consisting of two concentric circles⁴² the inner of which surrounds a geographical map of Babylonia and the adjacent countries, the city of Babylon lying close to the center of the circles. The space between the two circles, identified by an inscription as *nâr mar-ra-tu₄* "the Bitter River", obviously represents the ocean which, accordingly, was thought to surround Babylonia and her neighboring countries on all sides. The outer circle bears seven isosceles triangles with almost equal basis which are separated from each other by seven arcs of approximately equal length so that, if well preserved, the drawing would have the aspect of an almost regular seven pointed star⁴³. Each of the seven points bore the inscription *na-gu-û* "district"⁴⁴, and one of them is further defined as *a-šar dŠamaš lâ innammaru* "the place where the sun is not seen". Like the drawing itself, the text inscribed on the tablet is very fragmentary; the reverse contained a detailed description of the seven⁴⁵ *nagû*-districts of which it is

⁴² The circles are very accurately drawn; the large hole in their center (clearly visible on the photograph) shows that they were made with the help of some kind of a compass.

⁴³ Although in its present condition the tablet shows, besides one well-preserved triangle, the remnants of only three others, the photograph makes it possible to establish that the star had actually been seven and not eight pointed. If one reconstructs on transparent paper a regular seven pointed star (taking as a basis the radius of the outer circle, the dimensions of the well-preserved triangle, and the well-preserved arc between two of the triangles) and places this over the photograph, one finds that the remnants of the three other triangles are almost exactly where they ought to be if the scribe intended to draw a regular figure, and this even though the legends accompanying three of the triangles might suggest that the distances between the various points of the star were not meant to be identical. If, however, one constructs with the same data as before a regular eight pointed star, one sees that the remnants of the three other triangles would be entirely out of place.

⁴⁴ The word *na-gu-û*, or at least remnants of it, is preserved on four of the points; in addition, the text on the reverse of the tablet makes it certain that all seven were designated as *nagû*.

⁴⁵ So according to both copies of the text (see the publications quoted above, p. 10, note 41) against Weidner's conjecture, *op. cit.*, p. 91 with note 2. As was felt by Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 255, note 4, Weidner's error is due to his unwarranted addition of a dividing line after l. 17 of his (Weidner's) translation.

said that each could be reached within seven double hours. The last lines of the reverse seem to have stated that no one ever saw the interior of the "districts", a statement which recurs in the last line of the obverse with the limitation that a few outstanding mortals, among whom Utnapištim, the hero of the deluge-story, had actually reached them.

This latter passage makes it particularly clear that the seven *nagû*-districts represented some part of the Other World, separated from the inhabited earth by the "Bitter River", or ocean. Now we know from numerous examples that the ancient Akkadian artists represented mountains in almost the same triangular shape in which the writer of our tablet drew the seven *nagû*-districts. We refer, for instance, to the mountain-top depicted on the famous stela in the Louvre Museum glorifying Narâm-Sin's victory over the Lullube-people⁴⁶ or to the hills shown on the lowest register on each side of the central panel of the beautiful wall-painting from Ma'eri⁴⁷. The comparison seems to be all the more indicated since the fragmentary description of one of the *nagû*-districts on the reverse of our tablet expressly mentions its height⁴⁸, a statement which would be out of place unless the *nagû*-districts were actually intended to represent mountains. The seven points surrounding the "Bitter River" on our world map then strongly recall a stone relief from Nineveh showing Sennacherib with his troops crossing a moun-

⁴⁶ See the reproduction in Scheil, *Textes élamites-sémitiques, Mémoires de la délégation en Perse* II, Paris 1900, pl. 11; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. II, col. 27.

⁴⁷ See the reproduction in *Syria* XVIII, 1937, pl. XXXIX. Other good examples of a hill top represented in this triangular shape are furnished by some pictures on seal-cylinders; see, e. g., those published by de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée* I, p. 286, and King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, London 1899, p. 32, the latter showing the sun-god emerging between two mountains.

⁴⁸ See rev., l. 11 which correctly transliterated reads as follows: *mi-lu-šú I šuššu^{a-a-an} šu-ub-ban* (for the writing *I šuššu* instead of the simple ideogram *UŠ*=*šuššu* "sixty" cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Textes mathématiques babyloniens*, Leiden 1938, p. 230, sub 60). Since, according to Thureau-Dangin, *Journal Asiatique* XIII, 1909, p. 97, the *šubban* is a measure of length of slightly less than 100 feet, it follows that the *nagû*-mountain was thought to reach the considerable height of almost 6000 feet.

tainous river-valley⁴⁹. In that case, the artist solved the difficult problem of reproducing on his picture both the river and the mountains lining its banks by depicting the river in a bird's-eye-view, whereas the mountains, the elevation of which would not show in a view from above, are given in a front-view⁵⁰. The same device was evidently chosen by the writer of our tablet, whose task then turns out to have been the representation of a range of seven mountains standing on the shore of the "Bitter River", or ocean, opposite to the inhabited earth.

Some more detailed information in regard to these mountains comes from other sources; since our tablet mentions on the obverse that Utnapištim was among the few mortals ever to reach those shores, we are entitled to consult the chapter of the Epic of Gilgameš which describes how the king of Uruk set out for the Other World in order to learn from Utnapištim the secret of Eternal Life. After a gap of several lines which may have contained a report on the beginning of Gilgameš's voyage, the text speaks of a certain chain of mountains and then continues: " ²Upon [his] arri[val] at the Mâšû mountain-range⁵¹, ³(those) which daily watch the ri[sing (literally: going out) of the sun] — ⁴over them is s[pread] the vault of heaven, ⁵beneath their breast reaches the nether-world, ⁶(while) scorpion-men watch its gate . . ." ⁵². There can be no doubt that the mountain-

⁴⁹ The latest reproduction of this well-known relief was published by Unger, *Assyrische und Babylonische Kunst*, Breslau 1927, p. 120.

⁵⁰ The same method, which is due to the ignorance in Babylonian antiquity of the art of perspective drawing, was used on several other reliefs from Nineveh where the artists likewise intended to show mountains lining a river; see Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, London 1849, pl. 68, cf. *ibidem*, pl. 78.

⁵¹ The text has here (col. II, l. 2) the singular *ša-ad Ma-a-ši*, whereas col. IV, l. 40 offers the plural *šadâ^{meš} Ma-a-šu*; since, on the other hand, ll. 4 and 5 use the plural pronominal suffix *-šu-nu* in reference to those mountains while l. 6 has again the singular *bâb-šu*, it is obvious that our passage refers to a whole chain or complex of mountains bearing the name of Mâšû.

⁵² See tablet IX, col. II, ll. 2-6: *ana ša-ad Ma-a-ši i-na ka-š[á-di-šu] ³šá úmⁱ-šam-ma i-na-aš-ša-ru a-š[i ^dšamši^{ki}] ⁴e-lu-šu-nu šu-pu-uk šamê^e i[a-bi-ik] ⁵šap-liš a-ra-li-e i-rat-su-nu kaš-da-át ⁶aqrab-amêlu i-na-aš-ša-ru bâb-šu*. For a transliteration and facsimile of the whole Epic we refer to Thompson, *The*

range described here is the same as that depicted on the "world map"; for precisely as the text on the latter tablet states that no mortal ever set his foot on the *nagû*-districts⁵³, so also the Gilgameš Epic reports that no one ever made his way through the chain of mountains guarded by the scorpion-men⁵⁴. Furthermore, when describing Gilgameš's first hours of travel through those mysterious mountains, the Epic repeatedly emphasizes that "the darkness was profound, no light was there"⁵⁵, a statement which evidently refers to that part of the range which is characterized on the "world map" by the legend *a-šar* ^a*Šamaš lā innammaru* "where the sun is not seen"⁵⁶. However, beyond the information already gained from the "world map", we learn from the afore-quoted passage of the Epic of Gilgameš that the mountain-range was thought to guard the entrance to the Other World and that it formed the joint between heaven and nether-world.⁵⁷ Since we know, on the other hand, that according to Babylonian tradition, the lower world was said to have seven gates⁵⁸, we may well conclude that each of the seven peaks of that chain of mountains contained one entrance to the Arallu. Thus we obtain the following cosmological picture: the in-

Epic of Gilgamesh, Oxford 1930, where the relevant passage is to be found on p. 50 and pl. 35, respectively.

⁵³ For the details see above, p. 12.

⁵⁴ See tablet IX, col. III, l. 9 (Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 51 and pl. 35): *ša ša-di-i ma-am-ma du-u[r-gi la il-lik]*.

⁵⁵ See tablet IX, col. IV, l. 48; col. V, ll. 24, 27, and *passim*.

⁵⁶ See above, p. 11.

⁵⁷ The idea that the mountains which "daily watch the rising of the sun" form the link between heaven and earth is clearly expressed in the bilingual hymn to the sun-god, K.4872 (published V R 50-51, transliterated and translated by Schollmeyer, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš*, Paderborn 1912, pp. 29 ff.) which begins with these words: "²*Šamaš*, upon thy rising from the great mountain, ⁴upon thy rising from the great mountain, the mountain of the break-through (for this expression see below, p. 24), ⁶upon thy rising from the mountain where the fate is decided, ⁸upon thy rising from the foundation of heaven where heaven and earth meet . . .".

⁵⁸ See, e. g., CT XVI, pl. XIII, l. 46 and cf. the various versions of the legend of Ištar's descent to the nether-world where the goddess is said to have traversed seven gates before reaching the home of the dead.

habited earth was concentrically surrounded by the ocean or "Bitter River" which, in turn, was encircled by a mountain-range with seven peaks; the tops of these peaks reached up into heaven whereas their foundations rested upon the Arallu or nether-world the seven entrances of which they contained. In other words, the mountains represented a ring around the universe along which heaven and lower world were thought to meet⁵⁹.

These data are of considerable interest in regard to the subject of the seven winds with which we started our discussion. For in the well-known passage of Gudea's cylinder A which tells how Ningirsu, the city-god of Lagaš, appeared to the priest-king in a dream, the god is quoted as having said the

⁵⁹ Our interpretation of the afore-quoted sources is well in line with the conclusions drawn by Thureau-Dangin (*RA* XVIII, 1921, pp. 183 ff.) in regard to the travel to be made by a female demon who, by certain exorcisms, was chased back from the inhabited earth to her home in the nether-world. As was pointed out by Thureau-Dangin, the demon received, aside from provisions, clothing, and shoes for her voyage, a ship and a pack-ass, the latter being apparently intended to carry herself and her supplies during the most difficult part of her trip. Since on a bronze-plaque from the De Clercq-collection (reproduced by Frank, *Babylonische Beschwörungsreliefs*, Leipzig 1908, pl. I and by Langdon, *The Mythology of all Races*, vol. V, Boston 1931, p. 85) the demon, after having been driven out of the body of a sick man, is depicted when mounting a barge together with her ass, it may well be concluded that she needed the ass only after having crossed the water; this means, in the light of our previous inferences, that the demon on her way back to the nether-world used the barge for crossing the "Bitter River" and the ass for the difficult road through the mountains beyond the ocean.

It may further be remarked that the seven entrances to the Arallu contained in the seven peaks of those mysterious mountains apparently were not thought to be alternative possibilities to reach the land of the dead but had to be traversed one after the other; this is shown not only by the tale of Ištar's descent to the nether-world but also by the fact that Gilgameš, on his way to his ancestor Utnapištim, had to go "the road of the sun" (see tablet IX, col. IV, l. 46, Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 51 and pl. 36), i. e., in all likelihood, all around the horizon. Hence it seems that the path to the lower world was thought to wind downwards like a spiral around the shores of the "Bitter River" and through the seven mountains. The first and main entrance seems to have been the one referred to in the passage quoted above, p. 13, note 52.

following words: "19The day you (i. e., Gudea) put the right hand to my temple, 21my foot shall stand there, 20on the mountain, in the place where the storm dwells. 22From a high peak, the house of the storm, the mountain, the holy place, 23a wind will blow to you 24and give to the country the breath of life"⁶⁰. From this passage it is learnt that a certain group of mountains was considered "the place where the storm dwells"⁶¹ and that from one peak of this group a wind capable of breathing life into the country was thought to come forth. Since the place where Ningirsu's "foot is standing" evidently belongs to the realm of the gods, it can further be deduced that the mountainous home of the winds was lying beyond the inhabited earth. Hence it seems obvious that these mountains were again the same as those represented on the world map⁶². Since, as was seen above⁶³, a certain school of thought believed in the existence of seven different winds, it is apparent that each of these seven winds had its home in one of the seven peaks of that chain of mountains.

In the light of this result it becomes for the first time clear why in Sumerian the notion "universe" (Akkadian *kiššatum*) is expressed by the numeral VII⁶⁴. The seven winds which, as we have seen, determined the seven principal directions⁶⁵ cut the

⁶⁰ See Gudea, Cyl. A, col. XI, ll. 19 ff. (Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151).

⁶¹ Langdon (*JSOR* V, 1921, p. 101) compares this belief with the classic myth of Aiolos and the cave of the winds. It will be recalled that, according to Virgil, *Aen.* 1, 50 ff., Aiolos was living on a mountainous island in the so-called Aiolic archipelagos where he was keeping the winds and storms shut up in a cave in the mountains. He himself was sitting on the mountaintop, and, whenever he wanted to let loose one of the winds, he pierced the mountain with his long pointed weapon in order that the wind might escape through the hole. The similarity of this legend with that of the Babylonians goes even further since, according to Homer (*Od.* 10, 1 ff.), Aiolos' island, the home of the winds, was swimming on the Okeanos, i. e., on the ocean surrounding the inhabited earth.

⁶² Cf. also below, p. 18.

⁶³ See pp. 8 ff.

⁶⁴ For references see Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon* IV, Roma 1933, sub 598 c, 4.

⁶⁵ See above, pp. 8 ff.

plane of the horizon into seven sectors or regions; since, however, the mountains which house the winds and therefore represent the seven points of departure of the seven directions⁶⁶ reach with their tops into heaven and with their foundations into the lower world, they determine at the same time seven spherical sectors in the vault of heaven and seven divisions in the mass of the nether-world⁶⁷. Accordingly it was only logical to conceive the universe as the aggregation of those seven parts determined by the seven directions and the seven mountains and hence to symbolize it by the numeral VII⁶⁸.

This conclusion is confirmed by a passage in which the seven winds are actually designated as *si-bi ilâni*^{meš} *kiš-ša-ti* (in the Sumerian version *VII-a-an dingir VII-a-an-meš*) "the seven gods of the universe"; since this passage, which is taken from a bilingual cycle of poems known to the Babylonians as *utukkî limnûti* "Evil Spirits"⁶⁹, contains also some further interesting information in regard to the seven winds and their home in the mountains, we quote it in extenso: " ⁶⁵⁻⁶⁶Cloud(-carrying) storms, evil winds (are) they; (col. III) ¹⁻²evil storms, gazing blasts (are) they; ³⁻⁴evil storms, forerunning blasts (are) they;

⁶⁶ This cosmological scheme explains at the same time why the term *kibrum*, pl. *kibrâtum*, which literally means "shore" is used in the sense of "direction" and "region" (cf. above, p. 7, note 26). Since the mountains which determined the directions and thus also the seven sectors or regions on the plane of the horizon were, as we have seen, located on the shore of the ocean or "Bitter River", it is easy to understand that the word for "shore" subsequently came to mean both "region" and "direction".

⁶⁷ This division of heaven and nether-world may account for the fact that the text BE XXXI, no. 60 (quoted above, p. 10, note 40) speaks (obv., col. II, l. 19) of "seven heavens, seven earths, seven winds, seven great winds"; cf. further l. 3 of the Sumerian incantation published in transliteration by Böhl, *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeling Letterkunde, deel 78, serie B, no. 2, Amsterdam 1934, pp. 31 f. (pp. 9 f. of the reprint): *an VII-bi ki VII-bi* "seven heavens, seven earths".

⁶⁸ Hehn's explanation of the equation *VII=kiššatum* (*op. cit.*, pp. 4 ff. and *passim*), which seems to have been taken up recently by Falkenstein, *ZA* XLV, 1939, p. 187 (cf. p. 170, note 3), does not stand the test of a thorough examination.

⁶⁹ The text was published by Thompson in CT XVI and transliterated and translated by the same author in his work *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, vol. I, London 1903; the latter is now antiquated in some respects.

...^{11-12a} a rain-storm which continuously rushes through the country (are) they; ¹³⁻¹⁴ seven gods of the wide heaven (are) they; ¹⁵⁻¹⁶ seven gods of the wide land (are) they; ¹⁷ seven pillaging gods, ¹⁸ seven gods of the universe"⁷⁰. Elsewhere⁷¹ in the same cycle of poems we read: "⁸⁴⁻⁸⁵ Those seven were born in the mountain of sunset, ⁸⁶⁻⁸⁷ those seven grew in the mountain of sunrise, ⁸⁸⁻⁸⁹ they settle down within the crevasses (Sumerian variant: houses) of the earth, ⁹⁰⁻⁹¹ they arise from the waste-land of the earth". This latter passage contains in the first place a welcome confirmation of our assumption that the mountains which housed the winds were identical with those mentioned in the Epic of Gilgameš and represented on the "world map"⁷²; for it is obvious that the "mountain of sunset" and the "mountain of sunrise" are of the same nature as those which according to the afore-quoted passage of the Epic of Gilgameš⁷³ "daily watch the rising of the sun". Even more important, however, is the following consideration: if the author of our text designates the mountains of sunset and sunrise as the home of the seven winds, it follows that as early as the time when the Sumerian original of our poem was composed the seven-direction-system represented by the seven winds was superseded by, and intermingled with, the four-direction-system; for it is evident that the names "mountain of sunset" and "mountain of sunrise" (which correspond to what we call today westpoint and eastpoint) presuppose a division of the horizon into two equal parts. Since such a division of the compass into two halves leads automatically to the four-direction-system, it becomes obvious that this latter was created as a direct consequence of the observation of the rising and setting of the sun. Since, on the other hand, east and west point have no room whatever in the seven-direction-system, it follows that the mention of the "mountains of sunrise" and "sunset" in connection with the

⁷⁰ CT XVI, pl. XIII, col. II, ll. 65 ff. (Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 f.). A German translation of the passage is to be found in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* II, Heidelberg 1925, pp. 216 f.

⁷¹ CT XVI, pl. XLIV, ll. 84 ff. (Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 f.).

⁷² See above, pp. 13 f. and 16.

⁷³ See above, p. 13.

seven winds represents a confusion between two systems which not only have nothing in common but are incompatible with each other⁷⁴. It may be remarked that the scribe who drafted the "world map" seems to have been aware of this contradiction; for while designating one of his *nagû*-mountains as the region "where the sun is not seen"⁷⁵, he abstains from identifying any of his seven points with the places of the rising and setting of the sun⁷⁶. If the two principal points of the daily course of the sun have, as we stated, no place in the seven-direction-system, it follows that this latter, as well as the whole cosmological construction based upon it, must have been created at a time when only anemological phenomena but not yet the courses of the sun, moon, and other celestial bodies were the subject of systematic observation.

It will be noted that this conclusion is almost identical with that reached above in regard to the time-unit day which, as we have seen, depended originally not upon the course of the sun but upon the coming and going of the diurnal winds⁷⁷. This identity entitles us to connect the seven-direction-system based upon the seven winds with the time-unit week and to assume that it was created by dedicating one day to each of the seven winds, a deduction which makes it clear that the week antedates all calendaric systems based upon the observation of celestial bodies such as moon and sun. It is interesting to note in this connection that the dependence of the calendar on wind

⁷⁴ A very peculiar combination of the old cosmology based upon the number seven with the later four-direction-system is preserved in the Book of Enoch. According to this source, the seven mountains, while still thought to constitute the extremity of both heaven and earth, were no longer lined up concentrically around the ocean and the inhabited earth, but were crowded together in one corner of a quadrilateral horizon-plane; for full details about this late remnant of the seven-direction-system we refer to the discussion of the relevant passages of the Book of Enoch by Morgenstern, *HUCA* XVI, 1941, pp. 49 ff.

⁷⁵ As may be expected, the *nagû* so designated points approximately to the north when compared with the geographic map of Babylonia contained in the inner circle of the drawing.

⁷⁶ So much can be said in spite of the fragmentary condition of the tablet.

⁷⁷ Cf. above, pp. 5 f.

and weather conditions was remembered as late as the Assyrian period where we find for the weather-god ^dIM the attribute [m]a-an-di-d[i] šat-ti "He who measures the year"⁷⁸.

Another noteworthy feature in the afore-quoted passage from the series *utukkî limnûti* is the epithet "god" which both versions of the text give to the seven winds; for if they were venerated as divine beings it is evident that the cosmological as well as the calendaric system in which the seven winds figured prominently was of a religious character and belonged to a theological doctrine which, to judge from our previous inferences, antedated the observation of the sun, moon, and stars. Characteristically enough, both Sumerians and Semites described the seven wind-gods as demons and evil spirits, a tendency which is shown particularly well by the following quotation from *utukkî limnûti*: "18-19 They (are) the great storms let loose out of heaven 36-37 They fetch the wife from the embrace of a man, 38-39 they cause the child to rise from the knee of a man, 40-41 they cause a man to leave the house of his family. 42-43 They (are) the cry of misery bound behind a man"⁷⁹. That the awe in which, according to this source, the seven winds were held, does not properly reflect their original character is shown, *inter alia*, by the afore-quoted passage from the text K. 3923 which speaks of "the seven good winds"⁸⁰ or by the sentence from Gudea's cylinder A translated above (p. 16) which describes the wind to be sent to Gudea by his patron-god Ningirsu as breathing life into the country, an expression which certainly would not be used with reference to an evil spirit⁸¹. Hence it becomes likely that the school of thought which saw in the seven winds evil demons of a destructive and malevolent

⁷⁸ So according to rev., col. III, l. 26 of KAR IV, no. 174, a text copied in 716 B.C. from an older tablet (see rev., col. IV, ll. 29 ff.) which, to judge from the language of the copy, may have originated in the Middle Assyrian period. (For a transliteration and translation of the greater part of the text see Ebeling, *MAOG* II, 3, 1927, pp. 40 ff.)

⁷⁹ See CT XVI, pl. XII, ll. 18 ff. (Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 ff.).

⁸⁰ See above, p. 10, note 40.

⁸¹ Cf. further the passage from K.254 cited above, p. 8, note 31, where the seven winds are implored by a penitent to "carry away his woes", and *Enuma Eliš*, tablet VII, l. 20 (Labat, *op. cit.*, pp. 162 f.).

nature emanated from a hostile theology⁸² which, however, does not seem to have enjoyed general recognition; for otherwise we would have no sources praising the good qualities of the seven winds. It is easy to determine the character of this hostile doctrine: since, as was pointed out before, the cosmological seven-direction-system was replaced by the four-direction-scheme based upon the observation of the sun, and since, on the other hand, as was also shown above (p. 4), in Babylonia the seven-day-calendar was almost completely superseded by that based on the observation of the moon, it is apparent that the seven wind-gods were dethroned in favor of the cult of the sun, moon, and stars. Several indications in our sources prove the correctness of this conclusion. There is in the first place a legend — also preserved in the series *utukkî limnûti*⁸³ — which tells how the moon-god Sin was kidnapped by the seven winds and delivered only when Marduk intervened in his behalf. The very fact that the Babylonians attributed the sudden disappearance (probably due to an eclipse) of the moon to the seven wind-gods indicates that these latter were supposed to be Sin's natural enemies, an idea which is perfectly understandable if the moon-god is one of those deities who dislodged the seven wind-gods from their former supremacy.

⁸² This is not the only example of the deities of an older cult being degraded to the rank of demons by the propagation of a new religion. To say nothing of other parallels, we refer to Wellhausen (*Reste arabischen Heidentums*², Berlin und Leipzig 1927, pp. 157 ff., cf. p. 212) who describes as follows the analogous development in Arabia after the victory of Islam: "Die Götter (i. e., the pre-islamic deities) werden abgesetzt und zu Dämonen erniedrigt. Diese letzteren verändern dadurch ihren Charakter; sie treten als irdisch-höllische Wesen in feindlichen Gegensatz zu Allah und dessen himmlischer Umgebung Im ganzen hat der Islam die Bedeutung der Dämonen dadurch gesteigert, dass er sie mit den heidnischen Göttern zusammenwarf und zu Feinden Allahs und der Muslime machte." In other words, there — like in the series *utukkî limnûti* — the ancient gods, reduced to the status of evil spirits, are conceived as foes not only of the god who dethroned them but also of the adherents of the new religion.

⁸³ See CT XVI, pl. XX, ll. 70 ff. Much the same tale seems to be preserved in a Sumerian text published by Frank, *Strassburger Keilschrifttexte in sumerischer und babylonischer Sprache*, Berlin 1928, pl. II, no. 2, transliterated and translated by Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien und Verwandtes, Analecta Orientalia X*, Roma 1935, pp. 100 f.

Even more indicative, however, is the position held in the Assyro-Babylonian pantheon by the storm-god Enlil^{83a}; his relation to the other deities is of particular importance in regard to the subject here under discussion because he has so many features in common with the original seven wind-gods that there can be no doubt about the interdependence existing between the cult of the seven winds and that of Enlil. In support of this assertion we mention the fact that in a number of hymns and prayers Enlil's name is invoked seven times, each time in connection with another attribute⁸⁴; this practice clearly indicates that the priest, when reciting the invocation, turned to each of the seven points of the compass and called in each direction another of those seven names. Thus it can be said that Enlil was conceived as a sevenfold deity combining in himself the qualities of all the seven winds. In the second place it is significant that precisely as the seven winds have their home in the mountains where they are said to have been born and raised⁸⁵, so Enlil is frequently designated as ^d*Kur-gal* "the Great Mountain"⁸⁶, and he, too, is supposed to have been "born in the mountains"⁸⁷. Having seen that the mountains which housed the winds contained the entrance to, and thus dominated, the nether-world, it is easy to understand that both Enlil and the seven winds were storm-gods as well as gods of the lower world.

^{83a} The features which characterize Enlil as a storm-god were particularly stressed by Nötscher, *op. cit.*, p. 3; as was pointed out by Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XXVI, 1929, p. 95, it is even possible that the name Enlil means "The Lord Storm".

⁸⁴ For fuller details and references see Nötscher, *op. cit.*, p. 16, note 1. See further the ritual UPM XIII, no. 33, ll. 1-3 of which read as follows: ¹[an] an an an an an an ²utug utug utug utug utug utug utug ³den ^dEn-lil " ¹[god], god, god, god, god, god; ²spirit, spirit, spirit, spirit, spirit, spirit, spirit; ³divine Lord, divine Enlil."

⁸⁵ See above, p. 16, and the passage from *utukkî limnûti* quoted above, p. 18.

⁸⁶ See the passages quoted by Nötscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 f.

⁸⁷ See the hymn to Enlil CT XV, pl. XI, l. 3; translations of the hymn were published by Zimmern, *Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete*, Zweite Auswahl, *Der Alte Orient* XIII, 1, Leipzig 1911, pp. 9 f., and Landsberger in *Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte* edited by Lehmann and Haas, 2nd edition, Leipzig 1922, pp. 300 f.

As regards the seven winds, this trait of their character is revealed in passages such as these: "They are the representatives⁸⁸ of Ereškigal (i. e., the goddess of the nether-world)"⁸⁹, or "The offspring of Ereškigal the creation of the under-world (Arallu) are they"⁹⁰. Enlil's double nature as a deity of both upper and lower world is particularly well illustrated in titles such as *markas šamê u iršitim* "Tie between heaven and earth"⁹¹—a name well suited for the god of the mountains which, according to the aforementioned passage from the Epic of Gilgamesh⁹², formed the link between heaven and lower world —, or *bêl šamê u iršitim* "Lord of heaven and earth"⁹³, *massû* (or *šar*) *šamê u iršitim* "Ruler (or King) of heaven and earth"⁹⁴, and others. In order to explain why the Babylonians conceived their wind and storm-gods as rulers of both heaven and nether-world, it must be remembered that Enlil and the seven winds shared this quality not only with other weather-gods such as Adad but also with the numina impersonating the sun, moon, and other heavenly bodies. In these latter cases the double nature is due to the belief that, when setting, the sun, moon, and stars penetrate into the earth whence they supposedly come forth again while rising. Similar ideas may have prevailed in regard to the wind and weather-deities: the rain, one of their main manifestations, comes down from heaven and penetrates into the earth whence it comes forth again in the form of rivers

⁸⁸ Literally "throne-bearers"; cf. the remarks of Meissner, *Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch* II, Chicago 1932, pp. 17 f.

⁸⁹ See CT XVI, pl. XIII, col. III, ll. 9–10 (Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 f.).

⁹⁰ See CT XVI, pl. XII, col. I, ll. 8–13 (Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 f.); cf. further the passage quoted above, p. 18, which alludes to their stay "in the crevasses of the earth".

⁹¹ See the Kouyunjik-text D.T. 46 (rev., l. 16) published by Macmillan, *BA* V, 1906, pp. 655 f., transliterated and translated *ibidem*, pp. 599 f.

⁹² See above, p. 13.

⁹³ See the prologue to Hammurapi's Code, col. I, ll. 3–5; cf. further the epithet *be-li rabî šá šamê u iršitim^{im}* given to Enlil in the tablet 81–8–30, 9 (published by King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, vol. I, London 1898, no. 59, ll. 1–3, transliterated and translated *ibidem*, vol. III, London 1900, pp. 192 f.), which represents a Neo-Babylonian copy of an Old Babylonian inscription.

⁹⁴ See IV R² 27, no. 4, l. 64; UPM X, pl. 4, no. 3, col. II, l. 30.

and springs. That this was actually the Babylonian conception seems to be confirmed by the hymn CT XV, pl. X, where (rev., l. 2⁹⁵) Enlil is invoked in these words: "Exalted one, the (rain-)storm of heaven, the water of the earth is with thee!" As regards the seven winds, they, too, were connected with the sweet-water of the earth, as is shown by the following passage from the series *utukkî limnûti*⁹⁶: "They are seven, they are seven, in the break-through of the *apsû* (i. e., the places where the sweet-water breaks through the surface of the earth) they are seven, covered (with terror) in heaven they are seven, in the break-through of the *apsû*, in the sanctuary, they grew"⁹⁷.

Another feature common to both Enlil and the seven wind-gods is their cruel and destructive character; in their quality as storms both are said to "grind the land like grain" or "flour"⁹⁸ or to separate the husband from his wife and the children from their parents⁹⁹. It is further significant that in certain texts¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ For a transliteration and translation see Langdon, *RA* XII, 1915, pp. 29 f. and cf. ll. 10 f. of the similar text VS X, no. 101 which was transliterated and translated by Nötscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 ff.

⁹⁶ See CT XVI, pl. XV, col. V, ll. 28 ff. (Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 f.).

⁹⁷ The opening lines of the hymn K.4872 (cited above, p. 14, note 57) indicate that one of the places where the sweet-water was thought to break through the surface of the earth was located in the mountains which, while watching the rising sun, formed the link between heaven and earth. That this is actually the place meant in the present passage follows from a comparison with the lines from *utukkî limnûti* translated above, p. 18, where it is said that the seven winds "grew" in the "mountain of sunrise".

⁹⁸ See l. 6 of the hymn to Enlil quoted above, p. 22, note 87; in regard to the seven gods see CT XVI, pl. XIV, col. IV, ll. 20-21 (Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 f.).

⁹⁹ As for Enlil, see ll. 58-63 of the text VAT 246 published by Reisner on pp. 130 ff. of his book quoted above, p. 7, note 25, transliterated and translated by Messerschmidt in his *Dissertation* (Berlin 1896); a more recent translation of the relevant passage is found in Zimmern, *Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete in Auswahl*, *Der Alte Orient* VII, 3, Leipzig 1905, p. 31; as regards the seven winds, see CT XVI, pl. XII, col. I, ll. 36-39 (see above, p. 20).

¹⁰⁰ See particularly the epic describing how the storm-bird Zû stole from Enlil the tablets of fate (the text of the poem was published by Harper, *BA* II, 1894, pp. 465 ff. and 511 f.; for a transliteration and translation see Jensen, *KB* VI, 1, pp. 46 ff.; cf. the version of the same epic found in Susa and published by Scheil, *RA* XXXV, 1938, pp. 14 ff.). For other references to Enlil's quality as a god of fate see Nötscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 f.

Enlil appears as the decider of destiny, while other sources¹⁰¹ mention as such a divine heptad which, as will be presently shown¹⁰², is closely related to the seven winds. Now Enlil who, as may be seen from the preceding comparison, has many traits and features in common with the seven wind-gods, was not only one of the oldest gods of the Sumero-Akkadian pantheon but also retained throughout the ages the reputation of being the supreme deity. His unique position is illustrated in the first place by the fact that the rank of a supreme god was called *Enlilātu* "Enlilship"¹⁰³, or by the designation "Enlil of the gods" given to certain deities whenever their predominant position was to be stressed¹⁰⁴. The tale in the Epic of Creation according to which Marduk, the city-god of Babylon, was elevated by Enlil to the rank of a "Lord of the Lands"¹⁰⁵ points in the same direction. Hence it is obvious that in the opinion of the Babylonians and Assyrians the storm-god Enlil with his sevenfold nature had once been the deity par excellence.

III. THE TIME UNIT OF FIFTY DAYS AND ITS RELATION TO THE DIVINE HEPTADS AND PENTECONTADS

Enlil, the patron-god of the city of Nippur, was, however, by no means the only numen in the Sumero-Akkadian pantheon who retained features of the original seven wind-gods. Our

¹⁰¹ See the texts CBS 9205 (published by Barton, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions* I, New Haven 1918, pl. 8-11, transliterated and translated by Langdon, *RA* XIX, 1922, pp. 67 ff.), obv., col. II, l. 14 and VAT 415+581 (published by Reisner, *op. cit.*, pp. 91 f., no. 50), rev., l. 23; cf. *Enuma Eliš*, tablet VI, l. 81 (Labat, *op. cit.*, pp. 150 f.).

¹⁰² See below, p. 45, note 207.

¹⁰³ See, e. g., the prologue to Hammurapi's Code, col. I, l. 11.

¹⁰⁴ Aššur is so designated in the hymn K.3258 (published by Macmillan, *BA* V, 1906, pp. 594 ff. and 652 f.), l. 2: *kab-tu šu-tu-qu^d En-líl-lá ilâni^{meš}* "important, preeminent Enlil of the gods". Cf. further the Old Babylonian personal name *^dSamaš-^dEnlil-ilî* "Šamaš is the Enlil of the gods" (for references see Tallqvist, *Der assyrische Gott*, *Studia Orientalia* IV, 3, Helsinki 1932, p. 57, note 1) and the epithet *^(d)En-líl ma-ti-šu* "the Enlil of his country" given to Marduk in the Samsu-iluna text VS I, 1907, no. 33, obv., col. I, l. 14.

¹⁰⁵ See *Enuma Eliš*, tablet VII, l. 136 (Labat, *op. cit.*, pp. 170 f.).

sources know quite a number of divine heptads among which we mention in the first place the seven sons of Enmešarra. This group of deities is of particular interest in regard to the subject here under discussion, for all the available information indicates that Enmešarra and his sons were extremely old numina who had been dethroned by the later Babylonian gods. According to the text K. 48¹⁰⁶ (rev., l. 8), Enmešarra handed over to Anu and Enlil the insignia of domination. Hence it follows that, in the opinion of the author of that source, Enmešarra had ruled the world prior to these two deities¹⁰⁷. Other texts, while apparently agreeing with K.48 as to Enmešarra's supreme rank, relate that he did not voluntarily surrender his power, but that he and his sons were defeated and subsequently imprisoned by the later generation of gods. Thus we read in l. 5 of the Aššur-text VAT 9947¹⁰⁸ that the 19th day of the month of Elūl was a day of mourning because "Anu bound the divine heptad, the sons of Enmešarra"¹⁰⁹. A similar belief is reflected in the text *PSBA* XXX, 1908, pp. 80-82¹¹⁰ which, in connection with the gods Marduk and Nergal, speaks of the imprisonment of Enmešarra's seven sons. Again another form of the legend transpires in the text KAR VIII, no. 307¹¹¹ which seems to imply that Enmešarra had been killed in a fight with the god Ninurta who carried his body away in his war chariot.

The character of Enmešarra, this extremely old predecessor of Enlil, Anu, Marduk, and Ninurta, must have been similar

¹⁰⁶ K.48 was published by Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts* II, Leipzig 1897, pp. 12 ff. and partly transliterated and translated by Jensen, *KB* VI, 2, pp. 50 ff.

¹⁰⁷ A similar conclusion in regard to the age of Enmešarra was reached by Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XVI, 1919, p. 147.

¹⁰⁸ The text was published in transliteration and translation by Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier*, Berlin und Leipzig 1931, pp. 38 ff.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. further the passages quoted by Zimmern, *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest* II, Leipzig 1918, p. 50.

¹¹⁰ The relevant passage was transliterated and translated by Langdon, *Historical and Religious Texts from the Temple Library of Nippur*, *BE* XXXI, München 1914, p. 35, note 4. Cf. also the remark of Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 50, note 1.

¹¹¹ The text was transliterated and translated by Ebeling, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 ff.

to that of Enlil; for the text O. 175 of the Musée du Cinquantenaire in Brussels¹¹² expressly states (in l. 1) that^d*En-lil ki-i^dEn-me-šár-ra* "Enlil (is) like Enmešarra". Like Enlil, Enmešarra is a numen of the earth, as is indicated by his titles *bêl iršitim* "Lord of the earth", *rubû ša Aralli* "Prince of the nether-world", and *bêl mâti lâ târi* "Lord of the land of no return"¹¹³. He further shares with Enlil his character as a fertility-god in which quality both deities are glorified in various poems; so we read in the aforementioned¹¹⁴ hymn to Enlil (rev., l. 4): "Father Enlil, master who causes the plants to grow thou art; master who causes the grain to grow thou art", whereas K. 48 uses the following sentence in regard to Enmešarra (rev., ll. 4-5): "Great Lord without whom Ningirsu cannot set to rights the field and the canal, cannot create an ear (of grain)". Enmešarra's epithet *šabî kippat kigalli* "He who holds the circumference"¹¹⁵ of the earth"¹¹⁶ indicates that like Enlil and the seven winds he, too, was connected with the mountain-chain surrounding the ocean and the inhabited earth and forming the link between heaven and nether-world¹¹⁷; this conclusion is supported by his attribute *markas rabû ša Anduruna*¹¹⁸ "Great tie of the nether-world"¹¹⁹ which strongly recalls Enlil's aforementioned title *markas šamê u iršitim* "Tie between heaven and earth"¹²⁰. All these similarities with Enlil — and therefore indirectly also with the seven wind-gods — suggest that originally Enmešarra was also a storm-god whose realm extended over both heaven and earth and that his

¹¹² A facsimile, transliteration, translation, and discussion of the text was published by Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XVI, 1919, pp. 144 ff.

¹¹³ See the text K.48 (quoted above, p. 26 with note 106), rev., ll. 1-2.

¹¹⁴ See above, p. 24 with note 95.

¹¹⁵ For this term see Thureau-Dangin, *Textes mathématiques babyloniens*, Leiden 1938, p. 219.

¹¹⁶ So according to K.48, rev., l. 7.

¹¹⁷ For these mountains see above, pp. 12 ff.

¹¹⁸ For the term *Anduruna* which literally means "heavenly habitation" see Tallqvist, *Sumerisch-Akkadische Namen der Totenwelt*, *Studia Orientalia* V, 4, Helsinki 1934, p. 38, note 4.

¹¹⁹ So according to K.48, rev., l. 3.

¹²⁰ See above, p. 23.

seven sons represent the seven winds. This assumption would help to explain the strange belief of our sources that Enmešarra and his sons were "imprisoned gods" after their defeat by the younger generation of Sumero-Akkadian deities¹²¹; for since the prison in which they were held was the nether-world¹²², it seems that after having been vanquished Enmešarra and his sons were no longer allowed to leave the earth-mountain in order to roam about in heaven as winds and storms.

The correctness of these inferences is borne out by a comparison of the characterization of Enmešarra's seven sons as contained in the aforementioned text O. 175¹²³ with the details to be gathered from the tablet KAR VII, no. 298¹²⁴ which, as will be seen presently, represents the richest source of information as yet available in regard to the seven winds. As was pointed out by Gurney¹²⁵, KAR VII, no. 298 is a tablet supplementing a ritual for the purification and protection of a house. The ritual proper prescribes, *inter alia*, the use during the cleansing-ceremony of seven heptads of prophylactic figures of clay and wood which, to judge from KAR VII, no. 298, were buried afterwards at various places in the house in order to serve as protective genii for its inhabitants¹²⁶. The supplementary tablet KAR VII, no. 298 gives detailed instructions as to how those seven heptads of statues should be made, including regulations regarding the kind of material to be used, the position of the arms, the color of the dresses, the shape of the head-gear, etc. Each of these descriptions is followed by the first line of an incantation to be recited before one particular group of figures.

¹²¹ See above, p. 26.

¹²² This is shown especially by the stress laid in Enmešarra's titles upon his being a numen of the lower world.

¹²³ See above, p. 27 with note 112.

¹²⁴ The text was transliterated and translated by Gurney, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vol. XXII, 1935, pp. 64 ff.; a previous translation was published by Smith, *JRAS* 1926, pp. 695 ff.; ll. 2-11 were transliterated and translated by Zimmern, *ZA* XXXV, 1924, pp. 151 f.

¹²⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 34 f.

¹²⁶ So according to l. 1 which, even though broken, still reveals that the figures served the purpose of preventing "the evil from [approaching] a man's house".

The first eleven lines of the text describe a group of seven genii to be made of a special type of wood and designated as *apkalî* "wise ones". In order to identify each of the seven idols, the wood-carver was instructed to write its name on the left hip of each statue. The first, to be clad in red, was named "Wind of life, offspring of Ur"; the second, garbed in gypsum, bore the name "Wind, pregnant with life¹²⁷, good son of Nippur"; the third's name was "Wind of gladness, who grew in Eridu", and the fourth, wearing a black dress, was named "Gracious wind who came forth in Kullab"; the fifth, in turn, was called "Wind, fair of face, grown up in Kêš", and the sixth "Just wind, exalted judge of Lagaš"; the seventh, finally, bore the name "Wind that gives life to the slain, protection of Šuruppak". Thus it is learnt that these seven statues represent seven benevolent winds each of which belonged to one extremely old city in Babylonia. These seven gracious winds recall the "seven good winds" mentioned in the afore-quoted omina-text K.3923¹²⁸, and the names of the first, second, and seventh alluding to their quality as givers or producers of life remind us of the breeze which, according to Gudea's cylinder-inscription A¹²⁹, was sent out by Ningirsu "to give to the country the breath of life"¹³⁰.

The second paragraph of KAR VII, no. 298¹³¹ deals with another group of seven prophylactic figures likewise designated

¹²⁷ Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 151, Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 696, and Gurney, *op. cit.*, p. 64 interpret *ĤĖ-ZI* as *ĥegallu* and translate accordingly "Fülle" and "plenty" respectively. However, *ĤĖ* is the equivalent of Akkadian *ālidum* "pregnant" (see Deimel, *Lexikon* II, no. 143, 3) and Sumerian *ZI* corresponds to Akkadian *napištum* "life"; hence the name *ĤĖ-ZI* seems to have much the same meaning as the element *ŠU-ZI* in the divine name *Šu-zi-an-na*; for this latter deity see Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, p. 151. — As for our rendering of *āmu^{mu}* by "wind" see above, pp. 5 f.

¹²⁸ See above, p. 10, note 40, and p. 20.

¹²⁹ See above, pp. 16 and 20.

¹³⁰ The idea that winds were the creators of life is not as surprising as it may seem at first sight. Since the breath of a being's mouth is one of its main manifestations of life, it is easily understandable that winds were thought to be capable of blowing that breath into a lifeless substance.

¹³¹ See II. 12-14.

as *apkallî*, or "wise ones"; the statues of this group have bird's faces and are furnished with a pair of bird's wings attached to their shoulders; in each hand they carry a vessel for ritual purposes. Like those of the first group, these bird-faced and winged "wise ones" were to be buried in the foundations of the house, at the head of the bed. In the case of this second heptad, it seems to have been unnecessary to write its name on each statue, for in view of their bird-like apparel, people must have been able to identify them without any further explanation. It is, indeed, not difficult to guess that these figures, too, represent certain winds, even though apparently a variety different from those depicted by the statues of the first group; for it is well known that some winds were thought by the Babylonians to be provided with wings, as, for instance, the south-wind whose wing, according to the epic, was broken by Adapa¹³², or the west-wind, impersonated by the demon Pazuzu¹³³, and the storm embodied by the bird-like demon Zû¹³⁴. Furthermore it is significant that the seven figures were to be buried at the head of the house-owner's bed, for this suggests that they were destined to guard him against sickness and evil while he was asleep, a conclusion which is all the more indicated since the incantation to be spoken before those bird-faced numina begins with the words: "Ye statues of wise ones, watchmen". Now it is known that winds were frequently invoked in order to blow away a person's sickness and the wrong-doings which were thought to have provoked it¹³⁵. So we read, for instance, in the

¹³² A translation of the legend of Adapa by Ebeling is to be found in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*², Berlin und Leipzig 1926, pp. 143 ff., where also full references to previous editions of the text are to be found.

¹³³ See the bronze figure in the Louvre Museum reproduced by Pottier, *Antiquités Assyriennes*, no. 146, and discussed by Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XVIII, 1921, pp. 189 f.; it is interesting to note that this demon of the west wind is said in the legend engraved on the back of the bronze "to have come out of the mountains" (cf. above, pp. 16 ff.).

¹³⁴ For the legend involving the storm-bird Zû see the references given above, p. 24, note 100.

¹³⁵ For the interconnection between sin and sickness in the belief of the Babylonians see the study by Morgenstern quoted above, p. 4, note 12.

Babylonian Poem of the Righteous Sufferer¹³⁶: *e-ga-ti-ia ú-šá-bil šára* "the wind he caused to carry away my shortcomings"¹³⁷, and, in the same poem, speaking of his eyes which had been darkened by sickness, the righteous sufferer exclaims: "A powerful wind he caused to rise, and he made luminous their sight"¹³⁸. In the penitential psalm K.2811¹³⁹, on the other hand, we find (in rev., l. 42) these words: *an-na e-pu-uš šá-a-ru lit-bal* "the wrong (which) I have done may the wind carry off". In the collection of incantations known as the series *maqlû* a female demon is addressed as follows: *šá imitti-ki u šumêli-ki šáru lit-bal* "(all) that is to your right and left the wind may carry off"¹⁴⁰. Finally in the ritual for the healing of a sick man Rm. 2,160¹⁴¹ it is prescribed (in l. 16) that the patient should sleep at night on the roof of his house, obviously in order to be exposed to the wind which was supposed to carry away his illness. In view of all this evidence it seems clear that the winged, bird-headed genii of the second heptad of our tablet KAR VII, no. 298 represent seven winds who were to guard the house-owner against sickness and evil. Having seen that from the seven gracious winds of the first group each belonged to one Babylonian city, we may well conclude that also the "guardian winds" of the second group were thought to comprise one from Ur, one from Nippur, etc.

¹³⁶ For a transliteration and translation as well as facsimiles of some of the fragments of this poem and a list of the duplicates see Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom*, London 1923, pp. 3-5 and 35 ff. and plates I-VI.

¹³⁷ See tablet III, l. 59 (K. 3291, rev., l. 8; Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. 53 and pl. II).

¹³⁸ See tablet III, rev., l. 17 (Sippar 55, rev. l. 17; Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. 55): *ú-šat-bi šáru raš-bu ú-nam-mir ni[la-šin]*.

¹³⁹ The text was published IV R² 10, and transliterated and translated by Langdon, *Babylonian Penitential Psalms*, Paris 1927, pp. 39 ff.; an earlier transliteration and translation was published by Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, Leipzig 1885, pp. 61 ff.

¹⁴⁰ See tablet VI, l. 72; a transliteration and translation of all the material belonging to the series *maqlû* was published by Meier, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû*, AfO, Beiheft II, Berlin 1937, where the relevant passage is found on p. 43.

¹⁴¹ The text was published in transliteration, translation, and facsimile by Mullo-Weir, *JRAS* 1929, pp. 281 ff.

The next heptad of figures described in KAR VII, no. 298¹⁴² are again designated as "wise ones" and were to be buried under the threshold of the inner room of the house. They, too, were clad in gypsum, but instead of wings they had fishes' skins traced on their garb; in their hands they carried the same vessels as the genii of the preceding group. Again it was unnecessary to write their names on the statues, for apparently the fish-skins in connection with the implements borne by the figures revealed to the onlooker which kind of wind was represented by these "wise ones". The same is true of the fourth and fifth heptad of statues dealt with in ll. 17-20 of our text; they, too, wear fish-skin garments, and only the objects to be placed in their hands vary from group to group: those of the fourth heptad carry a date-spathe, whereas the seven figures of the fifth group (ll. 19-20) are furnished with a certain kind of reed frequently mentioned in ritual texts. Before all three heptads of fish-cloaked genii the incantation "Ye statues of wise ones, watchmen" was to be recited. The fish-skins which characterize these three heptads of figures were obviously meant to indicate that water was the element in which the genii so garbed were at home¹⁴³. Hence it becomes evident that these three groups represent three different varieties of winds carrying rain and humidity. To those seven genii furnished with ritual vessels people seem, as was explained above, to have attributed a special power of purification¹⁴⁴, whereas the winds of the fourth and fifth group appear to have had a particularly strong influence upon the growth of vegetation¹⁴⁵.

¹⁴² See ll. 15-16.

¹⁴³ It may be recalled that the ancient Oriental artists were accustomed to using fishes as a means of identifying water as such on their paintings and reliefs; among almost innumerable examples we refer to the river shown on pl. 68 of the work by Layard quoted above, p. 13, note 50, or to the water flowing out of two vases on the central panel of the wall painting from Ma'eri cited above, p. 12 with note 47.

¹⁴⁴ For the use of sweet-water in all kinds of purification rituals see the study by Morgenstern quoted above, p. 4, note 12.

¹⁴⁵ Zimmern, *ZA* XXXV, 1924, p. 154, and Gurney, *op. cit.*, p. 40, compare the fish-coated genii of our text with the mythological beings described by Berossos in his account of the origin of civilization in Babylonia. It will be recalled that, according to this late Babylonian writer, a strange being

Following the three heptads of fish-cloaked "wise ones", KAR VII, no. 298 proceeds to describe what is called *VII salmê* ^{dVII^{bi}} "the seven statues of the Seven Gods"¹⁴⁶; these figures were clad in red clay and carried in their hands weapons, especially a dagger, of copper or bronze¹⁴⁷; their waists and heads were girded with bands of copper and their crowns were surmounted by horns of the same metal, while at their sides hung bows and quivers. The incantation to be spoken before these numina begins with the words: "Ye statues of the Seven Gods, great gods". Fortunately, we know from another ritual text¹⁴⁸ the full wording of a prayer addressed to these weapon-

with the body of a fish but with human feet and a human head under his fish-head arose from the Persian Gulf and instructed the inhabitants of the coastal regions in arts and sciences, in agriculture and the building of houses and towns. During the day, this genius, whose name, according to Berossos, was Oannes, lived among men but without taking food, and after sunset it plunged back into the waters of the Persian Gulf (see the Greek text in Schnabel, *Berossos und die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur*, Leipzig-Berlin 1923, fr. 8 and 30a, pp. 253 f. and 263). According to the second of the two Berossos excerpts, Babylonia witnessed the appearance of six further beings of the same kind under the pre-diluvian kings. Although we cannot accept Zimmern's and Gurney's tentative suggestion to identify those genii with any of the heptads of numina described in KAR VII, no. 298, the results of our investigation throw some new light upon Berossos' tale. Having realized that in KAR VII, no. 298 the fish-coated beings represent winds carrying humidity and rain, it is obvious that Berossos' Oannes is the embodiment of the fresh daily ocean-breeze which, as was mentioned above, pp. 5 f., blows in the day time over southern Babylonia but ceases at night. It is of particular interest to learn from Berossos' report that as late as the third century B.C. a Babylonian priest attributed his country's ancient civilization to the influence of this daily wind. It may be added in this connection that, according to the cosmology of Sankhunjathon, the Phoenicians ascribed to the winds not merely the beginning of civilization but the origin of all things; see on this subject Clemen, *Die Phönikische Religion nach Philo von Byblos*, *MVAeG* XLII, 3, Leipzig 1939, p. 35, and Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II², 2, Stuttgart und Berlin 1931, pp. 180 f.

¹⁴⁶ See ll. 21-25.

¹⁴⁷ So according to the variant K.6068+K.7860+K.7823, obv., col. II, ll. 20 and 21 (Gurney, *op. cit.*, pl. XI).

¹⁴⁸ IV R² 21, 1 B, the Akkadian version of which was transliterated and translated by Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, Leipzig 1901, pp. 168 f.

bearing statues of the Divine Heptad. There we read (rev., ll. 12 ff.): "Overthrower of the evil *râbišu*-demon; powerful granter of life; turning (to flight) the enemy's breast; guarding the mystery of Enlil; vanquishing Gibil, the hostile; sword, overwhelming the *namtaru*-demon; powerful one, gladdening [men]; Divine Heptad, destroyer of the evil ones!"

This prayer, or invocation, is, however, by no means the only source attesting the cult of the Divine Heptad. On the contrary, it must be assumed that the worship of this group of numina extended all over the countries of the Fertile Crescent, for its name occurs in various sources of heterogeneous origin and from different periods. There is, for instance, an inscription in the Sumerian language which, to all appearances, was dedicated by a Cassite ruler to "the Divine Heptad, his kings"¹⁴⁹. As for the time of Sargon of Assyria, the Museum in Istanbul possesses an altar presented, according to its inscription, to "the Divine Heptad, the heroes w[ithout ri]val"¹⁵⁰. In a building inscription left by Assarhaddon, there occurs a reference to "the Divine Heptad, the heroic gods, holding bow and arrows, [whose] assault is battle and fight"¹⁵¹. In Assarhaddon's treaty with king Ba'al of Tyre¹⁵² we find, in an enumeration of "the great gods of heaven and earth, the gods of Assyria, the gods of Akkad, (and) the gods of the land beyond the river (i. e., Syria)" who were to punish any violator of the agreement, the following

¹⁴⁹ See ll. 1-2 of the text no. 66 published by Stephens, *Votive and Historical Texts from Babylonia and Assyria*, New Haven 1937: *dVII^{bi} lugalmes-a-ni*; cf. the duplicate published in transliteration and translation by Böhl on p. 67 (p. 45 of the reprint) of the study quoted above, p. 17, note 67.

¹⁵⁰ See l. 1: *a-na dVII^{bi} qar-r[ad] l[a šá]-n[a]-a[n]*. As was noticed by Essad Nassouhi who published the altar and its inscription in *RA* XXII, 1925, pp. 85 ff., the Divine Heptad is given the epithet *qarrad lá šanân* also in the text K.2619 (published by Harper, *BA* II, 1894, pp. 477 ff., transliterated and translated by Jensen, *KB* VI, 1, pp. 60 ff.), rev., col. IV, l. 22; cf. further KAR IV, no. 168 (see below, p. 35, note 156), obv., col. I, l. 6. K.2801 (see the next note) and other texts replace this epithet by the almost synonymous *ilâni qardûti*.

¹⁵¹ See l. 12 of the text K. 2801 published in facsimile, transliteration, and translation by Meissner and Rost, *BA* III, 1898, pp. 287 ff. and 228 ff.

¹⁵² The text was republished by Langdon, *RA* XXVI, 1929, pp. 190 f. and transliterated and translated by Weidner, *Afo* VIII, 1932-1933, pp. 29 ff.

allusion to the Divine Heptad: "dSibitti, the heroic gods, may with their weapons bring about your [defeat]"¹⁵³. That the cult of the Divine Seven was not limited to the eastern part of the Fertile Crescent is confirmed by the inscription on a stela from the eighth century B. C. found at Sudjîn in Syria¹⁵⁴; among the deities witnessing this treaty concluded between Mati'-el of Arpad and another Aramaean king, there appears (in col. A, a, l. 11) the god Sibitti (סבת) in the company of the West Semitic numina El and 'Eljôn¹⁵⁵.

Whereas all these references reveal merely that the Divine Heptad were considered to be of a heroic and war-like character, the mythological text KAR IV, no. 168¹⁵⁶ furnishes some more detailed information in regard to their nature and their activities. The text relates, *inter alia*, how Anu, after having begotten the Divine Seven, determined his fate to each of them¹⁵⁷. To one of them he said: "You shall be seen on high and walk (there), [you] shall have n[o] rival"¹⁵⁸, whereas another one was addressed as follows: "Upon raising your grim weapons may the mountain be destroyed"¹⁵⁹. Again another one received this order: "Blow like the wind and explore the circumference (of the earth)"¹⁶⁰;

¹⁵³ See rev., col. II, l. 5: *dSi-bit-te ilânimeš qar-du-te ina iškakkêmeš-šú-nu [abikta]-ku-nu liš-kun*. As was noted by Hehn, *op. cit.*, p. 24, this passage, by using the singular form *liškun*, illustrates how, although consisting of seven individual deities, the Heptad was conceived as a unit. Jensen (*op. cit.*, p. 383, sub 22) suggested that the same might possibly be true of the attribute discussed above, note 150.

¹⁵⁴ See Hans Bauer, *Afo VIII*, 1932-33, pp. 1 ff.

¹⁵⁵ For other references to the Divine Heptad see Hehn, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff., and Jean, *RA XXI*, 1924, pp. 93 ff. whose conclusions in regard to the character of these gods do, however, not stand the test of a thorough examination.

¹⁵⁶ A transliteration and translation of the text was published by Ebeling, *Der akkadische Mythos vom Pestgotte Era*, Berlin 1925, pp. 2 ff.; the passage to be quoted hereafter is in part duplicated by the fragment K.8571 published by Harper, *op. cit.*, pp. 499 f., transliterated and translated by Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff.

¹⁵⁷ See ll. 26-27.

¹⁵⁸ L. 30.

¹⁵⁹ L. 33 of the facsimile.

¹⁶⁰ L. 34; for the term *kippatum* "circumference (of the earth)" see above, p. 27 with note 115.

the next was told to "go on high and below and to spare nothing"¹⁶¹, whereas the last was ordered to "fell life"¹⁶². The tasks thus assigned to the Divine Seven make it clear that they embody some anemological phenomenon, a result which was to be expected in view of the fact that, as we have shown, also the first five heptads of statues described in KAR VII, no. 298, represent various kinds of winds. Especially the order to "blow like a wind and explore the circumference (of the earth)" shows that, much like the wind-gods described previously¹⁶³, these Seven were connected with the mythological mountain-chain which was thought to form an outer ring around the inhabited earth¹⁶⁴. Since one of the Seven was told to "go on high and below", it further follows that also the activity of these winds extended over both heaven and nether-world¹⁶⁵. Two features, however, distinguish the Divine Seven from the winds impersonated by the first five heptads of figures of our text KAR VII, no. 298: in the first place, the Divine Seven were in the possession of powerful weapons with which they were capable of working destruction among their enemies; and secondly, they were, according to KAR IV, no. 168, l. 30, visible in the sky. This latter quality suggests that these seven gods embody the thunderstorm with its flashes of lightning, an interpretation which is well in line with the description of the Divine Seven in KAR VII, no. 298; for their copper horns which apparently represent tongues of flames¹⁶⁶ as well as the red color of their garments indicate that the destructive weapon at their command was the lightning and the fire caused by it.

It remains to discuss the seventh heptad of statues dealt with in KAR VII, no. 298 (ll. 29-32); they are designated as *šu-ut kakki^{meš}* "those with the weapons", and the incantation

¹⁶¹ L. 35.

¹⁶² L. 36.

¹⁶³ See above, pp. 16 f.; 22; 27.

¹⁶⁴ See above, pp. 12 ff.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. above, pp. 22 f.; 27 f.

¹⁶⁶ It will be recalled that these horns recur on the representations of other weather-gods; see, e. g., pl. 65 of the work by Layard quoted above, p. 13, note 50, or the stela of the god Ba'al from Ras Shamra reproduced *Syria* XIV, 1933, pl. XVI. In both cases the deities are characterized as weather-gods by the lightning which they carry in their hands.

to be recited before them begins with the words "Ye weapon-bearing statues" (*na-áš kakki*). Their external appearance resembles that of the Divine Seven in that they, too, wear bands of copper around their heads and waists and horns of copper on their foreheads. In contradistinction to the preceding group, these weapon-gods are clad in gypsum — i. e., probably in white — instead of red clay, and the weapons carried by them are of wood instead of copper, two points which may have made them somewhat less formidable than the Seven Gods.

To sum up the result of our analysis of the seven heptads of statues described in KAR VII, no. 298, we found that they represent the following seven categories of winds: (1) the "gracious winds" or "winds of life" (depicted in human form); (2) the "guardian winds" (portrayed with bird faces and wings); (3) the rain-carrying winds (represented with fish-cloaks) to whose water was attributed a purifying effect; (4) and (5) rain-carrying winds (likewise depicted with fish-cloaks) with special influence upon the growth of vegetation; (6) and (7) thunderstorms (represented with horns of copper and weapons) accompanied by lightning and having destructive and devastating qualities. We further concluded that each of the cities Ur, Nippur, Eridu, Kullab, Lagaš, Kêš, and Šuruppak claimed for itself one wind of each category, so that each of these seven towns worshipped seven different kinds of winds.

With these results in mind we are now in a position to analyze the information to be gathered from the Brussels text O. 175 in regard to the seven sons of Enmešarra who, as was suggested above¹⁶⁷, seem to be somehow connected with the seven winds. Enmešarra's first child¹⁶⁸ is determined as ^d*Zi-sum-mu* ^d*Gu-la* ^d*Bêlit Nippuri*^{ki} *nâdinat*^{at} *napišti* ^d*A-nim* "Zisummu (is) Gula, (is) the divine Lady of Nippur, (is) the giver of life for Anu"¹⁶⁹.

¹⁶⁷ See above, pp. 27 f.

¹⁶⁸ O.175, l. 10 (Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, pp. 145 and 150).

¹⁶⁹ Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, p. 150 (followed by Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* II, Heidelberg 1925, p. 133) translates "Zi-sum-mu est Gula, est la Dame de Nippur, la donneuse de vie d'Anu", i. e., he appears to consider the words *nâdinat*^{at} *napišti* ^d*A-nim* merely as an attribute of the deity named in the last place; since, however, the name Zisummu means "(The

Both the attribute "giver of life" and the Sumerian name Zisummu — which in itself means "(The one who) giveth life" — recall the genii of the first heptad of KAR VII, no. 298 whom we defined as the "gracious" or "life-giving" winds; since, moreover, Enmešarra's first child is designated as "the divine Lady of Nippur", we are entitled to identify Zisummu with the second among the "gracious" winds who, as we mentioned above, p. 29, bore the name "Wind, pregnant with life, good son of Nippur". The seeming difficulty that in O. 175, l. 10 Zisummu is conceived as a female deity whereas KAR VII, no. 298, l. 6 speaks of the "good son of Nippur" vanishes in view of the following statement in *utukkî limnûti* in regard to the seven winds: " ³⁸No males (are) they; no females (are) they; ⁴⁰they (are) windblasts, sweeping (are) they; ⁴²a wife they do not marry, sons they do not beget" ¹⁷⁰. Hence it becomes clear that originally the wind-gods were thought to be sexless, and that only later generations to whom the idea of asexual deities was unfamiliar represented them as either male or female ¹⁷¹.

The fifth of Enmešarra's children is defined as follows ¹⁷²: *ḫUr-bād-gūm-gūm ḫNin-sar ḫNergal nâš pašar siparri* "Urbad-gumgum (is) Ninsar, (is) Nergal, (is) the bearer of the bronze-dagger"; the epithet "bearer of the bronze-dagger" recalls, of course, the genii of the sixth heptad of KAR VII, no. 298 who are described (in l. 23) as carrying in their left hands a dagger of copper or bronze ¹⁷³. Hence it becomes apparent that Urbad-gumgum was one of the Divine Seven, i. e., he impersonates one

one who) giveth life" and since, moreover, it is to be expected that our text contains information regarding Enmešarra's son and not the deity identified with him, it is more likely that these words refer to Zisummu himself. See further below, p. 39, note 175.

¹⁷⁰ See CT XVI, pl. XV, col. V, ll. 38 ff. (Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 f.).

¹⁷¹ Also the reference to the god Anum in O.175, l. 10 seems to be secondary, as is shown by the Sumerian name *Zi-sum-mu* which contains no such allusion. The name of Anum apparently was added by the adherents of a school of thought which identified *Zi-sum-mu* with *Šu-zi-an-na* (cf. l. 11).

¹⁷² O.175, l. 13.

¹⁷³ Cf. above, p. 33. It may be remarked that in l. 32 of the same text the Divine Seven are referred to as *na-āš pašri* "dagger-bearer", i. e., the text chooses almost the same words as does O.175 in reference to Urbad-

of the seven thunderstorms whose powerful weapon was the fire of lightning.

Enmešarra's third son is determined¹⁷⁴ as *^dSabar-ra-gim₄-gim₄-me ^dEn-nu-gi ^dSin šá-kin eq-lu* "Sabarragingimme (is) Ennugi, (is) Sin, (is) the cultivator of the fields"¹⁷⁵; he therefore must be paralleled with one of the rain-carrying winds of the fourth and fifth heptads of KAR VII, no. 298 who, in view of the emblems carried by them, seem to have been chiefly pre-occupied with the growth of vegetation. The fourth son, on the other hand, whom O. 175 describes (in l. 12) as *^dÛr-bàd-da ^dAzag-su(g) ^dTu-tu šá mēmeš ellūti^{meš} idū^u* "Urbadda (is) Azag-su(g), (is) Tutu, (is the one) who knows the pure waters", apparently embodies one of the rain-carrying winds of the third heptad of KAR VII, no. 298 to whose waters, as was pointed out before, the power of purification was attributed.

Even though the three remaining sons of Enmešarra cannot be identified with certainty with any of the wind-gods dealt with in KAR VII, no. 298, our analysis makes it fairly evident that each of the seven children represented one of the seven categories of winds to be inferred from that text. Moreover, Zisummu's epithet "divine Lady of Nippur" suggests that Enmešarra's children represent among each heptad the wind belonging to the city of Nippur, a conclusion which is well in line with the fact that Nusku, the deity identified in O. 175, l. 14 with Enmešarra's seventh son, is a god of Nippur. Furthermore, in the text K. 2096¹⁷⁶ at least six of the deities paralleled in O. 175

gumgum. — A confusion with the statues of the seventh heptad is out of the question since, as was mentioned before, those latter are said to have carried wooden weapons.

¹⁷⁴ See O. 175, ll. 11–12.

¹⁷⁵ In this case it is quite obvious that the attribute *šá-kin eq-lu* does not refer to Sin, the last-named of the three deities paralleled by our text (see above, p. 37, note 169); for the related passage of the text AO.6479 (transliterated and translated by Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, pp. 144 and 146; the full text was published by the same author in facsimile, transliteration, and translation in *Rituels accadiens*, Paris 1921, pp. 3–6 and 10–21) characterizes Sabarragingimme (in col. III, l. 7) with the words *a-šà mar-ra-gé*, i. e., the Sumerian equivalent of Akkadian *šá-kin eq-lu*.

¹⁷⁶ The text was published by Craig, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 57–59.

with children of Enmešarra are designated as gods of \dot{E} -[kur] and \dot{E} -šu-me-DU¹⁷⁷, i. e., the two main temples of Nippur.¹⁷⁸

Since thus there remains little doubt that the seven sons of Enmešarra embody the Nippurian variety of the seven categories of winds, it becomes increasingly apparent that in historic times the original idea of the seven winds corresponding to the seven directions and dwelling in the seven peaks of the mountain-chain surrounding the horizon had been modified in such a way that each of the seven main cities in southern Babylonia had its individual seven winds, each of the seven categories being represented in each town. Some of our sources have actually preserved the knowledge of these conditions; so we find, for instance, in the series *maqlû* a reference to the "seven wise ones of Eridu"¹⁷⁹; since our text KAR VII, no. 298 uses the same term *apkalu* "wise one" for the personifications of five of the seven categories of winds, it is clear that the "wise ones of Eridu" are the seven wind-gods peculiar to that city. On the

¹⁷⁷ After a gap which may have contained the name *Gu-la* or *Nin-sig*, the relevant passage of the obverse(!) of K.2096 runs as follows: ³*Šu-zi-an-na* ^d*En-nu-gi* ^ù ^d*Azag-s[u(g)]* ⁴*Ni[n-sa]* ^r ^d<*Nin*>-*ka-si ilâni*^{meš} ^{šá} \dot{E} -[kur] ^{šá} \dot{E} -šu-me-DU; cf. Zimmern, ZA XXXII, 1918-19, p. 66, note 2.

¹⁷⁸ The identity of the nature of the seven sons of Enmešarra with that of the seven winds known from the series *utukki limnûti* is well illustrated by a find made by Woolley in the ruins of Ur (see *The Antiquaries Journal* V, 1925, p. 368). In the courtyard-well of a temple which was rebuilt in the seventh century B.C. by the then Assyrian governor of Ur, Woolley discovered a number of inscribed bricks each of which refers to one of the deities who, in the texts O.175 and AO.6479 (see above, p. 39, note 175), are identified with Enmešarra's seven sons (the bricks were published by Gadd and Legrain, *Ur Excavations, Texts* I, London 1928; one of these bricks, no. 173, is dedicated to *Nin-ka-si*; no. 175 is dedicated to *Šu-zi-an-na*; no. 176 to *Azag-su(g)*; no. 178 probably to *Nin-sar*, cf. *ibidem*, p. 56; no. 180 to *Nusku*; no. 181 to *Nin-sig*; and no. 182 to *En-nu-gi*). The fact that these seven deities were thought to have their "abodes" or "stations" in the shaft of a well is easily explained if it is remembered that in *utukki limnûti* the seven winds are said to have grown "in the break-through of the *apsû*, in the sanctuary" (see the passage quoted above, p. 24). See also below, p. 45, note 205. — It may be added that Woolley's find in this well illustrates the meaning of the Palestinian place name באר שבע "Well of the Seven".

¹⁷⁹ See tablet II, l. 124 (Meier, *op. cit.*, p. 17) and cf. V R 51, l. 41^b.

other hand, the "seven sages"¹⁸⁰ who, according to the Epic of Gilgamesh¹⁸¹, constructed the city-wall of Uruk were, in all likelihood, the corresponding deities of that ancient town, whereas the "ancient *apkalli* from before the flood who (were) in Šuruppak", to whom a medical text ascribes certain pharmaceutic prescriptions¹⁸², manifestly represent the seven wind-genii of Šuruppak. Furthermore, the text KAR III, no. 142 deserves to be mentioned in this connection; for here we find, *inter alia*, the following enumeration¹⁸³: "Enbilulu (is) the wind-god (^dIM) of Babylon; Udanedinna-gubba (is) the wind-go[d of] Nippur; Udgagal (is) the wind-god of [Bit Karkar]; Udgudim (is) the wind-god of Zab[ban]; Udgurara (is) the wind-god of Šurupp[ak]; Mašdad (is) the wind-god of [P]adda; Addêja (is) the wind-god of [.]: VII wind-gods". The author of this comparatively late text evidently composed his heptad in much the same way as the scribe of KAR VII, no. 298 drew up each of his seven categories, i. e., he listed seven wind-gods of a similar nature¹⁸⁴ belonging to seven different towns. It is not surprising that, aside from Nippur and Šuruppak, these seven towns were no longer identical with those mentioned in KAR VII, no. 298, which text apparently preserved a much older tradition; for in the course of time and with the shift of political power some of these cities may have lost their importance as cult-centers and were, therefore, replaced by others which, at that particular time, played a more prominent rôle.

Another text dealing with seven winds of a similar character each belonging to another town is recorded in the fragmentary

¹⁸⁰ VII *mun-tal-ki*.

¹⁸¹ See tablet XI, l. 305 (Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 67).

¹⁸² See the text K.4023 published by Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts*, Oxford 1923, pl. CV, col. I, l. 22.

¹⁸³ See col. III, ll. 19 ff.; cf. Schlobies, *MAOG* I, 3, 1925, p. 4.

¹⁸⁴ The character of these deities may, at least in part, be gathered from their names; *Ud-an-edin-na-gub-ba* means "Wind standing in heaven and in the steppe (i. e., the underworld)"; *Ud-gal-gal* means "Great wind", while *Ud-gù-dim*, has the sense of "Roaring wind" and *Ud-gù-ra-ra* that of "Howling wind". Addêja is probably a variant of the name of the Semitic weather-god Adad.

tablets Ki. 1904-10-9, 87 and K. 5119¹⁸⁵. The text, which unfortunately is incomplete, is a ritual for the healing of a sick man¹⁸⁶ beginning and end of which were taken up by instructions to the priest. Since this priest is designated (in rev., l. 13) as *awēl išippu Eridu* "Eridu-priest", it is obvious that the ritual he was called upon to perform belonged to the ceremonies known to the Babylonians as the "incantation of Eridu of purification" which, as is learnt from the series *utukkī limnūti*, supposedly was capable of banishing evil demons from the body of a sick person¹⁸⁷. In the course of the ritual the priest had to make use of "[7] clay [statues] of wise ones"¹⁸⁸ who are described at the beginning of the text as "the *burādu*-fish(es) of the sea, the seven of them"¹⁸⁹. These seven wise ones defined as fishes and being used in a ceremony of purification recall, of course, the third heptad of KAR VII, no. 298 which, as will be remembered, was composed of clay figures clad in fish-skins; on the basis of various considerations we were able to identify them as the genii of a rain-carrying wind to whose waters the power of healing and purifying was attributed¹⁹⁰. It may further be recapitulated that the Nippurian variety of the seven numina was Enmešarra's son Urbadda surnamed "(the one) who knows the pure waters".

¹⁸⁵ For these two tablets see above, p. 7, note 23.

¹⁸⁶ See K.5119, rev., ll. 16 f. (Gurney, *JRAS* 1935, p. 466).

¹⁸⁷ See CT XVI, pl. XLV, l. 144 (Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 196 f.); pl. XLVI, l. 175, and passim; cf. passages such as CT XVI, pl. XXVIII, l. 53 (Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 132 f.) where the person in charge of the execution of that ceremony is called *āšip Eridu*.

¹⁸⁸ See K.5119, rev., l. 10, correctly restored by Gurney, *JRAS* 1935, p. 465.

¹⁸⁹ See K.5119, ll. 5-6 (Gurney, *JRAS* 1935, p. 462); in spite of the fragmentary state of preservation of the text the identity of the *apkallī* mentioned in rev., l. 10 with the *burādu*-fishes occurring in obv., l. 6 is assured by the following passage from the tablet KAR IV, no. 168 (quoted above, p. 35 with note 156): *u-li VII apkallī(!) apšī bu-ra-di ib-bu-te* "where are the VII wise ones of the *apsū*, the pure *burādī*?" (see rev., col. I, l. 43).

¹⁹⁰ See above, p. 32. In view of the preceding evidence, it becomes clear that the task of the "Eridu-priest" consisted mainly in calling, by his performances, the seven wind-genii to the sick man's bedside in order that they, on their part, might drive the evil demon of sickness from his body.

The text here under discussion contained allusions to some legendary tales about these genii¹⁹¹. So we read in regard to the third: "Great wind¹⁹², wise one, who was born in Kiš, who in heaven caused Adad to be enraged so that he caused rain and verdure not to be in the land for three years"¹⁹³. This passage not only alludes once again to the antagonism which existed between the ancient wind-gods and the deities of the later Sumero-Akkadian pantheon¹⁹⁴ but it also indicates that, in the opinion of the author of the text, one of these seven fish-like wind-genii originated in the north Babylonian city of Kiš. Another one apparently was located by the same scribe in the town of Uruk, for the second clay figure is designated as "the wise one of Enmekar whom Ištar caused to descend from heaven into the midst of Eanna"¹⁹⁵. Both the mention of Enmekar, king of Uruk, and the allusion to Eanna, the Ištar-temple of the same city, indicate that here the Urukian variety of the purifying wind was involved. In the cases of the five other genii invoked in the text it is no longer possible to determine with certainty the towns to which they were attributed by the legend; the first of the seven fish-numina is simply said to have been "created in the river"¹⁹⁶, a statement which may point to one of the cities on the Euphrates, perhaps Babylon; the reference to the *apsû* in the case of the fourth genius may indicate that here one of the sages of Eridu was meant; however, here as in the remaining cases the fragmentary state of preservation of the two tablets precludes any further inferences.

¹⁹¹ Gurney's inference (*JRAS* 1935, pp. 459 ff.) that this text deals with Etana, the legendary king of Kiš, is based upon the words *šá ana šamê i-lu-[ú]* (Sumerian: *lu an-šà ba-an-è*) in ll. 3-4; however, as Gurney himself remarked, these words are by no means peculiar to the Etana-myth; on the contrary, the term *ana šamê elû* is used, e. g., in regard to the seven winds in the series *utukkî limnûti* (see CT XVI, pl. XXII, l. 279, Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 f.). Equally unproved is Güterbock's tentative assumption (*ZA* XLII, 1934, p. 10) that ll. 3-4 of our text refer to Adapa.

¹⁹² For the sign *UG* in the sense of "wind" see above, p. 5 with note 17.

¹⁹³ See Ki. 1904-10-9, 87, ll. 7-10 (Gurney, *JRAS* 1935, pp. 463 f.). Cf. above, p. 7, note 23.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. above, pp. 20 f. and 26 ff.

¹⁹⁵ See Ki. 1904-10-9, 87, ll. 5-6 (cf. Gurney, *JRAS* 1935, p. 462).

¹⁹⁶ See K. 5119, ll. 7-8 = Ki. 1904-10-9, 87, ll. 3-4.

Whichever the seven cities mentioned in this incantation may have been, it is clear that, according to a wide-spread belief¹⁹⁷, each of the seven most prominent cities in Babylonia had its particular seven winds so that altogether the country possessed forty-nine winds among which there were always seven of the same character. This belief is reflected in passages such as Ni. 10993, col. III, l. 71¹⁹⁸ where we read: "The devastating storm with its seven winds in heaven thundered", or by the allusion in the Epic of Creation to the seven winds of which one was called "The sevenfold wind"¹⁹⁹. Since, as was pointed out above, the single daily wind corresponded to the time-unit day and the seven winds coming from the seven directions formed the basis of the time-unit week, it must be expected that a third and larger time-unit was founded upon the idea of the country's forty-nine winds. However, as for all practical purposes the number forty-nine offered certain inconveniences, it was only natural to bring it, by the addition of one unit, up to the round number fifty. That this was actually done is shown by the fact that the ritual KAR VII, no. 298 inserts between the descriptions of the sixth and seventh heptads of prophylactic statues that of the female genius Narudu²⁰⁰ who is defined elsewhere²⁰¹ as the sister of the Divine Seven. Since this female figure was to be buried together with those of the Divine Heptad,

¹⁹⁷ The popularity of the belief in the power of the forty-nine wind-genii described in KAR VII, no. 298 is shown by the fact that in Ur the excavations have furnished clay figures answering exactly the prescription given in the Assyrian text; these statues were found together in groups of seven in little boxes buried under the pavement of various houses; for full details we refer to the study by Woolley, *JRAS* 1926, pp. 689 ff. George Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, New York 1875, p. 78, describes a similar find made by him in the ruins of Nineveh, but he speaks of only six figures of the same kind to a receptacle; one of those figures, reproduced by Smith, *loc. cit.*, bears all the features characterizing the bird-headed, winged genii of the second heptad of KAR VII, no. 298.

¹⁹⁸ The text was published by Myhrman, *UPM* I, 1, Philadelphia 1911, no. 7 (pl. 13); a transliteration and translation of the tablet and its duplicates by Langdon is to be found *OECT* I, 1923, p. 9.

¹⁹⁹ See the passage from *Enuma Eliš* quoted above, p. 9.

²⁰⁰ See ll. 26-28.

²⁰¹ See IV R² 21, no. 1 (A), obv., col. I, ll. 45-46.

it is clear that by its addition the number of the wind-gods used in the ritual was raised from forty-nine to fifty²⁰². Further evidence to the same effect is provided by the fact that the storm-god Enlil who, as was pointed out above²⁰³, combined in himself the qualities of all the seven winds, is sometimes designated as the "Divine Fifty"²⁰⁴, a name which may be explained by the assumption that Enlil was considered the chief of the forty-nine wind-gods and therefore added to their number as the fiftieth²⁰⁵. It is further important that the god Ningirsu who, according to the afore-quoted passage from Gudea's cylinder A²⁰⁶, commanded the winds was worshipped in a temple named "House of the Fifty"²⁰⁷. Finally it must be men-

²⁰² For a description of the female demon Narudu (there called Naruda) see also obv., col. III, ll. 1 ff. and rev., col. II, l. 47 of the ritual K.6068+K.7860, etc. (Gurney, pp. 42 ff. of the study quoted above, p. 28, note 124) which, as was stated above, is supplemented by our tablet KAR VII, no. 298.

²⁰³ See pp. 22 ff.

²⁰⁴ For references see Nötscher, *op. cit.*, p. 10, sub 9.

²⁰⁵ It is significant that the well in the temple courtyard referred to above, p. 40, note 178, furnished, besides the bricks mentioning the seven deities identified with Enmešarra's seven sons, a brick with a parallel text referring to Enlil and his abode (see Gadd and Legrain, *op. cit.*, no. 179). This may be taken to indicate that Enlil who shared with those numina all their main characteristics was considered either their chief or the synthesis of all of them.

²⁰⁶ See above, p. 16.

²⁰⁷ See Gudea's cylinders A and B, *passim*. According to Cyl. A, XX, 23 and Cyl. B, I, 11 ff., Gudea worshipped in this temple *é-ninnû* not only Ningirsu but also the Anunnaki, i. e., a group of deities who, as will be presently seen, have retained so many characteristic qualities of the wind-gods that the question arises as to whether, in the last analysis, they are not identical with the genii dealt with in the series *utukkî limnûti*, on the one hand, and in KAR VII, no. 298, on the other. In the first place, their number varies conspicuously between seven and fifty; the former number occurs in the Sumerian version of the Epic of Ištar's descent to the nether-world (see Kramer, *BASOR* LXXIX, 1940, pp. 24 ff. and *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LXXXV, 1942, pp. 293 ff., cf. p. 299) which tells that "the Anunnaki, the seven judges" rendered their decision in the presence of Ereškigal, the queen of the lower world. In their capacity as judges of the nether-world the Anunnaki recur in incantations cited in the two Aššur-texts VAT 8261 (transliterated and translated by Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, pp. 52 ff.), obv., col. II, ll. 28 ff. and VAT 13657 (Ebeling, *op. cit.*, pp. 128 ff.), col. III, ll.

tioned that the Akkadian term *kiššatum* "universe" which, as

12 ff., which begin with these words: "Ye Anunnaki who decide the decisions for people in the nether-world". That the seven Anunnaki-judges of the lower world were actually conceived as winds is suggested by the purification-ritual KAR III, no. 141 (Ebeling, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 ff.); for this ritual uses seven statues defined as "the seven divine judges" (l. 20: 7 ^d*daiānēmeš*) before whom, according to rev., l. 7, an incantation beginning with the words "Storm of the desert (i. e., of the nether-world; *im-hul(!)-lu edin*)" was to be recited. More frequently, however, the number of the Anunnaki is given as fifty, as, e. g., in the tablet published by De Genouillac, *La trouvaille de Dreheim*, Paris 1911, no. 1 (see the transliteration and translation by Ebeling, *op. cit.*, pp. 170 ff.), which mentions (in ll. 5 and 14) "the Anunnaki of Eridu, the fifty of them". This passage is of particular interest; for, when compared with Gudea, Cyl. B (V, l. 22) and A (XIV, l. 1; Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, pp. 180 f. and 152 f.) which latter inscriptions refer to the "Anunnaki of Lagaš", it suggests that, much like the wind-genii dealt with in KAR VII, 298 and the related texts, the Anunnaki were divided into one group from Eridu, one group from Lagaš, etc. A further similarity between both classes of deities lies in the fact that, like that of the wind-gods, the realm of the Anunnaki extended over heaven and earth, as is shown by their title "*Anunnaki ša šamē u iršitim*" (see, e. g., KAR VI, no. 224, l. 3); that in later sources the Anunnaki were usually designated as gods of the earth only may be due to religious developments similar to those expounded above, pp. 20 f. and 26 ff. in regard to the seven winds, on the one hand, and to En-mešarra and his seven sons, on the other; in other words, it seems that the Anunnaki belonged to the class of extremely old wind-gods, rulers of heaven and earth who, after having been supplanted by the solar, lunar, and astral deities of the later Sumero-Babylonian pantheon, were thought to be banished into the earth. This inference is supported by the introduction to the Epic of Etana and the Eagle which, in the well-preserved Old Babylonian version, reads as follows: "The great ones, the Anunnaki, deciders of fate, sat (in council); the constructors of the directions (*kibrâtîm*), the creators of the creation planned a plan for the lands" (see Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* IV, New Haven 1923, pl. II, col. I, ll. 1-3). These lines obviously record a tradition according to which the Anunnaki, and not the gods of the later Sumero-Akkadian pantheon, determined the fate of the earth and probably even created the world. Moreover, the designation *banû kibrâtîm* establishes a direct parallel between the Anunnaki and the wind-gods who, as was explained above, p. 7 with note 26 and pp. 16 f., dominated the seven directions.

It can, however, not be denied that in certain sources the number of the Anunnaki is given as 600 (so, e. g., in the sixth tablet of the Epic of Creation, l. 44, see Labat, *op. cit.*, pp. 146 f. and cf. Weidner, *Afo* XI, 1936, pp. 72 ff.) or even 300+600 (so in the parallel texts VAT 415+581 [rev., ll. 24-25] and

was stated above²⁰⁸, was frequently written with the sign of the numeral seven, was, according to the vocabulary B.M.92693²⁰⁹, also written with the numeral fifty. Since thus the number fifty (i. e., seven times seven plus one) had come to assume a rôle similar to that of the original seven²¹⁰, it is not surprising to find in various ancient Oriental calendars a time-unit of fifty days, or seven full weeks plus one day.

IV. THE PENTECONTAD CALENDAR IN ASSYRIA

The most frequent occurrence of a period of fifty days is found in the Old Assyrian business documents from Kültepe where loans usually are given not for a certain number of years or months but for a specified number of *hamšâtum* "pentecontads"²¹¹. In order to illustrate the use of this time-unit, we quote

K. 4629 [rev., col. III, ll. 29–32] both of which were published by Reisner in the work quoted above, p. 7, note 25 as nos. 50 [pp. 91 f.] and III [pp. 134 f., respectively). Even though it is, of course, impossible to determine with certainty the ideas which inspired those variations in numbers, the following hypothesis seems to furnish a satisfactory explanation: In view of the fact that, as we have seen, the number of the Anunnaki was originally thought to be seven, it can be assumed that this heptad was written with a sign somehow composed of seven vertical wedges. Since the vertical wedge denotes not only the number one but also the number sixty, such a sign could easily be divided into five wedges with the value one and two wedges with the value sixty. By multiplying these components, this interpretation of the seven vertical wedges furnishes $5 \times 2 \times 60$, whence the number 600 instead of the original seven. Such a transformation of the true sense of a sign — a transformation which seems actually to have taken place with the sign for Igigi, sometimes written with seven vertical wedges and at other times with the numeral 600 — might easily have originated among the adherents of that school of thought which, being hostile to the theology and the cosmology based upon the heptad system, considered the seven an ill-fated number.

²⁰⁸ See p. 16 with note 64.

²⁰⁹ See CT XII, pl. II (V R, pl. 37), col. I, rev., l. 16^{1b}.

²¹⁰ For the deeper reasons of the interconnection between the numbers seven and fifty see below, pp. 71 ff.

²¹¹ That *hamšâtum* means "pentecontads" or "units of fifty", "units of fifty days" and not "Fünftel(jahre)" or "fifth parts (of the year)", as was assumed by one of the present writers (see MAOG IV, 1928, p. 127; MVAeG

XXXIII and XXXV, 3, *passim*; *Archiv Orientalní* XI, 1939, pp. 44 f.) follows from the tablets K.4629 and VAT 415+581 referred to above, pp. 46 f., note 207. In col. III, ll. 25 ff. and rev., ll. 22 f., respectively, these texts render the Sumerian *d̄im-me-er gal-gal-la L-ne-ne* by *ilānimeš rabūtimeš ḥa-am-šat-su-nu* and the Sumerian *d̄im-me-er nam-lar-ra VII-ne-ne* by *ilānimeš šī-ma-a-ti si-bit-ti-šū-nu*. Since in translating *VII-ne-ne* by *si-bit-ti-šū-nu* "their unit of seven" this passage makes use of the *nomen unitatis* (i. e., the so-called feminine form) of the Akkadian cardinal number *sibi* "seven", it is evident that *ḥa-am-šat-* also represents a *nomen unitatis*. But whereas *sibitti-* is the construct state of the feminine singular of a cardinal number smaller than "eleven", this cannot be true of *ḥa-am-šat-*, although this form coincides with the construct state of the *nomen unitatis* *ḥamištum* "unit of five"; for both texts leave no doubt that *ḥa-am-šat-* corresponds to the number fifty and not five, and a mistake on the part of the ancient copyists is all the more precluded since the passage parallels col. II, ll. 13 f. of the Sumerian hymn CBS 9205 quoted above, p. 25, note 101. The difficulty disappears, however, once it is realized that *ḥa-am-šat-* may as well be the construct state of *ḥamšātum*, i. e., the plural of the *nomen unitatis* *ḥamištum*, and that the use of this plural in the sense of "unit of fifty" is logical in a Semitic tongue since the Semitic languages express the notion "fifty" by the masculine plural of the numeral for "five" (cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* I, Berlin 1908, p. 490). This conclusion, viz. that *ḥamšātum* belongs to the *nomen unitatis* *ḥamištum*, is in line with the fact that the Old Assyrian texts make frequent use of such *nomina unitatis*. In addition to the passages mentioning a *ḥamištum*, or "group of five", and an *ešertum*, or "group of ten", "council of ten", as enumerated in *MVAeG* XXXIII, p. 255, note a, we refer particularly to the following occurrences of *šalištum*: *maḥar šališti^{ti-šī} ta-āš-e-li* "before a (group of) three (persons) you interrogated me" (Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity*, Chicago 1935, no. 57, ll. 3 f.); *III a-ḥi-ú-tim ṣa-áb-ta-ma šalištum^{um}-ma li-ik-nu-ku* "seize 3 foreigners and let only the three seal" (TC III 99, ll. 7 ff.; cf. TC 20, l. 10: *šalištu^{ti}-ma*); *ša-lá-ša-at ni-a-ti* "the three of us" (TC 37, ll. 16 f.; cf. TC III 199, l. 13: *a šu-mi III ni-a-ti* "on behalf of the three of us"; as for the use of *ša-lá-ša-at* instead of *ša-al-ša-at*, cf. *inter alia*, TC III 46, ll. x+13 f.: *warah^{kam} II^{šī-na} ú ša-la-ša-at*). Since, as we have seen, Akkadian expresses the notion "pentecontad" by a plural form, and since Akkadian cannot form a plural of the plural, it is evident that *ḥamšātum* originally denoted both "pentecontad" and "pentecontads". On the other hand, it is also obvious that the lack of a singular designating one unit of fifty days was to be felt in a calendar based on the time-unit pentecontad. As may be seen from the well-known occurrence of *ḥamuštum* in the function of a singular of *ḥamšātum*, the Assyrian language met this inconvenience by using in the sense of "(one) pentecontad" a word which coincides with the singular of the feminine form of the ordinal number *ḥamšum* "the fifth". This may be due to the fact that *ḥamšātum*, the feminine plural form of that

the acknowledgment of a debt VAT 9238²¹² which, aside from the usual reference to the persons witnessing the conclusion of the contract, runs as follows: " 12 minas of 2purified 1silver 7has 4A (the creditor) 3upon 6B (the debtor). 7(Reckoning) from 8the month of *šib'um*²¹³ (inclusive) 9within 11 pentecontads 10he shall pay²¹⁴. 11If he did not pay²¹⁴, 15he shall add (as) 14interest 13for each mina 121½ shekels in 13(each) month. 15(In the) eponymy of 16Puzur-Niraḥ." From this and numerous similar promissory notes it is learnt that the Old Assyrian merchants from Kültepe used simultaneously two calendars, one based upon the fifty-day-period as time-unit and a second reckoning after months and eponymy-years. Even though this duplicity makes it more difficult to discern the characteristic features of the pentecontad-calendar, we are, mainly thanks to some Old Assyrian texts published during the past fifteen years, in a position to gain some insight into its composition.

It is self-evident that a year comprises seven full pentecontads; but since these total up only 350 days, it is equally clear that somehow a certain number of days had to be inserted between two pentecontads in order to make the year full. Some information in regard to these additional days comes from a promissory note of a type similar to that quoted above²¹⁵; this contract, which is part of an Old Assyrian *Sammelurkunde* now

ordinal number, coincided with *ḥamšātum* "pentecontads". But in view of the assimilating influence a labial sound may exert upon an *i* vowel it is also possible that the singular *ḥamuštum* "pentecontad" is merely a variant of the afore-discussed *nomen unitatis* *ḥamištum*; in this case we should assume that, unaware of the origin of the *pluraletantum* meaning "pentecontad" and "pentecontads", the Assyrians regarded *ḥamšātum* as the plural of a term *ḥamištum* "pentecontad". However this may be, the occurrence in a Babylonian source (see below, pp. 88 f.) of the plural *ḥamšātum* — or rather its variant *ḥanšāti* — as a designation for the singular "pentecontad" confirms the conclusion that the use in the same sense of the singular *ḥamuštum* is secondary.

²¹² The text was published in transliteration and translation by J. Lewy, *MVAeG* XXXIII, 1930, no. 63, pp. 47 f.

²¹³ This is the first Assyrian month; see J. Lewy, *Archiv Orientalní* XI, 1939, pp. 35 ff.

²¹⁴ Literally "weigh out (the silver)".

²¹⁵ See the preceding paragraph.

in the Museum of the Oriental Institute in Chicago²¹⁶, runs as follows²¹⁷: "1 mina of silver has the creditor upon the debtors. (In) the month of *ab šārānim*²¹⁸ the god went (through) a *šapattum* and (then) they took the silver from the *hamuštum* of X²¹⁹ (in the) eponymy of Y; 1½ shekels per month they shall add to each mina as interest." Since in these business documents the phrase "from the *hamuštum* of X" refers, unless otherwise indicated²²⁰, to the beginning of the pentecontad, it is evident that here the fifty-day-period was preceded by what is called a *šapattum*, i. e., as was shown by one of the present writers²²¹, a period of intercalary days. That this intercalary period recurred at regular intervals is shown by the fragmentary letter KTP 45²²² which contains (in ll. 6–8) the following statement: "The remainder of the silver, (namely) 4⅓ minas 7½ s[hekels], we took at interest from this *šapattum*"²²³; for, precisely as modern expressions such as "this spring" or "this month", the words "this *šapattum*" (*šapattum annitum*) obviously serve the purpose of distinguishing the present season or time-unit from the preceding or following of the same character. The purpose of this insertion of several days during which, according

²¹⁶ Published by Gelb, *op. cit.*, no. 56, ll. 19^b ff.

²¹⁷ See J. Lewy, *Archiv Orientalní* XI, 1939, pp. 44 f.

²¹⁸ This is the eleventh month of the Old Assyrian calendar; see J. Lewy, *loc. cit.*

²¹⁹ In the promissory notes, the Old Assyrian pentecontads were usually named after one or two local officials, precisely as the whole year bore the name of an officer designated as *limum*, or "eponym". See below, pp. 58 f., note 255. For other designations of the *hamuštum*-periods see below, pp. 51 ff. and *passim*.

²²⁰ In some cases (as, e. g., in the texts transliterated and translated by J. Lewy, *MVAeG* XXXIII, nos. 46 through 48) the debt is said to run "from the *hamuštum* of X, month of Y, (in the) eponymy of Z"; this specification is meant to say that here the running time was reckoned not from the beginning of the *hamuštum* of X but from the start of the month of Y which fell within the *hamuštum* of X and the eponymy of Z.

²²¹ See J. Lewy, *Archiv Orientalní* XI, 1939, p. 45; as will be presently seen, the opinion there expressed that these intercalary days served the purpose of equating the lunar year with a commercial year was incorrect.

²²² The text was published by Stephens, *JSOR* XI, 1927, p. 136, no. 45.

²²³ Cf. J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

to the context of the afore-quoted passage Gelb 56, ll. 19^b ff., no business was transacted by the Old Assyrian merchants²²⁴ seems to be indicated by the very name *šapattum*; for an Assyrian syllabary offers the equation *šabātu = gamāru*²²⁵ "to finish", "to complete", whence it is reasonable to conclude that the *šapattum*-period was to "fill up" or "complete" the year. Accordingly the Old Assyrian year consisted of seven fifty-day-periods supplemented by a *šapattum* of several days to be inserted between two pentecontads.

A further feature of the *hamšátum*-year is revealed in several texts in which the usual clause "the debtor shall pay within so and so many *hamšátum*" is replaced by the stipulation that payment should be made upon *ši-bi-it ni-ga-lim* (var. *-li*) "seizing the sickle"²²⁶ or during *qí-tí-ip kà-ra-nim* "the plucking of the

²²⁴ The evidence (to be gathered from the promissory note Gelb no. 56, ll. 19^b ff.) that no commercial transactions were carried out during the *šapattum*-days is not invalidated by the statement contained in KTP 45 that the interest on a debt was calculated from the beginning of "this *šapattum*"; for also our modern bankers, while doing no business on Sundays, do not exclude the Sundays from their calculations of interest. Since, as will be shown below, p. 66, the *šapattum*-days lay at the very beginning of the pentecontad-year, the writer of KTP 45 obviously wanted to say that the interest was figured from the beginning of the year.

²²⁵ See CT XVIII, pl. XIII, l. 14 a b (K.169; also published in II R, pl. XXV and V R, pl. XXVIII); for the interchange between *b* and *p* in the presence of the voiceless sibilant *š* see Landsberger, *op. cit.*, p. 133; Jensen, ZA XIV, 1899, p. 182. — As regards the meaning of the Hebrew verb שָׁבַח, see below, p. 105.

²²⁶ So in BIN IV 208, A ll. 8 f.; B ll. 12 f. and KTHahn 20, ll. 7 f. For the full text of these documents see the transliterations and translations in *MVAeG* XXXIII, 1930, nos. 70 and 81 where, however, *šibit* was incorrectly interpreted as construct state of *šibtum*. That it is rather the construct state of a *qitillum* form *šibittum* which has the function of an infinitive follows, in the first place, from the Neo-Assyrian passage *i-na eli XX alpêmes istênen alpa i-na eli XX immerênes istênen immera na-dan šatti eli-šú-nu uk-tin ši-bit alpêmes-šú-nu ši-e-ni-šú-nu a-na Bêl mâr Bêl ú-ki-in šat-ti-šam* (Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, II, Leipzig 1889, pl. XIII, no. 28, ll. 7 f.; cf. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II*, part I, Paris 1929, p. 45, note 9) in which the construction of *šibit alpêšunu ukîn* "the seizing of cattle of theirs I imposed" is almost exactly the same as that of the preceding *naddn šatti elišunu uktîn* "(as) a yearly tribute I imposed upon them". (Cf. further the similar passage in II R 17 f of the "Stèle d'Asharné"

grapes"²²⁷ or *a-na ḥa-ar-pi* "at (the time of) the first-fruits"²²⁸. This way of dating suggests that, even though used in business documents, the pentecontad-calendar was of an agricultural character²²⁹; for if a reference to the grain or grape harvest

published by Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XXX, 1933, pl. I and pp. 53 ff.). The idiom *šibit appi* points in the same direction; for, as was shown by Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen*, Leipzig 1911, p. 19 and Ungnad, *ZA* XXXI, 1917-8, p. 268, *šibit* stands here in the place of the construct state of the ordinary infinitive *šabātum*. It might be well to add that the interchangeability of the forms *qitillum* and *qatālum* is further indicated by certain personal names; we refer particularly to the names *Lu-mu-ur-gi-mil-d* *Samaš* and *Ga-ma-al-d* *Sin-lu-mur* the interconnection of which was noted by Stamm, *MVAeG* XLIV, 1939, p. 168. — As for the *qitillum* infinitive of the verb *qatāpum* "to pluck", see the next footnote.

²²⁷ So in BIN IV 186, A ll. 6 f. and B ll. 8 f.; cf. the transliteration and translation of the entire document in *MVAeG* XXXIII, 1930, no. 91 where the erroneous assumption that *qitip* is the construct state of *qitpum* led to a misinterpretation of the term *qitip karānim*. That it rather belongs to the infinitive *qitippum* follows from the analogous expression *šibit niggallim* analyzed in the preceding note.

²²⁸ So especially in the texts Gol. 11 (published by Golénischeff, *Vingt-quatre tablettes cappadociennes*, St. Pétersbourg 1891, no. 11; transliterated and translated by J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, pp. 181 f., no. 188), ll. 8-14 and TC 68 (J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 f., no. 86), ll. 10-12; cf. also CCT 10^b+11^a (J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 17, no. 15), ll. 13 f. That *ḥarpû* is used here as a means of precise dating (as month names are used elsewhere) is particularly clear in view of the contract TC III 237 which stipulates that the debtors were to reimburse the creditor in four equal installments in such a way that they would "for four years, in (each) year *ina ḥarpû*" pay one fourth of their debt and deliver a certain amount of onions (cf. below, p. 57, note 247). In repeatedly mentioning *a-na* (or *i-na*) *ḥa-ar-pi* as the date of delivery of wheat, other texts prove that the time-unit *ḥarpû* comprised the season of the grain harvest; see, e. g., TC 87, ll. x+25 ff.: *a-na ḥa-ar-pi ú-tá-ta-k[à] 2 na-ru-uq a-da-na-kum* "at the (time of the) first-fruits, I shall give you yo[ur] wheat, 2 sacks (of it)" or the acknowledgment of a debt TC III 239 where 21 sacks of wheat were to be delivered *i-na ḥa-ar-pi*. Cf. further CCT II 30, ll. 16 ff. where *ḥarpû* occurs in the sense of "first-fruits": *i-na ḥa-ar-pi-šu 'ú-tá-tám ší-ip-tám* ¹⁸*lu ni-il'-qí* "from his first-fruits ¹⁸let us take ¹⁷wheat (as) interest". The afore-discussed term *šibit niggallim* obviously refers to the beginning of the *ḥarpû*-season, for "seizing the sickle" is, of course, a prerequisite of the harvesting of grain; see further below, *passim*.

²²⁹ It is not surprising that the calendar grown out of the cult of the wind and weather-gods was of an agricultural character; for our analysis of the qualities of deities such as the seven winds, the storm-god Enlil with his

could be substituted for, and used in complete parallelism with, the name of a certain *ḥamuštum*, it seems that, besides being named after public officials, the *ḥamšātum* were distinguished from each other by the agricultural work to be done, or the produce to be gathered, during the season covered by each particular fifty-day-period. This conclusion is borne out by the evidence to be obtained from the Kültepe text TC 3²⁰ and the inscription from Aššur, Photo no. 4062²¹. The former, a letter which was sent from Aššur to Kaniš, mentions (in ll. 20 ff.) that certain persons would leave for Asia Minor *a-na LÁ 10 ūmā^m ḥa-mu-uš-tum ša tí-i-na-tim* "in less than ten days, (in the) pentecontad of the figs". The Aššur text, which records the setting up of vessels serving as standardized measures of capacity²², contains in ll. 4 ff. the statement: *ḥa-mu-uš-tum* ⁵*ša*

seven-fold nature, the seven sons of Enmešarra, etc. has revealed that their worship was mainly due to the influence which they supposedly exerted upon the growth of the vegetation and agricultural life in general. Hence it becomes clear that both the worship of the wind-gods and the use of its corollary, the pentecontad-calendar, originated among a farming population. In this connection, it is interesting to note that a peculiar Greek source of uncertain date and origin which shows itself acquainted with the seven winds and the seven-direction-system also divides the year into seven agricultural seasons. We are referring to chapters III and IV of the pseudo-hippocratic treatise *περὶ ἑβδομάδων* (edited by W.H. Roscher, *Die hippokratische Schrift von der Siebenzahl in ihrer vierfachen Überlieferung*, Paderborn 1913), to which Dr. Eric Werner called our attention.

²⁰ TC 3 was transliterated and translated by J. Lewy, *MVAeG* XXXV, 3, 1935, p. 89, note d.

²¹ We owe the knowledge of this important document, the entire text of which was never published, to the kindness of Dr. E. Forrer who, after having copied it from a photograph kept in the Berlin Museum (see Forrer, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* I, 1932, p. 235), placed his copy of the text at the disposal of one of the present writers; cf. J. Lewy, *OLZ* XXVI, 1923, col. 534, note 1 and *ZA* XXXV, 1924, p. 146, note 2. In view of the remarks of Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 61, note 8, it might be well to note that Landsberger's quotation from the same inscription (*OLZ* XXVIII, 1925, col. 232) is erroneous.

²² So according to l. 1 which consists of the words *[q]ū-ú-um a-ni-tum* "this *qū*-vessel" and l. 9 which refers to *qū-ú-e-en a-ni-ti-in* "these two *qū* vessels". (For the measures of capacity called *qū* and their volume, see Thureau-Dangin, *Textes mathématiques babyloniens*, pp. XIV and 233 and *RA* XXXIV, 1937, p. 86.) The dual *qū-ú-e-en* has a particularly close parallel

ta-áš-mi-tim ⁶ša *ba-áb a-áp-tim*²³³ ⁷*A-šur-e-num* ⁸*mêr A-a-a*²³⁴ *e-pu-ši-na* “(it was in) the pentecontad ⁵of plucking²³⁵ ⁶that ⁷Aššur-ênum²³⁶ ⁸the son of Âa made them²³⁷ ⁶(in the) gate²³⁸ of the magazine²³⁹”. This occurrence of a “fifty-day-period of

in the Kültepe text TC III 193 which mentions (in l. 5) *2 sú-e-en* “two sú-stones” (cf. also TC II 61, l. 11: *sú-e-en*).

²³³ Contrary to Forrer's rendering of these words (*op. cit.*, p. 235), there is no gap between the words *ta-áš-mi-tim* and *ša ba-áb a-áp-tim*.

²³⁴ To judge from Forrer's aforementioned copy, the reading *A(sic)-a-a(sic)* is beyond doubt, although the first of the three *a* signs is damaged. Note that the same personal name occurs, *inter alia*, in l. 28 of an Old Assyrian text from Boğazköy, published by Güterbock in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, no. 74, 1936, p. 64.

²³⁵ The noun *tašmîṭum* is an infinitive of the second conjugation of the verb *šamâṭum* which is known to be a synonym of the aforementioned verb *qatâṭum* “to pluck” (cf. Meissner, *MAOG* I, 2, p. 23; for the occurrence of the second stem of this verb see Mullo Weir, *A Lexicon of Accadian Prayers*, Oxford 1934, p. 323). It will be observed that, so far as its grammatical form is concerned, this designation of a pentecontad has an exact parallel in the well-known month name *tamḫṛum* which, in turn, expresses the same thought as the Old Assyrian month name *mahḫur ilî* (cf. J. Lewy, *Archiv Orientalní* XI, 1939, pp. 36 f.).

²³⁶ For the Old Assyrian personal name *A-šur-e-num* see J. Lewy, *MVAeG* XXXV, 3, p. 172, note and p. 185.

²³⁷ I. e., the *qû*-vessels mentioned in this text (see above, note 232). If our passage replaces the form *e-pu-šu-ši-na* by *e-pu-ši-na*, this is due to a haplogy characteristic of the Old Assyrian language. We refer particularly to the replacement of *e-pu-šu-šu-um* by *e-pu-šu-um* in CCT II 3, l. 34 and to that of *lu-bu-šu-šu* and *lu-bu-šu-šu-nu* by *lu-bu-šu* and *lu-bu-šu-nu* in TC III 43, ll. 21 ff.; TC III 36, l. 43, and CCT III 27^a, l. 26; cf. further the forms *e-tá-ar-šu-ni-a-ti* and *iš-ta-na-ku-ni-ni* which appear in TC II 16, l. 19 and TC II 41, l. 36 in the place of *e-tá-ar-šu-nu-ni-a-ti* and *iš-ta-na-ku-nu-ni-ni*.

²³⁸ *Bâb aptim* is an accusativus loci; for analogous Old Assyrian (and Hebrew) accusatives see J. Lewy, *MAVeG* XXXIII, p. 119, note c.

²³⁹ That *aptum* denotes a part of the house follows from the tablet K. 4355+Sm.1981 which renders the Sumerian *ab-ba é-ta* by *ina ap-ti bîti* (cf. Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon* II, no. 128, 2a). By stipulating that grain should be delivered *ina pî aptim* “at the entrance of the *aptum*”, Old Babylonian contracts such as CT XXXIII, pl. 48^b (translated in *KU* VI, p. 107) make it clear that that part of the house served as magazine for grain. It is also obvious that it was necessary to provide such a store house with standardized vessels in which the grain could be measured on the spot upon delivery at the entrance door.

plucking" sheds light on a letter from Kültepe where we read in ll. 15 ff.: "And, ¹³please, do not forget ¹⁵the votive offering ¹⁶which ¹⁷you vowed ¹⁶to (present at the time of) the plucking; ¹⁹the plantation²⁴⁰ did grow!²⁴¹ ²⁰Bring it personally²⁴² ²¹or ²²have it brought ²¹by the earliest ²²messenger"²⁴³; for it now becomes clear that the writer of this letter replaced the formal expression *hamuštum ša tašmîtim* by a simple *tašmîtum*, a fact which indicates that in colloquial style the words "pentecontad of" could be omitted. When applying this observation to the afore-discussed expression *ħarpû*, we see that it stands for a fuller *hamuštum ša ħarpî*. Obviously the same is true of the term *kuzallû* "fuel-wood"²⁴⁴ which occurs in the letter VAT

²⁴⁰ For *iltum* "stalk", "plantation" see Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 64.

²⁴¹ It seems that the vow (*ikribum*) had been made by the addressee of the letter when a new vineyard or the like was being laid out.

²⁴² Literally "in your face", i. e., "in your presence".

²⁴³ See TC III 35, ll. 15 ff.: *ù ik-ri-ba-am* ¹⁸*ša a-na ta-áš-mî-tim* ¹⁷*ta-ak-ru-bu-ni* ¹⁸*a-bu-tum lá ta-ma-ši* ¹⁹*i-il-tum i-ir-ti-bi* ²⁰*pá-ni-kà bi-lam* ²¹*ú-ul i pá-nim-ma* ²²*a-li-ki-im šé-bi-lam*. For the beginning of the letter see below, p. 59.

²⁴⁴ The data which lead to this rendering of *kuzallû* are the following: In view of the identity of pairs of terms such as *šugarrû* and *šugu(r)rû* (see Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XVI, 1919, p. 142, note 1) and *ša kurassê* and *ša kuru(s)sê* (see Landsberger, *Afo* X, 1935/6, p. 149), it is reasonable to assume that *ku-zal-lu* is identical with *ku-zu-ul-lu*, a word which appears in l. 19 of the vocabulary V R 32, no. 4 as a synonym of *ku-dul-lum*. In the spelling *ku-dul-lu* the latter recurs in ll. 71 f. of the first column of the syllabary no. 108862 (published in CT XXXV, pl. I ff.) and in the corresponding passages of other copies of the first part of the work *e-a=A=na-a-kum* (listed by Meissner, *MAOG* XI, 1/2, 1937, p. 109) at the end of a paragraph dealing with objects and materials used in kindling or sustaining a fire; the terms preceding it are *pe-en-tum* "charcoal", *ti-nu-ru* "stove", *naḫ-pa-ḫu* "bellows", *e-lab-bu-ḫu šá iššûri* "(fat from the) omentum of a bird", *e-lab-bu-ḫu šá immeri* "(fat from the) omentum of a sheep", and *e-lab-bu-ḫu šá nûni* "(fat from the) omentum of a fish". (That the word *e-lab-bu-ḫu* [variants *i-lib-bu-ḫu* and *il-lib-bu-ḫu*], the accusative of which appears in the Middle Assyrian letters KAV 103, l. 28, 200, rev., l. 10, and 205, l. 12 in the spelling *el-la-bu-ḫa*, and which manifestly represents a Hurrianized form of an Akkadian term corresponding to Hebrew חלב "omentum", denotes animalic fatty refuses used as fuel follows from the fact that such fuels are designated in postbiblical sources as חלב מבושל and חלב מוהוך; see Krauss, *Talmudische*

Archäologie II, Leipzig 1911, pp. 226 f. who also refers to fish-oil [שמן דגים] used as fuel.) It is therefore a fair conclusion that also *kudullu* and its synonym *kuzu/allu* designate a fuel. This is all the more likely since the above-quoted passage V R 32, no. 4 describes *ku-zu-ul-lu* as a material consisting of *GI^{meš}*, i. e., "reeds", and since dry reeds are an excellent fuel. In view of the fact that certain West-Semitic dialects shift *z* to *d*, we may at the same time suppose that in the last analysis both words belong to the same West-Semitic root *k* — *z/d* — *l*. On the other hand, it is to be noted that the afore-cited syllabaries differ in regard to the writing of the ideogram *LAGAB* + *Ú.DIL* denoting the Semitic term *kudullu* in as much as no. 108862 and its duplicates fail to prefix it with the determinative *GI* "reed" with which it is provided in V R 32, no. 4, in accordance with the aforementioned fact that *ku-zu-ul-lu* is here followed by the definition *ša GI^{meš}* "of reeds". We may therefore conclude that the terms under discussion denote not only dry reeds but also a cognate fuel, i. e., obviously fire-wood. This assumption agrees well with the fact that the work *e-a=A=na-a-kum* adds to *ku-dul-lu* the gloss *pu-tu-ru*; for this term, the connection of which with the root *p-t-r* "to split", "to break" cannot be questioned in view of the variants *pu-ud-du-ru* and *pu-un-du-ru* (cf. the well-known use of *puggulu* and *pungulu* instead of *puggulu*), evidently denotes wood broken off from trees and bushes. The correctness of these conclusions becomes manifest when it is remembered that the fifth Old Assyrian month was called *warah ku-zal-li* "month of the *kuzallu*", and that, as was shown in *Archiv Orientalní* XI, 1939, pp. 37 ff., several Old Assyrian month names, each of which consists of the Akkadian word *warhum* "month" and an originally West-Semitic term, express the same ideas as the names of the corresponding Old Babylonian months. For under these circumstances it is certainly not by coincidence that, precisely as the name of the fifth Old Assyrian month means, according to the preceding evidence, "month of the fuel-wood", *warah abim*, the well-known designation of the fifth Old Babylonian month, is to be rendered by "month of the (depositing of the fire-wood and) reeds" because *abum* means "reeds", "bul-rushes" (see Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig 1896, p. 3), and because, on the other hand, the ideogram *NE.NE.GAR* designating the month of *Âb* expresses the notions "to deposit", "to store" (*GAR*=*šakânu*) and "fire-woods" (*NE.NE*; cf. the equation *GIŠ.NE*=*iš-su ir-ru* "fire-wood" occurring in obv., l. 11 of the vocabulary S.31,52 published by Scheil, *ZA* IX, 1894, p. 220). It is important to note in this connection that Old Assyrian texts and especially letters sent by travelling merchants to the men or women who, during their absence, took care of their households repeatedly refer to the buying or "gathering of reeds and wood", the "storing" or "delivery of reeds", or to smaller amounts of money spent for the purchase of either reeds or wood. We quote in the first place the letters TC III 97 (ll. 17 ff.) and CCT III 48^b (ll. 17 f.), both of which contain instructions to Buzazu's wife Lamaša, and a similar passage occurring in ll. 4 ff. of the unpublished letter VAT 13532: "19Kaspanuul 20is carrying 174 minas of copper for clothes for 18Šagriu-

9225²⁴⁵ in a context strongly recalling the afore-quoted passage of TC III 237²⁴⁶. For much as this latter promissory note provides for the amortisation of a debt by the payment of four equal instalments due "in (each) year in the *ḥarpû*"²⁴⁷, VAT 9225 accompanies a remark to the effect that a certain Ḥannânum owed to Šalim-aḥum nine minas of silver with the statement "per year he will pay 3-minas; 3 minas of silver he will pay me in this *kuzallû* of the eponymy of Aḥ(a)m-arši"²⁴⁸. A further season to be discussed in this connection is characterized by the designation *daš'û* "fresh herbs". That this term actually refers to a definite unit of time and not merely to a season in general is shown by the expression *ri-iš da-āš-e*²⁴⁹ which is to be compared with phrases such as *rêš waraḥ 1^{kam} na-ar-ma-ak A-šûr*²⁵⁰ or *rêš(!) ḥa-muš-tim ša Iḥ₅-ba-ni*²⁵¹ which denote the first day of the

man; ²⁰instruct him that ²¹he may gather reeds ²²and wood!" (¹⁷⁴ *manê erâm a-na lu-bu-uš* ¹⁸ *Ša-ag-ri-û-ma-an* ¹⁹ *Kâ-as-ḥa-nu-il₃* ²⁰ *na-ši na-ḥi-dî-šu-ma* ²¹ *qâ-nu-e lu-pâ-ḥi-ir* ²² *û e-ši*); "¹⁸let ¹⁷Šagriuman ¹⁸deliver the reeds for me!" (¹⁷ *Ša-ag-ri-û-ma-an* ¹⁸ *qâ-nu-e li-iz-bi-lam*); "⁸Puzur-Aššur ⁶is carrying to you ⁴1/3 mina (and) 1 shekel of silver ⁵(sealed with) my seals; ⁸buy ⁷wood and reeds!" (¹ *manê 1 šiqḫam kaspam* ⁵ *ku-nu-ki-a Puzur-A-šûr* ⁶ *na-āš-a ku-nu-ti* ⁷ *e-ši û qâ-nu-e* ⁸ *li-ša-a-ma*). Another pertinent passage reads as follows: "⁸At the time of the ⁹storing ⁸of the reed ¹⁰they stored ³ *kutânu-cloths*" (see Contenau 15, ll. 8 ff.: ³ *subât ku-ta-ni i qâ-na-im* ⁹ *li-ša-âp-ki-im* ¹⁰ *iš-ta-âp-ku* [so according to a collation]). Cf. further the commercial notes TC III 155 (ll. 8 f.) and TC III 176 (ll. 4 ff.) which contain, *inter alia*, the following entries: "⁹We paid ⁸2 minus 1/4 shekels of silver for ⁹wood" (² *maṭi 1/4 šiqḫi kaspam a-na* ⁹ *e-ši-e ni-iš-qûl*) and "¹⁰shekels for clothing for me; ⁸1/2 shekels for reeds; ⁶1/2 shekels, the wages for Atata; ⁷3 shekels for clothing for ⁸ and his son; ⁹1/2 shekels for wood" (⁴ *10 šiqḫi a lu-bu-uš-ti-a* ⁵ *1/2 šiqḫi a qâ-nu-e* ⁶ *1/2 šiqḫam ig-ri A-ta-la* ⁷ *3 šiqḫi a-na lu-bu-uš-ti* ⁸ [. . .] *i- . . .] û me-er-i-šu* ⁹ *1/2 šiqḫi a-na e-ši-im*).

²⁴⁵ This letter was published in transliteration and translation by J. Lewy, *MVAeG XXXIII*, p. 222, note.

²⁴⁶ See above, p. 52, note 228.

²⁴⁷ See ll. 6 ff.: *a-na 4 ša-na-tim* ⁷ *i-na ša-tim i-na ḥa-ar-pi* ⁸ *1/2 manê 3 šiqḫi kaspam* ⁹ *i-ša-qû-lu*.

²⁴⁸ See ll. 7 ff.: *3 manê TA i-na ša-ti-im* ⁸ *i-ša-qal 3 manê kaspam* ⁹ *i-na ku-zal-li a-ni-û-tim* ¹⁰ *ša li-mi-im Aḥ-mar-ši* ¹¹ *i-ša-qû-lû-am*.

²⁴⁹ See CCT III 7^a, l. 5; cf. *ri-iš(!) da-āš-e* in ll. 19 f. of the text published as no. 14 by Contenau, *Trente tablettes cappadociennes*, Paris 1919.

²⁵⁰ See TC 75 (J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, no. 94), ll. 7 f.

²⁵¹ See BIN IV 147 (J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, no. 285), ll. 20 f.

relevant month or pentecontad; also the phrase *iš-tù da-áš-e(!)* *a-dí ḥa(!)-ar-pì* found in ll. x+11 f. of the fragmentary text KTP 11²⁵² shows that *daš'û* was a time-unit of the same kind as the "pentecontad of the first-fruits"²⁵³. The simultaneous occurrence of two sets of pentecontad names — one referring to the agricultural seasons and the other using the names of public officials — is not surprising; for while being unequivocal within the course of one year, the names alluding to the season of the herbs, the grain harvest, or the vintage would, of course, have been insufficient for dating over longer periods²⁵⁴, all the more so since numerous Old Assyrian business documents contain no indication as to the eponymy-year in which the relevant contract was concluded²⁵⁵.

²⁵² The text was published as no. 11 by Stephens, *JSOR* XI, 1927, p. 117.

²⁵³ The place of the pentecontad of the "fresh herbs" within the year is known to us not only from its name. In the letter from Ma'eri published by Dossin, *Syria* XIX, 1938, p. 124, the addressee, having been requested to deliver to the writer of the letter a certain number of sheep, is said to have answered: "Now being the cold (season), the sheep cannot be given; I shall give them to you in (the season of) the fresh herbs (*i-[n]a di-ši-im*)". This passage makes it clear that *daš'û* was the name of the season immediately following the coldest time of the year (*ku-šú-um*); in other words, since late December through February is the coldest period in the countries involved, the season of the "fresh herbs" must have coincided approximately with the time from March to early April. As this is also the time when the cattle, having been driven out for grazing, are expected to drop their young, it is only natural that the addressee delayed the delivery of the sheep until that season. Similar information is to be gathered from the Old Assyrian texts CCT III 7^a (l. 5) and CCT III 3^b (ll. 24 f.) which refer to commercial trips to be delayed until the *daš'û*-season; as we know from several texts that the Old Assyrian merchants avoided whenever possible travelling during the cold season (*ku-šú-um*), we are again led to the conclusion that the pentecontad of the "fresh herbs" immediately followed the cold months of January and February; see also below, p. 65.

²⁵⁴ In cases where not more than two years were involved, the writers of our documents avoided that difficulty by distinguishing, e. g., between *a-na ḥa-ar-pi-im* and *a-na ša-ni-ú-tim ḥa-ar-pi* "at the (season of the) first-fruits" and "at the second (season of the) first-fruits"; see ll. 11 and 13 f. of the text Gol. 11 quoted above, p. 52, note 228.

²⁵⁵ See, e. g., J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, nos. 37 through 44. In these cases where the date of payment of a debt is merely given as "within so and so many *ḥamšâtum*, (counted) from the *ḥamuštum* of X", a list of the successive

It remains to determine which of the seven seasons figuring in the *hamšâtum*-calendar marked the beginning of the year. The answer to this question is provided by the aforementioned letter TC III 35 which, addressed to a well-known merchant from Aššur, was written by two women — one of whom his daughter — who kept his house and looked after his interests while he was away from home on business. Here we read the following lines: “³(Concerning) the 10 shekels ⁴of gold which ⁵you sent ⁴for (the purchase of) wheat ⁵for storing²⁵⁶: ⁶since the year ⁷is about to go ⁶towards ⁷its beginning²⁵⁷, ⁸your representatives ⁹have not ⁸yet ⁹stored the wheat”²⁵⁸. A similar passage from another letter runs as follows: “The year ¹³is now complete²⁵⁹; send money and then ¹⁴they may store wheat for you before your arrival!”²⁶⁰ It is learnt from both of these letters that around New Year the Old Assyrian merchants, engaged in

hamuštum-officials must have enabled both debtor and creditor to determine the exact time from which a long term debt was running. Such lists were actually found among the business documents from Kültepe, see the texts Jena 363 (published by J. Lewy, *Die Keilschrifttexte aus Kleinasiens*, Leipzig 1932, pl. 24^d) and KT 145 (published by J. Lewy, *Keilschrifttexte in den Antiken-Museen zu Stambul*, Konstantinopel 1926, pl. 60^b; for a transliteration and translation of the text see below, p. 67, note 294) where all of the persons enumerated can be identified with *hamuštum*-officials; perhaps also the list KT 64 (*ibidem*, pl. 60^c) belongs to this group of tablets. That the name of a *hamuštum*-official actually replaced the indication of month and eponymy-year is shown by a comparison of passages such as TC III 80, ll. 18 ff. (*warḫum* ¹*ka-m* ²*ù li-mu-um* ¹⁹*iš-tù ùmim*^{mi-im} ³*ša ú-šú-ni* ²⁰*ša-i-lá(-ma)* “²⁰ask for ¹⁸the month and the eponym ¹⁹of (literally “from”) the day when they will leave”) with CCT IV 8^b, ll. 19 ff. (*i-nu-mi* ²⁰*la-qí-a-ni* ¹*ha-mu-uš-tám* ²¹*a-ma-kam i-na ta-aḫ-sí-is-tim* ²²*i-dí(-ma)* “the day when ²⁰you take (it), ²²put ²¹there ²⁰the *hamuštum* ²²down ²¹in a memorandum”); in the first case an event was to be determined according to month and eponymy-year, whereas in the second only the name of the *hamuštum*-official in whose term of office it fell was to be recorded.

²⁵⁶ Literally “for storing wheat”.

²⁵⁷ Literally “toward its face”.

²⁵⁸ See ll. 3 ff.: *10 šiqli* ¹*ḫurâšam* ²*ša a-na ú-lá-tim* ⁵*ša-pá-ki-im tù-šé-bi-lá-ni* ⁶*ki-ma* ⁷*ša-tum a-na* ⁷*pá-ni-ša i-lu-ku-ni* ⁸*a-dí-ni* ⁹*ša ki-ma ku-a-tí* ⁹*ú-lá-tám* ¹⁰*ú-lá iš-pu-ku(-ma)*.

²⁵⁹ Literally “the year (is) a year”.

²⁶⁰ See CCT III 25, ll. 12 ff.: *ša-tum* ¹³*ša-na-at kašpam* ¹⁴*šé-bi-lá-ma* ¹⁴*ú-lá-tám* ¹⁵*a pá-ni-ká li-iš-pu-ku-ni-kum*.

trade activities far from home, used to send money for the purchase of wheat to their relatives or business associates in Aššur; since the sum of ten shekels of gold mentioned for this purpose in TC III 35, ll. 3 f. represents a considerable amount of money, it may well be assumed that it was intended for a whole year's supply of wheat²⁶¹. Now such purchases of grain are made, throughout the Near East, at the time of the harvest when market prices are at a minimum. Hence it follows that the New Year preceded by a few weeks the season of the grain harvest which, as was mentioned before, was designated as *ḥarpû*, or "pentecontad of the first-fruits", and began, in all likelihood, with the day of *šibit niggallim* "seizing the sickle". This result is well in line with the inferences of Kugler²⁶² who, on the basis of a large number of Old Babylonian contracts bearing on the delivery of grain, the hiring of harvesters, and the leasing of land after the harvest, came to the conclusion that in Babylonia, at the time when our Old Assyrian documents were written, the first month of the luni-solar calendar (*nisānu*) was the month of the grain harvest²⁶³. On the other hand, it must not be overlooked that the Babylonians celebrated during the first days of *nisānu* a New Year's festival which, lasting for at least eleven days, culminated in the processional transfer of the statue of the god Marduk to a sanctuary outside the city and its subsequent return to the Esagil-temple in Babylon²⁶⁴. It is obvious that the harvest could not begin until this most important of all Babylonian feasts was over, for a large part of the population naturally took part in the celebration. Accordingly the conclusion imposes itself that the harvest began in Babylonia around the middle of the first luni-solar

²⁶¹ That the Assyrians actually used to store large quantities of grain follows from the letter TC 30 in which the addressee of our letter TC III 35 mentions (in ll. 7 f.) the existence of a stock of 1300 measures of grain remaining, after the death of his wife, in his house in Aššur.

²⁶² See his *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel* II, Münster 1909-10, pp. 301 ff.

²⁶³ For the parallelism existing between the Old Babylonian and the Old Assyrian luni-solar calendar see below, p. 65 with notes 284 and 286.

²⁶⁴ For full details in regard to that festival we refer to Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, Paris 1921, pp. 127 ff.

month. Exactly the same reasoning applies for Assyria at the time of the Kültepe texts, for it can be shown that there, too, a considerable part of the first month was taken up by a festival observed in a manner similar to that of the Babylonian New Year's feast. Some information on this festival comes from the text KAH II, no. 122 in which Sennacherib, king of Assyria (704²⁶⁵–681 B.C.), describes the construction, outside the Assyrian capital, of a temple which he calls *bît akîtu šêri* "akîtu-temple outside the city"²⁶⁶ Here we read: " ²⁴(Concerning) the month of BAR.SAG.SAG²⁶⁷, the first month (dedicated) to father Enlil, the month of the (heliac) rising ²⁵of the plough-star²⁶⁸, of the feast of the banquet of the king of the gods, Aššur, ²⁶(in regard to) which since distant days in disturbances and uprisings the *akîtu*-temple ²⁷outside the city had been forgotten, so that the ritual of the king of the gods, Aššur, had been celebrated in the midst of the city, ²⁸my heart moved me to construct, together with this very work²⁶⁹, an *akîtu*-temple

²⁶⁵ In regard to the date of Sennacherib's accession to the Assyrian throne see J. Léwy, *Analecta Orientalia* XII, 1935, pp. 225 ff.

²⁶⁶ Attention may be called to the double meaning of the term *šêru*; it designates not only the "steppe" or "desert" but also the open country outside the cities. That the word is used here in the latter sense follows from the fact that the text under discussion as well as a number of other foundation documents dealing with the construction of the *bît akîti šêri* were unearthed in a temple situated at a distance of 200 meters from the outer walls of the capital; see Andrae, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, no. 33, 1907, pp. 14 ff. and particularly Delitzsch, *ibidem*, pp. 34 ff.

²⁶⁷ It might be well to recall here that the Neo-Assyrians no longer used the set of month names familiar from the Kültepe texts and from the Middle Assyrian documents.

²⁶⁸ The "plough-star" can as yet not be definitely identified with any star or constellation, but we know from the tablet K.8538, a planisphere from the library of Ashurbanipal (see the publication of the tablet in CT XXXIII, pl. X), that it stood close to *DIL.GAN*, the star characterizing the Babylonian month of *nisānu*. The reference to the heliac rising of the "plough-star" makes it clear that, contrary to the opinion expressed by Landsberger, *op. cit.*, p. 140 and Weidner, *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung* II, 1924–25, p. 129, this star was not visible throughout the year.

²⁶⁹ The words *it-ti šip-ri-im-ma šu-a-ti* "with this very work" refer to the construction of statues of the god Aššur and other deities mentioned by Sennacherib in ll. 22–23 of our inscription.

<outside the city>”²⁷⁰. It is learnt from this passage that in the first luni-solar month a great festival used to be celebrated in the Assyrian capital and that in ancient days this feast had taken place, precisely as the Babylonian New Year’s festival, in an *akîtu*-temple outside the city proper. That the “distant days” before which, according to Sennacherib, the New Year’s festival had been celebrated in an *akîtu*-temple outside the city actually comprised the period covered by the Kültepe texts is suggested by the Old Assyrian letter TC II 15. The text which, to judge from its general contents, was sent from the Assyrian capital to Kaniš contains the following passage: *warḥam^{kam} iš-ti-in* ¹³*ū šī-na i ta-ab-e ili₅-kà* ¹⁴*mì-ma-a Kur-ub-Ištar i-li-kam(-ma)* “One ¹³or two ¹²months ago²⁷¹, ¹³upon the rising of your god²⁷², ¹⁴Kurub-Ištar came here (in) a matter concerning me²⁷³”. The words “upon the rising (*tab’ê*) of your god”²⁷⁴ have an exact parallel in Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions in as much as the latter define as the “rising (*tabê*) of Marduk, the Enlil of the gods” the solemn moment when, during the celebration of the New Year’s festival, the supreme god left

²⁷⁰ See ll. 24 ff.: *arab^h BAR-SAG-SAG arḥu riš-tu-u šá a-bi^d En-líl arḥu na-an-mur-ti* ²⁵*kakkab^eepinni i-sin-ni ki-ri-ti šá šar ilāni^{meš}* ^d*Aššur* ²⁶*šá ul-tu ūmēme rūqūte^{meš} ina e-šá-a-ti u saḥ-ma-šá-a-ti bīt a-ki-it* ²⁷*šēri im-ma-šū-u ina qī-rib āli in-ni-ip-pu-šū pa-ra-aš šar ilāni^{meš}* ^d*Aššur* ²⁸*il-ti šip-ri-im-ma šu-a-ti a-na e-peš bīt a-ki-it* <*šēri*> *libbi^{bi} ub-la-ni(-ma)*.

²⁷¹ That, contrary to the translation proposed by one of the present writers in *RA* XXXV, 1938, p. 90, note 2, *warḥam ištēn u šina* is an *accusativus temporis* meaning “one or two months ago” follows from the unpublished Old Assyrian letter Edinburgh 1922/396 a copy of which we owe to the kindness of A. Goetze. This text clearly employs *šattam ištīt* in the sense of “one year ago”; see ll. 3 ff.: *lá li-bi ilim-ma ša-lám* ⁴*iš-ti-it sú-ku-ur-tum* ⁵*i-ši-ki-in-ma* “Unfortunately, ⁴one ³year (ago) ⁴a suspension of commerce and travel ⁵was proclaimed and thus” (literally “a blocking was set up and thus . . .”).

²⁷² I. e., “when your god rose”.

²⁷³ For *mì-ma-a* “something concerning me” see *RA* XXXV, 1938, p. 90, note 2.

²⁷⁴ If the writer of TC II 15 speaks here of *ilika* “thy god” and not of *ilini* “our god” this does not mean that the god of the addressee is not also his god; cf. the use of אלהיך and אלהיכם (and not אלהינו) in passages such as 2 Ki. 19.4 and 23.21.

Esagil in order to move to the *akîtu*-temple outside the city of Babylon²⁷⁵. Thus the letter TC II 15 reveals that the ceremony opening the procession from the sanctuary in the city to that outside was an essential part not only of the Babylonian but also of the Old Assyrian New Year's feast²⁷⁶. Further information in regard to these processions is furnished by the Old Assyrian letter TC II 37 which contains the following lines: " ³Since it is (the time of) the procession²⁷⁷, ⁵there is ³here ⁵no one ⁴in the city; ⁵hence ⁶where(ever people) are indebted, ⁷they are not ready, and (therefore) I shall not be able to cause (them) to deliver²⁷⁸ the copper. ⁸Upon the return ⁹of the procession²⁷⁷ ¹¹I shall cause (them) to deliver²⁷⁸ ⁹the copper to ¹⁰your representatives, ¹¹and (then) ¹²also my [def]inite report ¹³will come to you. ¹⁴The return ¹⁵of the procession²⁷⁷ is near; ¹⁶within 10 days it²⁷⁹ will return hither²⁸⁰". Since there can be no doubt that the procession referred to by the writer of this letter is part of the great religious celebration in which the whole population participated, we learn from this passage that actually no business could be carried out during this festival; it further

²⁷⁵ For full details see Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, p. 146 and *RA* XIX, 1922, p. 141; Zimmern, *Das babylonische Neujahrsfest*, Leipzig 1926, pp. 18 f.; for the pertinent Neo-Babylonian passages see Langdon, *VAB* IV, p. 368, s. v. *tabû*, whose translation of *tabû* is, however, erroneous.

²⁷⁶ It will be noted that the allusion in TC II 15 to the god's "rising" specifies the preceding general statement "one or two months ago"; accordingly the writer of our letter alludes to a well-determined festive season in much the same way as in our times one may speak of an event as having taken place "around Christmas". In view of the provenance of the text it goes without saying that the god referred to is Aššur.

²⁷⁷ Literally "the going out", "the outing".

²⁷⁸ Literally "weigh out".

²⁷⁹ Instead of the singular *i-tù-ra-am* the text offers the feminine *i-tù-ra-nim* "they will return". Evidently the scribe first meant to write the singular form *i-tù-ra-am* and then intended to use the masculine plural *i-tù-ru-nim* "they (i. e., the people partaking in the procession) will return".

²⁸⁰ See ll. 3 ff.: *a-na-kam ki-ma šîtu¹²-ni* ⁴*qi-ra-áb a-<lim>^{ki} ma-ma-an lá-šu-ma* ⁶*a-šar ha-bu-lu-ni* ⁷*lá na-tù-ma erâm lá ú-ša-áš-qal* ⁸*i tù-wa-ar* ⁹*šîtim^{im} erâm a-na* ¹⁰*ša ki-ma ku-nu-ti* ¹¹*ú-ša-<áš>-qal-ma* ¹²*ú té-er-ti [za-ku]-tum* ¹³*i-lá-kà-ku-um* ¹⁴*tù-wa-ar* ¹⁵*šîtim^{im} qú-ru-ub* ¹⁶*a-dí 10 âmê^{me-e} i-tù-ra-nim*. (The emendation at the end of l. 4 is in line with CCT IV 45^b, l. 18.)

follows that in Assyria, like in Babylonia, the feast extended over a period of more than ten days. Finally the context of the letter makes it clear that it was written not in the city of Aššur but in one of the towns in Asia Minor where the Old Assyrian merchants used to purchase copper, silver, and gold which they exchanged for lead, textiles, and wool, the main products of exportation from Assyria to this far western outpost²⁸¹. Hence we are led to the conclusion that the festive processions took place not only in the capital but in every town or city where Assyrians were living. Summing up we come to the result that in the first Assyrian month a New Year's festival was celebrated which, lasting for more than ten days, was observed throughout Assyria outside the cities in the open country and conditioned a complete suspension of commercial and other activities. Accordingly we are entitled to locate the beginning of the grain harvest, or the day of "seizing the sickle"²⁸², at the end of the New Year's celebration, i. e., in the middle of the first luni-solar month.

If we now want to parallel the data thus obtained with those of our modern Gregorian calendar, we have to remember that nowadays the harvest begins in Assyria after the tenth of May²⁸³. This implies that the day of "seizing the sickle" which marked the beginning of the grain harvest and fell in the middle of the first lunar month, coincided approximately with the 11th of May. Accordingly we obtain the following distribution of the *ham-šâtum*-seasons over the months of the Old Assyrian calendar, on the one hand, and those of the Gregorian calendar, on the other:

²⁸¹ In ll. 17 f. the writer of our letter mentions that wool of the addressee's had been sold in exchange for copper, while he states in ll. 18–20 that he vainly tried to locate silver and gold. For the export-import trade between Aššur and Cappadocia see J. Lewy, *Die Kültepe-texte der Sammlung Rudolf Blanckertz*, Berlin 1929, p. 10.

²⁸² See above, pp. 51 f. with notes 226 and 228.

²⁸³ See Kugler, *op. cit.*, p. 302, note 1; cf. further *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, nos. 36, 1908, p. 16; 38, 1908, p. 29, and 44, 1910, p. 10 where the excavators of Aššur and Babylon describe under the dates of May 7, April 28, and May 10, respectively, how the barley had to be cut prematurely because the whole harvest was threatened by locusts and floods.

Lunar months	Days	Pentecontads	Days	Gregorian dates
(1) <i>šib'im</i> (<i>nisānu</i>) ²⁸⁴	1			April 26
" "	16	First (<i>ḥarpû</i>)	1 ²⁸⁵	May 11
(2) <i>qarrâtîm</i> (<i>aḫaru</i>) ²⁸⁶	1	" "	16	" 26
(3) <i>tanmarîlâ</i> (<i>simānu</i>)	1	" "	45	June 24
" "	6	" "	50	" 29
" "	7	Second (<i>ti'inâtîm</i>)	1	" 30
(4) <i>ti'inâtîm</i> (<i>Du'uzu</i>)	1	" "	25	July 24
" "	26	" "	50	August 18
" "	27	Third (<i>kuzallî</i>)	1	" 19
(5) <i>kuzallî</i> (<i>abu</i>)	1	" "	4	" 22
(6) <i>allandâtîm</i> (<i>elâlu</i>)	1	" "	34	Sept. 21
" "	17	" "	50	Oct. 7
" "	18	Fourth (<i>tašmîḫîm</i>)	1 ²⁸⁷	" 8
(7) <i>Bêlti êkallîm</i> (<i>tišrîtu</i>)	1	" "	13	" 20
(8) <i>ša sarâtîm</i> ²⁸⁸ (<i>araḫ samna</i>)	1	" "	43	Nov. 19
" "	8	" "	50	" 26
" "	9	Fifth	1	" 27
(9) <i>ša kînâtîm</i> ²⁸⁸ (<i>kislîmu</i>)	1	" "	22	Dec. 18
" "	29	" "	50	Jan. 15
" "	30	Sixth	1	" 16
(10) <i>maḫḫur ilî</i> (<i>tebîtu</i>)	1	" "	2	" 17
(11) <i>ab šar'ânim</i> (<i>šabâḫu</i>)	1	" "	31	Feb. 15
" "	20	" "	50	March 6
" "	21	Seventh (<i>daš'ê</i>)	1	" 7
(12) <i>ḫubur</i> (<i>adâru</i>)	1	" "	11	" 17
(1) <i>šib'im</i> (<i>nisānu</i>)	1	" "	40	April 15
" "	11	" "	50	" 25

²⁸⁴ For the reader's convenience we add in parenthesis the month names of the Old Babylonian calendar; for their relation to the Old Assyrian months see *Archiv Orientalní* XI, 1939, pp. 37 f. and above, p. 56, note 244.

²⁸⁵ As was mentioned before, the first day of the *ḥarpû*-pentecontad was called *šibit niggallîm* "seizing the sickle".

²⁸⁶ As will be shown below, pp. 68 f., the Assyrian months were, like those of the contemporary Babylonian calendar, lunar months, i. e., they formed a year of 354 days. Since our tabulation has a general character and is not intended to reflect conditions in any particular year for which we could calculate the new-moons and, accordingly, the exact beginning of the months, we reckon here 30 days for each of the months with uneven numbers and 29 days for those with even numbers.

²⁸⁷ The first day of the *tašmîḫum*-pentecontad was called *qitip karânim* "plucking the grapes".

²⁸⁸ For the full form of this month name see J. Lewy, *Archiv Orientalní* XI, 1939, p. 38 with notes 1 and 2.

The correctness of these approximate data follows from the fact that those Old Assyrian months the names of which are either identical or synonymous with those of *ḥamšâtum*-seasons actually fall, in our tabulation, into the pentecontads to which they belong. It will be noted that the month of *tî'inâtîm* "figs" falls almost completely into the homonymous second pentecontad, while the third *ḥamuštum*-season, *kuzallî*, comprises the entire month bearing this name. Furthermore, the month of *tanmartâ*, the name of which, like that of its Babylonian counterpart *simânu*, means "ripeness"²⁸⁹, coincides at least in part with the pentecontad of the grain harvest²⁹⁰, whereas the month of *ab šar'ânîm* named for the rains which grant fertility²⁹¹ coincides with the rainy season preceding the pentecontad of the "fresh herbs"²⁹². As regards the gap which, in the second column of our tabulation, remains between the end of the seventh pentecontad and the beginning of the first (i. e., the gap corresponding in the first column to the days between the first and the sixteenth day of the first month), it obviously was filled by the *šapattum*-period of intercalary days; this location of the *šapattum* at the beginning of the first lunar month agrees well with the fact that, on the one hand, we noted, at the beginning of the luni-solar year, a high festival during which, on account of the processions, no business could be carried out, while, on the other hand, we concluded from the contract Gelb 56, ll. 19^b ff. that during the *šapattum* all commercial activities were suspended. Since the industrious Old Assyrian merchants certainly did not often interrupt their work for more than ten days, it seems evident that both festivals actually were identical²⁹³.

²⁸⁹ For the etymology of both names see J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 f.

²⁹⁰ For the relation of the third Babylonian month to the first pentecontad see also below, pp. 90 f.

²⁹¹ See J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

²⁹² That the pentecontad of the "fresh herbs" immediately followed the cold and rainy season was shown above, p. 58, note 253.

²⁹³ For the eventual shift of the *šapattum* from the first into the twelfth and eleventh month of the preceding lunar year see below, pp. 70 f.

Fortunately one of the lists of *hamuštum*-officials, which, as was mentioned above, were needed by the Old Assyrian merchants for commercial as well as administrative purposes, enables us to verify the results obtained so far in regard to the pentecontad-calendar. The text KTS 60^{b294}, a synchronized list of *hamuštum*-officials from two different cities obviously drawn up in order to facilitate the identification of *hamuštum*-dates from out of town, bears, in ll. 12–13, the following subscription: ¹²⁷ (large units²⁹⁵) 3 (smaller units) 45 ¹³⁵⁰ *ha-am-ša-tum*. The second of these two lines is easy to understand: it states that the list which preceded this summarizing remark covered a period of 50 pentecontads (i. e., 7 full years plus one pentecontad). In order to understand the meaning of the numbers contained in the first line of this subscription it must be remembered that in their business documents the Assyrians used the pentecontad-calendar simultaneously with that based on the units month and eponymy-year, as is evidenced not only by the fact that the rates of interest were computed sometimes by the month, at other times by the pentecontad, but also by the frequent occurrence of double dates such as “*hamuštum* of X, month of Y, eponymy of Z”²⁹⁶. Since, accordingly, it was imperative for each business man to be in a position to transform

²⁹⁴ See above, pp. 58 f., note 255. The text, which seems to represent the end of a lengthy list, runs as follows: ¹*ša Na-áb-Sin*ⁱⁿ ²*ha-mu-uš-tum* ³*u-a-tù-ma* ⁴*lā-pi-it* ⁵*ša A-lā-ḫi-im* ⁶*ša* ⁷*Amurru-ba-ni* ⁸*lā-pi-it* ⁹*ša A-mur-A-šur* ¹⁰*i-a-tum* ¹¹*ša E-me-me* ¹²*lā-pi-it* ¹²⁷ 3 45 ¹³⁵⁰ *ha-am-ša-tum* “¹(In) Nab(i)-Sin’s ²pentecontad: ³(in) his (pentecontad) ⁴is recorded ⁵“that of Alaḫum”. ⁶(In) Amurru-bani’s ⁷(pentecontad) is recorded ⁸“that of Amur-Aššur”; ⁹(in) mine ¹¹is ¹⁰also ¹¹recorded ¹⁰“that of Ememe”. ¹²⁷ 3 45 ¹³⁵⁰ pentecontads.” The correctness of the preceding translation is corroborated by the fact that the two officials named in ll. 1–5 actually occur conjointly in a promissory note dated in the eponymy of Šû-Ḫubur; see ll. 4–6 of the *Sammelurkunde* TC III 212: *iš-tù [ḫ]a-mu-u[š-tim]* ³[š]a *A-la-ḫi-im* *ù Na-á[b-Sin]* ⁶[a]-na 20 [*ha*]-am-ša-tim [*i-ša-qal*].

²⁹⁵ The scribe wrote the numeral VII with seven oblique wedges in order to indicate that it represented seven units of a larger variety to be distinguished from the following three of a smaller one.

²⁹⁶ See, e. g., the texts Jena 286 and 328 transliterated and translated by J. Lewy, *MVAeG* XXXIII, 1930, nos. 26 and 27.

easily the dates of one calendaric system into those of the other, it seems likely that the summarizing remark at the end of the *hamuštum*-list KTS 60^b served this very purpose; in other words, it is to be expected that l. 12 expresses in years, months, and days what l. 13 expresses in pentecontads. In fact, a simple calculation shows that this conclusion is correct: if we interpret l. 12 as 7 lunar years of 354 days each, plus 3 intercalary months of 30, 29, and 30 days, respectively, plus 45 days²⁹⁷, we obtain the sum of 2612 days; exactly the same number of days results if we conceive the 50 pentecontads listed in l. 13 as seven full pentecontad-years (i. e., 49 *hamšâtum*) of 366 days each plus one additional, or fiftieth, pentecontad. The resulting equation

$$7 \times 354 + 89 + 45 = 7 \times 366 + 50$$

informs us in the first place that, at the time of the redaction of the tablets from Kültepe, the single pentecontad-year contained 366 days, i. e., seven pentecontads plus a *šapattum* of 16 days. In the second place, we gain the certitude that the Old Assyrian eponymy-year actually was a lunar year; for the left hand side of our equation leaves no doubt that the years and months into which the pentecontads were to be transformed for the use in promissory notes and other documents with double dates were lunar years and months²⁹⁸, a fact which as yet could not be ascertained since intercalary months such as the Babylonian *itu dirig še-kin-kud* "extra month of *adâru*", or *itu kin 4Ninni II-kam-ma* "second month of *elûlu*" do not occur in the texts

²⁹⁷ That the number 3 actually refers to three intercalary months within the course of the seven years and not to the first three months of the eighth year follows from the fact that the writer expresses the units belonging to the eighth year in days instead of months and days; in other words, if the three months belonged to the eighth year and were not *de facto* included within the seven years, the scribe would have written 7 (years), 4 (months), 15 (days).

²⁹⁸ For the fact that, as a rule, an Old Assyrian date names either eponymy year and month or a *hamuštum* see above, p. 59, note 255 and cf. promissory notes such as the texts nos. 50 through 60 transliterated and translated by J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 ff.

from Kültepe²⁹⁹. But our equation not only makes it possible to infer that the Old Assyrian eponymy-year was a luni-solar year³⁰⁰, it also allows the conclusion that, contrary to the general opinion, the Assyrians of the early second millennium had a regular intercalary system which, even though far from perfect, represents at least an attempt at solving the difficult problem of equating the lunar year with the agricultural seasons. This system obviously was based upon a seven-year-cycle in the course of which three months totalling 89 days were inserted. In order to illustrate to what an extent this intercalary cycle was capable of adjusting the lunar year of 354 days to the Old Assyrian pentecontad-year of 366 days, we present in the following tabulation the luni-solar dates of the opening day of the pentecontad-year calculated for the first fourteen years after the inauguration of the cycle³⁰¹:

²⁹⁹ Besides the twelve usual month names given in our tabulation above, p. 65, the Kültepe texts contain three designations of months which, unless they belong to a different calendar, may possibly represent the three intercalary months to be expected in view of our afore-discussed equation. One of these three names, *warḥam ba-al-tám(-ma)* occurring in BIN IV 33, l. 43, may even be a designation for "intercalary month" as such in as much as *ba-al-tám* might belong to Aramaic *b—l—t* and therefore be approximately synonymous with Akkadian *watrum* which, in turn, corresponds to *dirig*, the Sumerian term used in *itu dirig* "intercalary month". The second, *warah k/g/qi-ra-tim* (so with Contenau's copy of TC 21, l. 5 the correctness of which was corroborated by a collation) may possibly be an intercalary month to be inserted, like the "second *nisānu*" attested during the reign of Abi-ešuh (see Kugler, *op. cit.*, II, p. 251; for the occurrence of a second *nisānu* in omīna texts see Lacheman, *RA* XXXIV, 1937, p. 5 with note *ad* l. 2), between the first and the second ordinary month; for there is certain although inconclusive evidence to the effect that it was separated by two months from the fourth regular month (see J. Lewy, *Archiv Orientalní* XI, 1939, p. 39, note 2). For the third, *warah zi-bi bi-ri-im* (var. *bi-bi-ri-im*), see *ibidem*, p. 44, note 1.

³⁰⁰ This observation supplements the evidence from which J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 f. deduced that, like in the Middle Assyrian period, the term of office of a *limum* began with the first luni-solar month (*warah šib'im*).

³⁰¹ As the inaugural date of the intercalary cycle we consider the year in which the first day of the first lunar month coincided with the New Year's day of the pentecontad-year, i. e., as was pointed out above, p. 66, with the first day of the *šabattum*.

New Year's Day of the pentecontad-years:		luni-solar dates:	
First <i>šapattum</i> -day year	1	<i>nisânu</i> ³⁰²	1 of luni-solar year 1
First <i>šapattum</i> -day year	2	<i>nisânu</i>	13 of luni-solar year 2
First <i>šapattum</i> -day year	3	II <i>adâru</i> ³⁰³	25 of luni-solar year 2
First <i>šapattum</i> -day year	4	<i>nisânu</i>	7 of luni-solar year 4
First <i>šapattum</i> -day year	5	II <i>adâru</i>	19 of luni-solar year 4
First <i>šapattum</i> -day year	6	<i>nisânu</i>	2 of luni-solar year 6
First <i>šapattum</i> -day year	7	II <i>adâru</i>	14 of luni-solar year 6
First <i>šapattum</i> -day year	8	<i>adâru</i>	25 of luni-solar year 7
First <i>šapattum</i> -day year	9	<i>nisânu</i>	8 of luni-solar year 9
First <i>šapattum</i> -day year	10	II <i>adâru</i>	20 of luni-solar year 9
First <i>šapattum</i> -day year	11	<i>nisânu</i>	2 of luni-solar year 11
First <i>šapattum</i> -day year	12	II <i>adâru</i>	14 of luni-solar year 11
First <i>šapattum</i> -day year	13	<i>adâru</i>	26 of luni-solar year 12
First <i>šapattum</i> -day year	14	II <i>adâru</i>	9 of luni-solar year 13

The tabulation clearly shows the deficiency inherent in the intercalary system: since 7 lunar years (totalling 2478 days) plus three intercalary months (totalling 89 days) contain 5 days more than 7 pentecontad-years of 366 days (i. e., 2562 days), the New Year's Day of the latter year is bound to move slowly backwards in relation to the opening day of the lunar year. Whereas in the first seven-year-cycle the first *šapattum*-day falls four times into the month of *nisânu* and three times into *adâru*, it falls in the second cycle only twice into *nisânu* and five times into *adâru*. Thus in the forty-ninth year the first *šapattum*-day would have moved back far enough to allow for the first time the whole *šapattum* to fall into the penultimate month of the preceding luni-solar year. Since, as was mentioned

³⁰² Since, as was mentioned above, p. 69, note 299, the Old Assyrian texts designate the intercalary months by special names different from those of the ordinary months, we use, for the sake of convenience, the Babylonian month names in order to make it clear where we placed the three additional months.

³⁰³ Since our formula gathered from KTS 60^b does not indicate how the three intercalary months totalling 89 days were distributed over the seven years, we chose that distribution which furnishes an average New Year's day closest to the first of *nisânu*, i. e., we added a month of 30 days at the end of the second luni-solar year, one of 29 days at the end of the fourth, and another one of 30 days at the end of the sixth.

above (p. 69, note 299), there is reason to believe that the Assyrians did not add their intercalary months at the end of the year, we are, accordingly, entitled to conclude that the case mentioned in the afore-discussed contract Gelb 56, ll. 19^b ff. of the *šapattum* falling into the eleventh Assyrian month (*ab šar'âni*) occurred for the first time forty-nine years after the intercalary system had been put into effect. If thus the New Year's Day of the pentecontad-calendar moved slowly farther and farther away from that of the luni-solar year, the question arises as to which of the two New Year's Days marked the beginning of the great annual festival. From the fact that the merchants who concluded the contract Gelb 56, ll. 19^b ff. obviously observed that feast during the *šapattum* in the eleventh luni-solar month it may be concluded that the festival was bound to the *šapattum*, i. e., that it belonged originally to the pentecontad-calendar. This conclusion is confirmed by the testimony of Sennacherib's afore-quoted building inscription KAH II, no. 122³⁰⁴ which states that the feast in its classic form centering around the processions to the *akîtu*-temple outside the city had been forgotten since days of old; for even though Sennacherib attributes this oblivion of the festival to "disturbances and uprisings", we may well assume that it actually became obsolete when the Assyrians abandoned the pentecontad-calendar in favor of the luni-solar system.

Still another characteristic trait of the pentecontad-calendar is revealed in the tablet KTS 60^b. Since this list deals with the *hamuštum*-officials nominated for a period of fifty pentecontads and since, on the other hand, the corresponding number of years and months is calculated for precisely this period, it follows that in the agricultural *hamšâtum*-calendar fifty pentecontads, or $7 \frac{1}{7}$ years, formed a unit of time. Being only logical in a calendaric system grown, as we have explained, out of the worship of an original heptad of wind and weather-gods, the existence of a unit of approximately seven years helps us to understand the interrelation between the numbers seven and fifty which we noticed not only in the calendar but also in the

³⁰⁴ See above, pp. 61 f.

theological and cosmological heptad systems; for precisely as the time-unit pentecontad comes very close to the square of the basic unit week, or heptad of days, the square of the pentecontad of days comes very close to a heptad of years; in other words, an approximate heptad was gained by squaring a pentecontad, while an approximate pentecontad was gained by squaring a heptad. This ingenious play with the numbers seven and fifty which obviously formed the base of the whole pentecontad calendar could even be further extended: since by again squaring the new time-unit of $7 \frac{1}{7}$ years a new pentecontad was obtained, we must expect to find another, larger unit comprising approximately fifty years³⁰⁵. To all appearances, this time-unit occurs in fact in a building inscription of Samsî-Adad mâr Ilâ-kabkabu who, but slightly younger than the writer of the tablet KTS 60^b³⁰⁶, was, like many of the Old Assyrian merchants using the pentecontad-calendar, of Amorite extraction³⁰⁷. The relevant text³⁰⁸ which deals with the restoration of an Ištar temple erected at Nineveh by the Old Akkadian king Man-ištêšu mentions that "seven *dârû*" elapsed from the end, i. e., the destruction, of the city of Akkad³⁰⁹ until the beginning

³⁰⁵ More exactly, the square of $7 \frac{1}{7}$ years is $51 \frac{1}{49}$ years.

³⁰⁶ As was noted above, p. 67, note 294, two of the *hamuštum*-officials mentioned in KTS 60^b appear in a promissory note dating from the eponymy (*lîmum*) of Šû-Īhubur; since the latter belongs to the earlier generation of the merchants whose archives were found at Kültepe, KTS 60^b must have been written not later than 1980 B.C.

³⁰⁷ See J. Lewy, *ZA* XXXVIII, 1929, p. 255 and *RA* XXXI, 1934, p. 170; Thureau-Dangin, *ibidem*, pp. 144 and 191 f. and *RA* XXXIV, 1937, pp. 137 ff. For the Amorite element among those merchants see J. Lewy, *ZA* XXXVIII, 1929, pp. 243 ff. and *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CX, 1934, pp. 39 ff.

³⁰⁸ The text was published in facsimile, transliteration, and translation by Thompson, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* XIX, 1932, pl. LXXXI ff. and pp. 105 ff. who restored it almost completely on the basis of several more or less fragmentary stone cylinders and a four-sided stone unearthed at Nineveh in the neighborhood of the Ištar temple; a damaged duplicate, now in the Yale Babylonian Collection, was published by Stephens, *Votive and Historical Texts from Babylonia and Assyria*, New Haven 1937, pl. XXIII f.

³⁰⁹ That the city of Akkad was destroyed in the period preceding the rule of Samsî-Adad was to be inferred from the fact that its name does not

of Samsî-Adad's own reign and the conquest of the city of Nurrugu³¹⁰. The context and the tenor of this statement³¹¹ make it clear that Samsî-Adad, who apparently considered himself the renewer of the empire founded by Man-ištêšu's father Sargon³¹², attributed great significance to the fact that the number of *dârû* separating him from the kings of Akkad was seven. Hence

appear in any year date of the Third Dynasty of Ur or the Dynasties of Isin and Larsa. The lamentation Rm. IV 97 (B. M. 33541) published by Pinches, *PSBA* XXIII, 1901, pl. III and pp. 197 f. seemed to point in the same direction (cf. Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, Paris 1909, p. 263 and in *The Cambridge Ancient History* I, Cambridge 1923, p. 423). Direct evidence to this effect comes now from the archaic clay models of livers found at Ma'eri and published by Rutten, *RA* XXXV, 1938, pp. 36 ff., in as much as one of them (no. 4) bears the inscription *u-mu-ul ša-aḫ-lu-uq-ti A-ga-dè^{ki}* "omen of the destruction of the city of Akkad". That the famous city was not rebuilt before the reign of Hammurapi is suggested by the fact that the Old Assyrian inscription Z 21 (published by Weidner, *ZA* XLIII, 1936, pp. 115 ff.) does not refer to the city of Akkad, although it deals at length with Ilu-šumma's political relations to the cities of Ur, Nippur, Awal, Kismar, and Dêr as well as especially to "the Akkadians", i. e., the inhabitants of the country of Akkad. The Kültepe texts point in the same direction since the city is not mentioned even in passages such as VAT 9249, ll. 4 ff. (quoted by J. Lewy, *KTHahn*, p. 2) which speak of the Akkadians and their land. As regards the date of the destruction of the old capital, we may well assume that it coincided with the end of the Dynasty of Akkad which, as was pointed out by Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, Chicago 1939, pp. 204 ff., was immediately succeeded by rulers of the Dynasty of Gutium. This inference is all the more likely since we learn from col. IV of the Nabonidus stela from Ḫillah (latest transliteration and translation by Langdon, *VAB* IV, pp. 276 f.) that the Gutians destroyed a sanctuary of the neighboring city of Sippar-Anunit.

³¹⁰ For the Mesopotamian city of Nurrugum see Dossin, *RA* XXXV, 1938, p. 182, note 4.

³¹¹ See particularly col. I, ll. 14 ff.: *bi-tam ša iṣ-tu* ¹⁵*šu-lum A-ga-dè^{ki}* ¹⁶*a-di šar-ru-ti-ia* ¹⁷*a-di ša-ba-at Nu-ur-ru-gi^{ki}* ¹⁸*VII da-a-ru i-ti-qū-ma* ¹⁹*i-na šarr^{meš}* ²⁰*a-li-ku-ut pa-ni-ia* ²¹*šarrum ma-an-na-ma* ²²*la i-pu-šu(-ma)* "the temple (over) which ¹⁸⁷periods passed ¹⁴from ¹⁵the end of the city of Akkad ¹⁶until my reign, ¹⁷until the capture of the city of Nurrugu ¹⁸and (which temple) ¹⁹among the kings ²⁰my predecessors ²¹no king whichever ²²had remade".

³¹² This may be concluded from the fact that Samsî-Adad assumed the title *šar kiššatim* which was borne before him by Sargon's sons Rimuš and Man-ištêšu.

it is manifest that *dârum* "period", "cycle"³¹³ is here an exact unit of time and not a general term meaning "generation", as was assumed by Thompson³¹⁴ in view of the usual rendering of its Hebrew equivalent דָּוָר³¹⁵. On the other hand, an examination of the pertinent chronological data suggests that the time-unit in question was a pentecontad of years. To be sure, we know neither the year nor the place in which Samsî-Adad mâr Ilâ-kabkabu assumed his first royal title³¹⁶. But the text CBM 28³¹⁷ attests his rule for Hammurapi's tenth year (1937 B.C.)³¹⁸, and the evidence contained in the tablets from Iščâlî and Tell el-Ĥarîrî³¹⁹ leaves no doubt that his reign ended a few years before Hammurapi defeated, in his 32nd year (1915), king Zimrî-Lim of Ma'eri. Furthermore, at the time of his death, which accordingly must have occurred about 1920 B.C., he was certainly of advanced age; for the Ma'eri texts not only mention him as a ruling contemporary of Zimrî-Lim's father Iaḥdun-Lim but also prove that, before Zimrî-Lim's accession to the throne, the state of Ma'eri had been governed for a number of years by one of Samsî-Adad's sons. It is therefore a fair conclusion that he was born around 1980 B.C. and that his royal career during which he conquered "the country between the Tigris and the Euphrates" and founded the second Amorite

³¹³ That "period" or "cycle" is the original sense of *dârum* follows from its etymology; see Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch*¹⁵, Leipzig 1910, p. 157.

³¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

³¹⁵ See his remarks, *op. cit.*, p. 60, note 1.

³¹⁶ In view of the wording of the afore-quoted ll. 16 f. of the passage under discussion it seems possible that his career started when he made himself king of Nurrugum.

³¹⁷ Published by Ranke, *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents*, Philadelphia 1906, no. 26; cf. the transliteration and translation by Schorr, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts*, Leipzig 1913, no. 284.

³¹⁸ Cf. J. Lewy, *ZA* XXXVIII, 1929, pp. 97 f.; Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XXXIV, 1937, p. 138.

³¹⁹ As for the relative chronological data to be gathered from these texts, see Thureau-Dangin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 135 ff. and cf. the same author's remarks in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud* I, Paris 1939, pp. 158 f. and *Symbolae ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschaker dedicatae*, Leiden 1939, pp. 119 f. See also Parrot, *Syria* XIX, 1938, pp. 182 f.

Dynasty of Assyria began about 1950, i. e. 229 years after Išbî-Irra and Nablânum set up the Amorite states of Isin and Larsa in 2179. Judging merely from the king list, we should assume that the interval between the creation of these states and the fall of Akkad covers approximately 236 years comprising the Fourth Dynasty of Uruk (30 years), the Gutians (c. 91 years), the reign of Utu-ḫegal (7 ½ years), and the Third Dynasty of Ur (108 years)³²⁰. But it follows from Jacobsen's recent investigations³²¹ that this amount is by c. 110 years too high, since the last 64 years of the Dynasty of Akkad coincide with the first 64 years of the Gutians as well as with the 30 years allotted by the king list to the Fourth Dynasty of Uruk, and since furthermore c. 16 years of Ibbî-Sin of Ur are identical with c. 16 years of the reigns of Išbî-Irra and his contemporary Nablânum³²². In other words, the c. 465 years which at first sight seem to separate the fall of Akkad and the beginning of Samsî-Adad's reign are to be reduced to c. 355 years. This number is so close to 350 years that the proposal to render *VII dârû* by "seven pentecontads of years" is hardly too daring.

V. THE PENTECONTAD CALENDAR IN BABYLONIA AND PALESTINE

The pentecontad-calendar the main features of which we deduced from the Old Assyrian texts was not restricted in its use to the merchants from Kültepe. Several Old Babylonian texts contain indications to the effect that, even though not used in official records and business documents, a similar organization of the year was known under the First Dynasty of Babylon. There are in the first place two brief notes from the fifth year

³²⁰ For the details see Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, Chicago 1939, pp. 114 ff. with whom we disagree, however, in as much as we still consider the year 2049 B.C. the most likely date of the accession of the First Dynasty of Babylon on the chronology of which depend all attempts to establish the absolute dates of the earlier dynasties.

³²¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 205 ff.

³²² Cf. Ungnad in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* II, Berlin und Leipzig 1938, p. 135 and Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, pp. 199 ff.

of Samsu-iluna³²³ (i. e., according to the usually accepted chronology, 1900 B.C.) which both speak of the delivery of a kid *i-na si-bu-ul šattim*^{tim324} "in the seventh (part) of the year"³²⁵. Since one of these two tablets lists at the same time a second delivery made, or to be made, *i-na warahḫebītu* "in the month of *ḫebītu*", the parallelism makes it clear that *sibūt šattim* refers to a certain space of time. In contradistinction to the month name *ḫebītum* our expression is, however, in neither of the two cases preceded by the determinative *warahḫ*, whence it must be concluded that *sibūt šattim* was not the name of a month³²⁶. The same is to be said in regard to the occurrence of our term

³²³ See LC, nos. 115 and 202; the former tablet is dated in the fifth year of Samsu-iluna; since the latter which is undated bears on the same transaction, it obviously was written in the same year. Translations of both texts are to be found in *KU V*, nos. 1303 and 1293, respectively.

³²⁴ So in LC 115, l. 4; LC 202, l. 2 has *si-bu-ul ša-[at-tim]*.

³²⁵ For the (feminine) ordinal number *si-bu-tum* "the seventh" see the Epic of Gilgameš, tablet XI, l. 218 (Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 64 and pl. 51); for other cases where Akkadian expresses fractions in the same way as does Hebrew, viz., by the singular of the feminine form of an ordinal number, see Thureau-Dangin, *RA XXXI*, 1934, p. 49. The contention of Haupt, *ZDMG LXIII*, 1909, p. 517 and *OLZ XVI*, 1913, col. 531 f. according to which the afore-quoted passage of the Epic of Gilgameš uses the nominative *si-bu-tum* in the sense of "on the seventh day" has never been substantiated and is in contradiction not only with other passages of the Gilgameš Epic (for instance, XI 56) but also with Old Assyrian passages such as CCT III 6^b, ll. 30 f. (*i-na ša-al-ši-ma ūmim^{mi-im}*) and TC 3, l. 3 (*i-na ḫa-am-ši-im ūmim^{mi-im}*) as well as with the data gathered by Thureau-Dangin, *RA XXXI*, 1934, pp. 192 f.

³²⁶ Hrozný (*Memnon V*, 1911, p. 87, note 6) is inclined to identify *sibūt šattim* with the month name *warahḫsi-bu-tim* and therefore assumes that the full form of the name was *warahḫ sibūt šattim*, a view which is shared by Landsberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 f. However, in contradistinction to the genuine month names, *sibūt šattim* is, as was mentioned before, written without the determinative *warahḫ*. On the other hand, Hrozný was probably right in assuming that the month of *sibūtum* was named after a homonymous festival celebrated in the course of that month and somehow connected with the *sibūt šattim*. This supposition is all the more likely since in Oriental as well as other calendars festivals frequently gave their names to the months in which they fell; see Landsberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 ff. For the actual existence of a festival bearing the name "seventh (part of the year)" in a calendar of much the same character as the Babylonian see below, pp. 91 ff.

in the text VS IX, no. 191³²⁷ which deals with the delivery of meat, barley, and cattle at various times of the year; here three of the four month names listed are preceded by the determinative *warah*, whereas the time-unit *sibûl šattim* in ll. 10 and 13 is not characterized as a month. In view of the fact that the Assyrians of the twentieth century B.C. divided their year into seven parts, these observations make it probable that their Babylonian contemporaries did the same thing, but designated one such part not as *hamuštum* "pentecontad" but as *sibûl šattim* "seventh (part) of the year". This conclusion is well in line with a passage from the letter LC, no. 50³²⁸ in which the writer urges the addressee (in ll. 23 ff.) properly to observe *ar-ḫa-am si-bu-ta-am û ša-pa-at-ta-am* "the month, the seventh (part of the year), and the *šapattum*"³²⁹. Since this letter, too, dates from the time of the First Babylonian Dynasty, there are good reasons to assume that, under the Amorite rulers, a division of the year into seven pentecontads plus an additional *šapattum*-period was known in Babylonia as in Assyria. On the other hand, it is conspicuous that the occurrence of both the Babylonian *sibûl šattim* and the Assyrian *hamuštum* is strictly limited to the documents of the Amorite period of Babylonia and Assyria; neither the numerous older Sumerian or Babylonian texts nor the hundreds of business documents of later periods from both countries contain any reference to those time-units. Hence it becomes apparent that the calendar using this division of the year was brought by the Amorites to the eastern countries of the Fertile Crescent and that, accordingly, its origin must have been in the west.

³²⁷ An incomplete translation of the text was published in *KU V*, no. 1298.

³²⁸ The text was transliterated and translated by Ungnad, *VAB VI*, pp. 216 f., no. 246.

³²⁹ Landsberger's assertion (*op. cit.*, p. 98) that *sibûlum* denotes, in this passage, "the seventh day of the month" is, despite its endorsement by Güterbock, *ZA XLII*, 1934, p. 45, note 1, incompatible with the grammatical facts established by Thureau-Dangin, *RA XXXI*, 1934, pp. 192 f. The passage Bu.91-5-9, 269 (CT VI, pl. V), l. 20^b which Landsberger quotes in this connection actually has *ri-pu-ti* and not *si-bu-ti*, as assumed by him on the basis of Pinches' copy in CT VI; see Langdon's more recent copy in *Le poème sumérien du paradis, du déluge et de la chute de l'homme*, Paris 1919; pl. X.

Thus it is not surprising that remnants of this ancient Amorite calendar have survived in Israel and can be traced in the Bible.

The first passages to be examined in this connection are Lev. 23.10^b-11 and 15-16 dealing with the institution of the feasts of 'omer, or sheaf-waving, and *šāḇū'ôl*; here we read: "10^bWhen you have come into the land which I am giving you, and reap the harvest of it, you shall bring a sheaf of the first-fruits of your harvest to the priest; 11and he shall wave the sheaf before Jahweh, that you may be accepted; on the day following the sabbath the priest shall wave it." And further: "15And you shall count from the day following the sabbath, from the day that you bring the sheaf of the wave-offering,—seven sabbaths shall there be complete; 16until the day following the seventh sabbath shall you count fifty days; and you shall present a new cereal offering to Jahweh." The words "the day following the sabbath" (מחרת השבת) are an old *crux*³³⁰; in fact, whether we take "sabbath" as the designation of a single day or prefer the view of those who render it by "week", the date of the feast of sheaf-waving remains undetermined. But if we interpret the term "sabbath" in the sense of the Old Assyrian *šapattum* — i. e., as a period of days intercalated between two pentecontads in order to fill up or "complete" the year —, the expression מחרת השבת is unequivocally determined: it refers to the first day of the first pentecontad which, in the ancient Amorite calendar, immediately followed the *šapattum*; accordingly verses 15 f. simply define the ceremonies to be observed on the first and the last day of the חמשים יום or (to use the Assyrian term for pentecontad) *hamuštum* succeeding the intercalary days. The correspondence between the "sabbath" preceding the wave-offering of the first-fruits and the Old Assyrian *šapattum* is all the more striking since the latter, as

³³⁰ Cf., e. g., Baentsch, *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, I. Abteilung, vol. II, Göttingen 1903, p. 414; S. R. Driver in *The Holy Bible, Polychrome Edition*, part III, Leipzig 1904, p. 94. A detailed survey of the various controversial opinions expressed by both ancient and modern scholars in regard to the interpretation of the word sabbath in this passage may be found in D. Hoffmann, *Abhandlungen über die pentateuchischen Gesetze*, Erstes Heft, Berlin [1878], pp. 1 ff.

was expounded above, p. 66, was immediately followed by the "pentecontad of the first-fruits". Whereas the Jews eliminated in their later interpretation of the law the use of the term sabbath in its original meaning³³¹, the Aramaic-speaking Christians, significantly enough, continued to apply it. This follows from the Syriac expression *šabbēlā rabbēlā* which designates the week before Easter, i. e., the Passion Week preceding the fifty days from Easter to Pentecost the original identity of which with the pentecontad of days determined by Lev. 23.16 is beyond doubt³³². That here the term *šabbēlā* actually occurs in its archaic sense³³³ becomes particularly clear when it is remembered that in the late fourth century the Christians of Jerusalem began the annual period of fasting eight weeks before Easter³³⁴, i. e., seven weeks before the beginning of the

³³¹ Their motives in doing so will become clear in the light of our discussion of the post-exilic reforms of the Jewish calendar, below, pp. 140 ff.

³³² As regards the use of the term *šabbēlā rabbēlā* which appears in the Syriac sources instead of, or alternately with, other designations of Passion Week, see the Syriac dictionaries and cf. the remarks of S. E. Assemanus, *Acta Sanctorum Martyrum* I, Romae 1748, p. 41, note 22. Since the Oriental Christians and especially those of Jerusalem and Syria were the first to celebrate Palm Sunday and Passion Week (see Drews' article on the "*Grosse Woche*" in Hauck's *Realencyklopädie für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. XXI, Leipzig 1908, pp. 414 ff.), it is obvious that the corresponding designations *ἑβδομάς μεγάλη* and *septimana major* are translations from the Aramaic. In fact, the so-called *Peregrinatio S. Silviae* of the fourth century (see below, note 334) not only characterizes the latter term as a specifically Jerusalemite designation of Passion Week (see below, p. 80, note 335) but also expressly states that the clergy of Jerusalem was conversant with both Greek and Syriac; see 47, 3 f.: "Et quoniam in ea provincia pars populi et graece et siriste novit, pars etiam alia per se graece, aliqua etiam pars tantum siriste, itaque, quoniam episcopus, licet siriste noverit, tamen semper graece loquitur et nunquam siriste: itaque ergo stat semper presbyter, qui, episcopo graece dicente, siriste interpretatur, ut omnes audiant quae exponuntur. Lectiones etiam, quaecumque in ecclesia leguntur, quia necesse est graece legi, semper stat, qui siriste interpretatur propter populum, ut semper discant."

³³³ It will be recalled that subsequently Aramaic *šabbēlā*, like Hebrew *šabbāt*, developed into a general designation of the seven-day-week.

³³⁴ See *S. Silviae peregrinatio* (*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, vol. XXXVIII = *Itinera Hierosolymitana saeculi IIII-VIII*, rec. Paulus Geyer, Vindobonae 1898, pp. 35 ff.) 27, 1: "Nam sicut apud nos quadragesimae ante pascha adtenduntur, ita hic [i. e., in Jerusalem] octo septimanae atten-

"great sabbath"³³⁵, a fact which implies that they counted a pentecontad of fasting and a pentecontad after Easter and inserted the "great sabbath" in the Old Amorite way between these two pentecontads. It will be seen below, pp. 84 ff., that in the pre-exilic Jewish calendar the *šapattum* preceding the fifty *šfirâ*-days comprised, like that of those early Oriental Christians, seven days, or one full week.

Besides revealing the use in Palestine of the Amorite division of the year into pentecontads and a *šapattum* period, the two afore-quoted passages from Lev. 23 make it possible to deduce how, in the original Amorite calendar, the length of the *šapattum* was determined from year to year: since Lev. 23.11 prescribes

duntur ante pascha." See further *ibidem* 29.1 f.: "Et completo earum septimanarum [.] vigiliae in Anastase sunt de hora lucernarii sexta feria, qua de Syon venit cum psalmis, usque in mane sabbato, qua oblatio fit in Anastase. Item secunda septimana et tertia et *iiii*^a et quinta et sexta similiter fiunt ut prima de quadragesimis. Septima autem septimana cum venerit, id est quando iam duae superant cum ipsa, ut pascha sit, singulis diebus omnia quidem sic aguntur sicut et ceteris septimanis, quae transierunt" (cf. also the next footnote). Since Bernard, *The Pilgrimage of S. Silvia of Aquitania to the Holy Places*, London 1891, p. 52, note 3 observes that the custom here described, viz. the observation of Lent for eight weeks before Easter, is "not mentioned by any historian", it might be well to note that as late an Arabic author as ad-Dimišqî (1256-1327) — who, no doubt, was in a position to know the customs of the Christians of Palestine and the surrounding countries — expressly defines Palm Sunday as the seventh Sunday of Lent; see his *Cosmography* (ed. Mehren), pp. 279 f. As for a number of Christian sources dating from the late fourth to the sixth century by which the testimony of the *Peregrinatio Silviae* is, at least indirectly, confirmed, see particularly Bludau, *Die Pilgerreise der Aetheria*, Paderborn 1927, pp. 94 ff., who also lists the (necessarily illusory) attempts by the Church at explaining the beginning of the fasting period as early as eight weeks before Easter.

³³⁵ Cf. *S. Silviae peregrinatio* 46, 4 f.: ". ac sic tribus horis docentur ad die per septimanas septem. Octava enim septimana quadragesimarum, id est quae appellatur septimana maior, iam non vacat eos doceri Cum autem iam transierint septem septimanae <et> superat illa una septimana quam hic appellant septimana maior, iam tunc venit episcopus mane in ecclesia maiore ad Martyrium." See further *ibidem* 30, 1: "Alia ergo die, id est dominica, qua intratur in septimana paschale, quam hic appellant septimana maior, celebratis de pullorum cantu his, quae consuetudinis sunt in Anastase vel ad Crucem usque ad mane agi: die ergo dominica mane proceditur iuxta consuetudinem in ecclesia maiore, quae appellatur Martyrium."

that on the first of the fifty *s'firâ*-days everyone should bring a sheaf of the new harvest to the priest and since, moreover, Deut. 16.9 defines the "day after the *šapattum*" as "the time when the sickle is first put to the standing-grain" (a wording which recalls the Old Assyrian day of "seizing the sickle" or *šibit niggallim*), it is evident that the *šapattum* had to be extended long enough to allow the peasants to cut their first sheaf; in other words, after having counted seven pentecontads, or 350 days, the ancient Amorite calendar inserted a number of days sufficient to allow the first-fruits to ripen in order that on the first day of the first pentecontad of the new year the first cut could be presented as an offering³³⁶. The number of days

³³⁶ In al-Bîrûnî's and al-Maqrîzî's reports about the exilarch (ראש גלוהא) 'Ānân and the sect founded by him in the eighth post-Christian century, the method of determining certain festive seasons and the length of the whole year in accordance with the state of the barley without having recourse to observations of the sun and the moon is actually attested. Quoting from the translation by De Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe, ou Extraits de divers écrivains arabes, tant en prose qu'en vers* I², Paris 1826, pp. 287 f., we refer particularly to the following passage of al-Maqrîzî's treatise on the time reckoning and the festivals of the Jews (ذکر تاریخ اليهود واعیادهم); as for the original text of this passage, see pp. 91 f. of fasc. I of the Arabic part of De Sacy's *Chrestomathie*: "Pour ce qui regarde l'intercalation des mois, il considérait chaque année l'état de l'orge dans les campagnes de l'Iraq et de la Syrie, entre le premier jour du mois de nisan et le 14 du même mois; s'il trouvait les épis assez avancés pour qu'on pût en faire sortir les grains en les frottant dans les mains, et bons à moissonner, il laissait l'année simple et sans intercalation; mais s'il ne trouvait pas les épis assez avancés pour cela, il faisait l'année embolismique. Pour savoir d'avance le parti qu'on aura à prendre, on doit, quand on suit l'opinion d'Anan, sept jours avant la fin du mois de schébat, dans la Syrie et dans les pays qui ont la même température, sortir pour examiner l'état de l'orge: si la barbe de l'épi est déjà sortie, on compte de là 50 jours jusqu'à Pâque; mais quand la barbe de l'épi ne paraît point encore, on intercale un mois." Since, prior to the introduction of the nineteen-year-cycle, the Rabbanites recognized the state of the barley crops as at least one among several criteria to be considered in deciding whether or not a particular year should be a leap year (see Zuckermann, *Materialien zur Entwicklung der altjüdischen Zeitrechnung im Talmud*, Breslau 1882, pp. 39 ff.), it is manifest that 'Ānân's method, as reported by al-Maqrîzî and al-Bîrûnî (*Chronology*, pp. 58 f.), was not invented by him. It is therefore a fair conclusion that the ancient Amorites used the same or a similar method when determining in advance how many *šapattum*-days had to be

thus inserted between the seventh pentecontad of the old year and the first of the new may have varied between ten and twenty according to the state of the crop in each particular year. Over a longer space of time, however, the year thus determined was stable, more so than the luni-solar year by which it was ultimately replaced. It can, however, not be denied that, even though excellent for a small agricultural community, the pentecontad-calendar was bound to raise certain difficulties in a larger country in the various parts of which different climatic conditions prevailed. If in the warmer parts of a country the harvest began several days or even weeks earlier than in the regions with a less favorable climate the need must have arisen to introduce a *šapattum* of standardized length in order to begin the year and the pentecontads throughout the land on the same day. It can, in fact, be shown with fair certainty that this was the reason for the standardization of the *šapattum* in Assyria; for there the adoption of a fixed *šapattum* of 16 days can be dated with a certain degree of accuracy since, in view of the fact that no regular intercalations are possible so long as the *šapattum* varies from year to year, it must be presumed to have occurred simultaneously with the introduction of the seven-year intercalary cycle. This latter cycle was, as was shown above (pp. 70 f.) by an analysis of the contract Gelb 56, ll. 19^b ff., introduced at least 49 years before the redaction of the tablet Gelb 56. On the other hand, we know that this document was written about forty to fifty years after the first business men attested by the Kültepe texts came to Asia Minor³³⁷. Accordingly, we come to the conclusion that the

inserted in each particular year. By writing down that number of days and then taking the average over a certain number of years, they certainly had an easy means of calculating the exact length of the year without being compelled to acquire any astronomical knowledge.

³³⁷ The relative date of the text Gelb 56 can be determined as follows: the promissory notes the contents of which are summarized on that tablet are dated in the eponymy-years of Īdī-aḫum; Aššur-imitti, the sailor; Agutum; Maši-ilī; and Ênâ-Sin. That these were five successive, or almost successive, years is not only probable in itself but is proved by the fact that the three latter years recur in the date formulas of two similar *Sammelurkunden*, viz. Gelb 59 and CCT 2 f. (J. Lewy, *MVAeG* XXXIII, 1930, no. 228). The

stabilization of the *šapattum* and the simultaneous adoption of the intercalary system were brought about by the extension of Assyrian influence to Asia Minor, i. e., to a country with agricultural conditions so different from those of Assyria proper that it was impossible to apply there a calendar based on the harvesting seasons of the mother country³³⁸.

A similar development of the pentecontad-calendar may well have taken place in Babylonia; so long as that country was divided into a number of small Amorite states, each community could easily begin its first pentecontad as soon as the first grain was ready to be cut; but when all these states were incorporated into one large empire, there, too, the need must have arisen to introduce a common calendar for the whole country, and, accordingly, to stabilize the *šapattum* at a fixed number of days. From the fact that in later Babylonian texts the term *šapattum* came to designate a period of fifteen days

relative position of these five years in comparison with the various generations of one of the best-known merchant families the activities of which extend over the whole period covered by the Kültepe texts follows from the date of the tablet L 17 (J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, no. 310) which refers (in ll. x+15 f.) to the eponymy of Agutum. This text concerns three different transactions carried out by a Sinêa, son of Pûšu-kên, and his brother Aššur-muttabil. The father of these two men, Pûšu-kên, son of Sinêa, appears in the earliest texts from Kültepe as a young travelling merchant doing business in Cappadocia on behalf of his uncles who, residing in Aššur, instructed from there the younger members of the family in regard to their commercial activities. In later years, Pûšu-kên and his cousins are known to have, in turn, taken over the direction of the affairs in Aššur from where they sent their orders to their sons in Asia Minor. Arrangements between Pûšu-kên's children regarding the property left by their father are the subject of the document TC 79 (J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, no. 11), whereas the text here under discussion, L 17, as well as the related document Edinburgh 1922/397 (J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, no. 311) reflect the time when the business had passed into the hands of Pûšu-kên's sons. Hence, it follows that the eponymy-year of Agutum and, accordingly, also that of Aššur-imittî, the sailor, in which the promissory note Gelb 56, ll. 19^b ff. is dated, are to be placed approximately one and a half generation after the arrival in Cappadocia of the first merchants attested in the tablets from Kaniš.

³³⁸ For the chronology of the Assyrian expansion into Asia Minor and the political conditions under which it took place see J. Lewy, *OLZ* XXIX, 1926, col. 758 ff. and *Revue Hittite et Asianique* V, 1934, fasc. 17, pp. 1 ff.

and thence the fifteenth day of each month³³⁹, it can be concluded that the standardized *šapattum* accepted throughout Babylonia contained fifteen days (and not sixteen as in Assyria), so that the whole year comprised $350 + 15 = 365$ days. However, by thus being detached from the natural harvesting seasons, the Babylonian pentecontad-calendar, like its Assyrian counterpart, was deprived of its stability³⁴⁰ which, no doubt, had been one of its greatest advantages; the ensuing calendaric confusion may have facilitated in both countries the ultimate replacement of the Amorite calendar by the luni-solar system.

In Palestine, the pentecontad-calendar is likely to have undergone a development, or rather degeneration, similar to that of the corresponding institutions in Assyria and Babylonia; for, like the Babylonian term *šapattum*, the cognate Hebrew word changed its meaning in the course of the centuries. However, whereas the Babylonian word *šapattum* developed into a designation for a period of 15 days and the fifteenth day, the Hebrew term came to denote a period of seven days and thence the seventh day of the week. This conspicuous difference might suggest that when it appeared expedient to fix the length of the Palestinian *šapattum*, it was decided to introduce a stabilized *šapattum* of seven days; since, however, a year of $7 \times 50 + 7 = 357$ days would be virtually useless without a complicated system of intercalations, it seems more likely that in Israel the *šapattum* was divided into two separate periods to be intercalated between the pentecontads at various times of the year. The correctness of this assumption is confirmed by the calendar hidden behind the deluge story in Gen. 7 and 8. As is generally agreed, a later redactor (who, for the sake of convenience, will hereafter be referred to as C) inserted into this extremely old tale certain dates which fixed the beginning, the end, and the various intermediary stages of the flood in terms of the luni-solar calendar, an insertion which can only have had the purpose of motivating

³³⁹ For these subsequent meanings of the term *šapattum* see Landsberger, *op. cit.*, p. 93, note 5 and p. 131 and Ungnad, *Glossar (Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden, Beiheft zu Band I)*, Leipzig 1937, p. 155.

³⁴⁰ It will be recalled that the use of a year of 365 days leads, after 120 years, to a difference of 30 days in comparison with the solar year.

by an allegedly historical tradition the celebration of certain agricultural festivals³⁴¹. If detached from its legendary background, the festive calendar of C presents itself as follows:

		lunar month	day
150 days	First festival	II	17 (Gen. 7.11)
	Second festival	VII	17 (Gen. 8.4) ³⁴²
158 days	Fourth festival	I	1 (Gen. 8.13)
57 days	Fifth festival	II	27 (Gen. 8.14) ³⁴³

As will be seen from this tabulation, the festivals cover a period of exactly 365 days³⁴⁴, namely one full lunar year of 354 days running from II 17 of one lunar year to II 16 of the next plus the additional days from II 17 through II 27 of the second lunar year³⁴⁵. The feasts are distributed as follows over those

³⁴¹ The tendency of certain biblical books to create an artificial historical tradition in order to justify the observance of some ancient agricultural festivals was stressed by Morgenstern, *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series VIII, 1917, p. 39.

³⁴² For reasons to be discussed elsewhere, we omit here the date given in Gen. 8.5.

³⁴³ For the identification of these four feasts here defined by C with festivals of the extant Israelite religious calendar see below, pp. 111 ff.

³⁴⁴ It is not quite clear whether this is also the opinion of Dahse, *ZAW* XXVIII, 1908, p. 8, or whether he thinks that C's festive calendar used the year of 364 days proposed by the author of the Book of Jubilees. However this may be, the designation "Sonnenjahr" for either is, to say the least, out of place. For the basic differences existing between C's calendar and that expounded in the Book of Jubilees see below, pp. 107 ff.

³⁴⁵ If the festival on II 27 were identified with the first feast (falling in the preceding lunar year on II 17), the number of days in excess of one lunar year would be only 10 and, accordingly, the period covered by all of C's festivals only 364 days. This possibility must, however, be ruled out, in the first place because it is unlikely that C meant to commemorate by one single feast both the beginning of the flood (Gen. 7.11) and Noah's leaving the ark (Gen. 8.14 ff.). In the second place, we read in the Book of Enoch (106.15) that "a deluge will come for one year". Accordingly, the ancient interpreters of our chapters conceived the first date (II 17 of the first lunar year) as the first and the fifth date (II 27 of the second lunar year) as the last day of that deluge-year. In other words, the first and the fifth of C's festivals were observed on two consecutive days. Cf. in the tabulation below, p. 87 the last date of the first column with the first of the second column.

365 days: between the first and the second there lies, according to Gen. 7.24 and 8.3, an interval of 150 days, a reckoning which implies that the five months from the second through the sixth were given 30 days each. The fourth festival is separated from the fifth by exactly 57 days, provided that the first month also is counted as having 30 days. If the first through sixth months contained 30 days each, the remaining six lunar months must, of course, have been given 29 days each in order to obtain the total of 354 days for the lunar year³⁴⁶. Accordingly, the distance between the second and the fourth of C's festivals amounts to exactly 158 days. An analysis of these intervals of 150, 57, and 158 days between the four dates leads to the conclusion that C based his festive calendar on a pentecontad-year containing seven seasons of fifty days and two *šapattum*-periods of seven and eight days, respectively. Knowing from the Assyrian *hamušium*-calendar that the *šapattum* which preceded the first pentecontad was meant to fall in the beginning of the first lunar month³⁴⁷, and recalling, on the other hand, that the aforementioned Christian sources designate as "great sabbath" the week preceding the fifty days which once represented the first pentecontad³⁴⁸, we now realize that the fifty-seven days which, according to C, separated the fourth from the fifth festival, represent a *šapattum* of seven days followed by the first pentecontad comprising the grain harvest; in other words, in C's calendar the *šapattum* extended over the week from I 1 through I 7, while the first pentecontad contained the fifty days from I 8 through II 27. The distance of 150 days between the first festival and the second accounts for the second, third, and fourth pentecontads, whereas the 158 days separating the second from the fourth festival represent the second *šapattum* of eight days plus the remaining three fifty-day periods. In the

³⁴⁶ Dahse, *loc. cit.*, contradicts himself when he concludes from the equation $150 \text{ days} = 5 \text{ months}$ (Gen. 7.11-8.4) that these months belonged to a "Sonnenjahr". If, as he seems to assume, all of C's months contained 30 days, the five festivals would cover a period of $360 + 11 = 371$ days, a result which is contrary to his own theory concerning the use by C of a "Sonnenjahr".

³⁴⁷ See above, p. 66.

³⁴⁸ See above, pp. 79 f.

year following the flood all these dates would, in terms of the luni-solar calendar, advance by exactly 11 days, so that, e. g., the first festival would fall in this second year on II 28, and so forth. For the reader's convenience we present in the following tabulation the principal dates, calculated for four successive luni-solar years, of the pentecontads and *šapattum*-periods as deduced from C's festive calendar; an intercalary month of 30 days is added at the end of the fourth lunar year in order to illustrate the return of the festive days to lunar dates close to their original places³⁴⁹:

	year of the flood		year after the flood		2 nd year after the flood		3 rd year after the flood	
Feast I, beginning of 2 nd pentecontad beginning of 3 rd pentecontad beginning of 4 th pentecontad	II	17	II	28	III	9	III	20
	IV	7	IV	18	IV	29	V	10
	V	27	VI	8	VI	19	VI	30
	V	27	VI	8	VI	19	VI	30
Feast II, beginning of 2 nd <i>šapattum</i> beginning of 5 th pentecontad beginning of 6 th pentecontad beginning of 7 th pentecontad	VII	17	VII	28	VIII	10	VIII	21
	VII	25	VIII	7	VIII	18	VIII	29
	IX	17	IX	28	X	10	X	21
	XI	9	XI	20	XII	2	XII	13
	XI	9	XI	20	XII	2	XII	13
Feast IV, beginning of 1 st <i>šapattum</i> beginning of 1 st pentecontad	I	1	I	12	I	23	I ³⁵⁰	4
	I	8	I	19	I	30	I	11
Feast V, end of first pentecontad	II	27	III	8	III	19	II	30

Our analysis makes it clear that in this festive calendar the Israelite scholar C tried to solve exactly the same problem which the Old Assyrian writer of the afore-discussed tablet

³⁴⁹ In accordance with C's calculation (see above, p. 86), we give 30 days to each of the first six months of the year and 29 days to each of the remaining six months.

³⁵⁰ This first month of the fifth lunar year is preceded by the intercalary month of 30 days.

KTS 60^b and his contemporaries had attempted to solve by their equation³⁵¹, the problem being as to how the pentecontad calendar and the agricultural seasons could be brought into agreement with the lunar or luni-solar calendar. The primary condition for a permanent solution was, of course, the knowledge of the exact length of the agricultural, or solar, year, and in this respect both attempts failed; whereas the Assyrians of the early second millennium based their calculations upon an agricultural year of 366 days, C believed to have found its true length by fixing it at 365 days, a solution which, even though nearer to the truth than that of his Assyrian predecessor, was also bound to lead after a certain time to a calendaric confusion; for it may be recalled once again that after 120 years of use of the calendar the festivals preceded by 30 days, or more than half a pentecontad, the agricultural seasons which they were to inaugurate. Like in Babylonia and Assyria, this confusion must have favored the ultimate victory of the luni-solar calendar.

Once it is realized that the pentecontad-calendar has been in use in Palestine for many centuries, the question arises as to the term by which the ancient inhabitants of that country referred to this calendaric institution. Since the time-unit pentecontad as such has disappeared from the extant Jewish calendar, it is to be expected that the pertinent term has either vanished with the institution itself or else changed its meaning. In order to discover which of these two alternative developments is likely to have occurred, we have to search the cuneiform sources with a view to determining the use of the designations *hamuštum* and *sibūt šattim* at the time when the Amorite calendar had given way to the luni-solar system. An indication in regard to the subsequent use of the term *hamuštum* comes from a passage of the series *ana ittišu* where, in a context speaking of the conditions on which a field was let on lease to a peasant, the Babylonian version of this bilingual text states that *i-na ûm^{um} e-bu-ri i-na ha-an-ša-ti³⁵² er-re-šu ma-l[a] bēl eqli*

³⁵¹ See above, pp. 68 ff.

³⁵² For the shift of *m* to *n* which accounts for the form *hanšāti* instead of *hamšāti* see Ungnad, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Grammatik*², München 1926, p. 12.

*i-laq-qi*³⁵³ "at the time of the harvest, in the pentecontad, the peasant shall take as muc[h] (grain) as the owner of the field"³⁵⁴. Since it is obvious that in a lease contract in which the rent was to be paid in kind the payment was made immediately after the harvest, and since, moreover, our passage specifies the date of payment as *ina ûm ebûri*, it becomes clear that "in the pentecontad" is here a synonym of "at the time of the harvest". As the series *ana ittišu* can be considered an Old Babylonian source even though it is only preserved in Neo-Assyrian copies³⁵⁵, it thus follows from this passage that in Babylonia the general term for pentecontad developed, after the abandonment of the Amorite calendar, into a designation for "harvesting time". This conclusion is well in line with the occurrence of the expression *sibûl šattim* in the aforementioned commercial notes VS IX, no. 191^a and LC, nos. 115 and 202³⁵⁶; for if the scribes of these tablets speak of deliveries made, or to be made, *ina sibûl šattim* "in the seventh part of the year", it is evident that this expression refers to one well-determined season of the year and not to each of the seven pentecontads. The fact that the two latter texts deal with the delivery of a kid *ina sibûl*

³⁵³ See tablet IV, col. II, ll. 36-39. The pertinent section is fully preserved on the tablet K.56+K.60 (published by Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, Leipzig 1881, pp. 71 ff.) and in part on the tablet Th.1905-4-9, 1 (published by Meek, *RA* XVII, 1920, pp. 197 f.).

³⁵⁴ It is interesting to note that in the Sumerian version of the passage the Akkadian term *ḥanšâti*, the identity of which with the Old Assyrian *ḥamšâtum* is manifest, is rendered by *igi 5-gál-la*, although this means, as was shown in detail by Thureau-Dangin, *Textes mathématiques babyloniens*, Leiden 1938, pp. X f., "the fifth part" and not "pentecontad". This mistake is, of course, due to the fact that, as was intimated before, the Akkadian *ḥamšâtum* "pentecontad" coincides with the plural of the ordinal number *ḥamuštum* and that, moreover, not only the latter but also its plural meant "the fifth part". Aside from showing that, at least in this part of the series *ana ittišu*, the Sumerian text was translated from the Akkadian and not vice versa, the error on the part of the Sumerian version also accounts for the failure of the previous attempts at interpreting this passage by Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XXXI, 1934, p. 50, note 3 and Landsberger, *Die Serie ana ittišu*, Roma 1937, pp. 57 and 189 f.

³⁵⁵ Cf. Landsberger, *op. cit.*, pp. II f.

³⁵⁶ See above, pp. 75 ff.

šattim also points to the early part of the year; for since, as was mentioned before, small cattle drop their young during the time of the "fresh herbs", it is likely that the deliveries of young animals were made either during that very season or within the "pentecontad of the grain harvest" by which it was followed.

However, the meaning of the Old Babylonian term for pentecontad was even further extended. As was mentioned before³⁵⁷, the calendar of the time of the First Babylonian Dynasty knew a month of *sibûtum* which, in view of numerous analogous cases, was presumed to have received its name from a homonymous festival. As was shown by Landsberger³⁵⁸ on the basis of the text Sipp. 564³⁵⁹, this month was identical with the third luni-solar month better known under the name of *simânu*³⁶⁰. Now Thureau-Dangin established on the evidence of Old and Late Babylonian contracts bearing on the purchase of grain to be delivered after the harvest that such contracts were executed throughout Babylonia in the months of *ajaru* and *simânu*³⁶¹. Consequently the end of the harvesting season fell within the month of *simânu-sibûtum*. The same conclusion is to be drawn from another consideration: since, as we have seen, the Babylonian *šapattum* was fixed at 15 days³⁶² and began approximately on *nisânu* 1³⁶³, the first pentecontad comprising the

³⁵⁷ See above, p. 76, note 326.

³⁵⁸ See *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer*, Leipzig 1915, p. 84.

³⁵⁹ Published by Friedrich, *BA* V, 1906, p. 488; latest translation by Ungnad, *KU* III, p. 148.

³⁶⁰ Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars*, London 1935, p. 16, note 3 seems to doubt this identification on the grounds that a certain Old Babylonian contract bears on its inner tablet (VS IX, no. 139) a date from the month of *sibûtum* and on the case (VS IX, no. 140) one from *nisânu*; whence he concluded that *sibûtum* and *nisânu* were the same month. In fact, the tablet VS IX, no. 139 and its envelope have no bearing upon the question as to the position of the month of *sibûtum*; for we know of cases in which the envelope of a contract was written several months after the inner tablet and was then dated accordingly (see, e. g., the Kültepe texts TC III, no. 238, A and B and cf. *Archiv Orientalní* XI, 1939, p. 35).

³⁶¹ See *RA* XXIV, 1927, pp. 192 f.

³⁶² See above, pp. 83 f.

³⁶³ See above, pp. 60 and 66.

grain harvest extended from around *nisānu* 16 through *simānu-sibūtum* 6³⁶⁴. In other words, the first pentecontad subsequently designated as *sibūt šattim* ended in the month of *sibūtum*. Accordingly, it may well be assumed that the third luni-solar month was so named because it contained the closing day of the *sibūt šattim* "harvesting pentecontad", an assumption which is all the more indicated since, as will be shown below³⁶⁵, the fifth Babylonian month of *abu* received in all likelihood its name because it contained the closing festival of the "pentecontad of fuel-wood"³⁶⁶.

Our considerations then lead to the following result: after the Amorite calendar was abandoned in Babylonia, the expression *sibūt šattim* "seventh part of the year" was applied to the only remaining fifty-day period, namely that comprising the grain harvest; subsequently it came to designate the closing festival of that season, and this feast, in turn, gave its name to the third luni-solar month in which it fell. This development has at least one analogy in the extant Israelite calendar: the only fifty-day-period which this festive almanac has preserved intact until modern times, viz. the *s'firā*-period between the 'omer-day and the feast of *šāḥū'ôṭ*, is precisely the season comprising the Palestinian grain harvest³⁶⁷; accordingly *šāḥū'ôṭ*, the

³⁶⁴ Cf. the tabulation above, p. 65.

³⁶⁵ See below, p. 120, note 457.

³⁶⁶ It might be well to recall in this connection a more recent case in which the designation of a pentecontad of days came to denote a festival marking the end of the fifty-day-period in question. As was pointed out by Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*⁵ II, London 1871, p. 222 (with note 1) and Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* I, p. 405, the Muslims of Egypt use the term *el-ḥamâsîn* "the fifties" (a vulgar plural of *el-ḥamsîn* "the fifty", i. e., "the fifty days") as a designation firstly of the period from Easter to Pentecost, secondly of the well-known hot winds characteristic of these fifty days, and thirdly of the Day of Pentecost (or Whitsunday) itself. In much the same way, the classic sources call the Feast of Pentecost عيد الخمسين "the feast of the fifty"; see, for instance, ad-Dimišqî's *Cosmography* (ed. Mehren), p. 281, line 1.

³⁶⁷ The correctness of this statement follows not only from the harvesting conditions in modern Palestine where the harvest begins in the second half of April and ends — in the coldest parts of the country — in the first

closing festival of that season — celebrated today in the early days of the third luni-solar month —, corresponds to the presumed Babylonian feast of *sibûtum*. Hence the idea suggests itself that the name *šāḫû'ôṭ* might be the Hebrew equivalent of Babylonian *sibûtum*, a conclusion which would imply that, before denoting the עֲצֵרָה of the harvesting period, *šāḫû'ôṭ* had successively been the name of that period itself and the general designation of the pentecontads. In this respect it is significant that in two of the oldest biblical passages dealing with the second of the three annual ḥaggîm, viz. Lev. 23.15 ff. and Ex. 23.16, the festival is not designated as *šāḫû'ôṭ*, whereas in a third passage, Ex. 34.22, this name obviously was inserted into an older text by a later redactor; whence it becomes clear that *šāḫû'ôṭ* was originally not the name of the second ḥāg. The presumed archaic use of our term for the season of the grain harvest seems, in fact, to be attested in a gloss to Jer. 5.24; for when this passage speaks of שְׁבַע חֻקֹּת קִצִּיר³⁶⁸ "*šāḫû'ôṭ*, the (natural) laws of the grain harvest", it is obvious that here *šāḫû'ôṭ* refers not to a festival but to the entire *qāṣîr*-season.

There is also linguistic evidence to support these inferences in regard to the parallelism between Babylonian *sibûtum* and Hebrew *šāḫû'ôṭ*. To be sure, the current grammars and dic-

days of June, but is implied by our sources as well. For if on the 'omer-day "the sickle was first put to the standing-grain" it is clear that, barley being the first grain to be cut in Palestine, this day marks the beginning of the barley harvest. The wheat harvest, on the other hand, begins about three weeks later than the barley harvest and lasts for ten days or a fortnight (see Robinson, *Physical Geography of the Holy Land*, London 1865, pp. 275 f.; Steuernagel, *ZDPV* XLVIII, 1925, p. 219; Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* I, Gütersloh 1928, p. 415). Thus there is time for harvesting both barley and wheat between the 'omer-day and the feast of *šāḫû'ôṭ*. Furthermore, Lev. 23.17 implies that on *šāḫû'ôṭ* flour from the fresh grain was already ground, leaven prepared, and bread baked, which makes it impossible to assume that the feast marked the beginning of the harvest (cf. also Vogelstein, *Die Landwirtschaft in Palästina zur Zeit der Mišnâh*, Berlin 1894, p. 58 with note 16). As will be shown below, p. 116, note 447, *šāḫû'ôṭ* was, in all likelihood, the occasion on which, according to Deut. 14.22 and 26.1 ff., the tithe of the entire harvest was to be brought to the central sanctuary.

³⁶⁸ With Gesenius-Buhl, *Handwörterbuch*¹⁵, p. 794 we read *šāḫû'ôṭ* instead of *š'ḫû'ôṭ*.

tionaries consider *šāḥū'ōt* the plural of an ordinary noun always to be rendered by "hebdomas"³⁶⁹ and "hebdomas annorum"³⁷⁰. But Ethiopic *sabū'*, which cannot be separated from Hebrew *šāḥū'a* because it also means "hebdomas"³⁷¹ and because Hebrew *qātūl* forms such as *šāḥū'a* correspond to *qātūl* forms of the other Semitic languages³⁷², is at the same time a numeral used in the special sense of "the seventh day (of the month)" as well as even in the general sense of "the seventh"³⁷³. Ethiopic, where the roots of all the numerals from 1 to 10 form, aside from the regular ordinal numbers of the types *qātēl*, *qātāwī*, and *qātāḥi*, such ordinal numbers of the type *qātūl*³⁷⁴, suggests therefore that Hebrew *šāḥū'a* represents a remnant of a set of ordinal numbers once common to West Semitic and South Semitic dialects. The correctness of this deduction follows from the fact that at least one biblical word of the same type has the double function that characterizes the Ethiopic numerals of the type *qātūl*. We are referring to the term '*āsōr* "decas", or period of ten days³⁷⁵, occurring in Ex. 12.3 and several other passages³⁷⁶ in the sense of "the tenth day (of the month)"³⁷⁷. In other words, the biblical use of the term '*āsōr* < '*āsūr* < '*asūr* with the double meaning of its Ethiopic equivalent '*ašūr* proves that, much as Ethiopic possesses several sets of ordinal numbers, the Western Semites once used, besides the ordinals represented by the Hebrew and Aramaic numerals of the type *qātūl* and *qātāḥi*,

³⁶⁹ Cf. Mandelkern, *Concord.*, p. 1143.

³⁷⁰ So in the passage Dan. 9.24 ff. which, in connection with cardinal numbers, offers also the masculine plural *šāḥū'im*.

³⁷¹ See Dillmann-Bezold, *Ethiopic Grammar* (transl. by Crichton)², London 1907, p. 370.

³⁷² See Bauer-Leander, *Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache* I, Halle 1922, p. 471.

³⁷³ See Dillmann-Bezold, *op. cit.*, pp. 370 f.

³⁷⁴ See *ibidem*, p. 371.

³⁷⁵ So Gen. 24.55.

³⁷⁶ Cf. Gesenius-Buhl, *op. cit.*¹⁵, p. 618.

³⁷⁷ If '*āsōr* has the vocalization of a *qātūl* form, this is unessential since in both South and West Semitic dialects an *ū* that is followed by *r* is frequently shifted to *ō*; cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, I, p. 196 sub *γ* and *Syrische Grammatik*³, § 65, note 3.

also such of the type *qatûl*³⁷⁸; it is therefore a fair conclusion that, belonging to the latter type, *šâḫûa'* means both "hebdomas" and "the seventh". Since, on the other hand, Hebrew expresses fractional numbers by the feminine forms of the ordinals as do the classic dialects of Babylonia and Assyria in the Amorite period of both countries³⁷⁹, it is also obvious that the feminine form of *šâḫûa'* (or its prototype *šabû'*) could be used in the sense of "a (or the) seventh (part of a whole)". Since finally, as was shown by Thureau-Dangin³⁸⁰ who refers especially to *sibi'âtum* "one seventh", Akkadian texts from the same epoch express fractions not only by the feminine singulars but also by the feminine plurals of the ordinals³⁸¹, it is probable that the feminine plural *šâḫû'ôṭi* meant "the seventh part" and was, accordingly, the biblical equivalent of the Old Babylonian *sibâtum* "seventh (part of the year)". This deduction is greatly supported by evidence furnished by the Syriac sources the examination of which in this connection is all the more indicated since in the Jacobite dialect the numeral here under discussion appears still as *šabû'â*, i. e., in its original *qatûl* form known from Ethiopic³⁸². As may be seen from Brockelmann's Lexicon

³⁷⁸ It might be well to recall in this connection that Akkadian, too, uses two sets of ordinal numbers (*qatil* and *qatûl*); cf. von Soden, *ZA* XLI, 1933, p. 132; Thureau-Dangin, *Textes mathématiques babyloniens*, p. 231.

³⁷⁹ The use in this sense of the masculine forms of the Akkadian ordinals is comparatively rare. Within the Old Babylonian sources, it is attested in the contract BE VI, 1, no. 53 (transliterated and translated by Schorr, *VAB* V, no. 126), in which *ša-lu-uš* (so in l. 5 of the case-tablet) alternates with Sumerian *igi-3-gál* (so in l. 5 of the inner tablet), and in a few analogous passages; as regards the Old Assyrian documents, it seems to be limited to l. 16 of the tablet KTBlaukertz (see the publication by J. Lewy quoted above, p. 64, note 281), no. 9. Cf. also Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XXXI, 1934, pp. 49 f.

³⁸⁰ *RA* XXXIII, 1936, p. 36, note 2 and *Textes mathématiques babyloniens*, p. 231.

³⁸¹ Aside from *sibi'âtum* (<**sabi'âtum*) " $\frac{1}{7}$ ", there occur, e. g., the fractional numbers *šalšâtum* " $\frac{1}{3}$ " and *ribâtum* " $\frac{1}{4}$ "; cf. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XXXI, 1934, pp. 49 f. and J. Lewy, *MVAeG* XXXV, 3, 1935, p. 103, note a.

³⁸² East Syriac uses, instead, the *qâtôl* form *šâḫô'â*, which is to be regarded as the exact equivalent of Hebrew *šâḫûa'* since the substitution of *ô* for *û* is merely due to the following laryngeal sound; cf. the analogous

Syriacum³⁸³, the Syriac dialects apply, as a rule³⁸⁴, this term in the sense of "heptad of days" and "heptad of years". But in excerpts from a Nestorian work ascribed to Georgius of Arbela which discuss the baptismal ritual of the Nestorians³⁸⁵, there occur (*loc. cit.*, p. 265) the words *šabû'â d'ġaumâtâ aukût ħamšîn* "a *šabû'â* of days, that is fifty (days)"³⁸⁶. Thus it is learnt that, in the technical language of the Nestorian church, *šabû'â* designates a period of fifty days; moreover, the additional *d'ġaumâtâ*, which recurs, *inter alia*, in the well-known expression *šattâ d'ġaumâtâ* "a full year"³⁸⁷ and which has exact parallels in Akkadian³⁸⁸ and Hebrew³⁸⁹, leaves no doubt that only a *šabû'â* of fifty days was regarded as complete³⁹⁰. Since, however, there is no direct link between the notion "seven" inherent in the

cases quoted by Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, § 48 and Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*³, § 69, note 1.

³⁸³ Second edition, p. 753.

³⁸⁴ For an important exception, which Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*, fails to mention, see below, p. 101 with note 404.

³⁸⁵ These excerpts were published and translated by Joseph Simonius Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticana, in qua manuscriptos codices syriacos recensuit*, III, 2, Romae 1728, pp. 257 ff.

³⁸⁶ The tentative proposal by Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* II, Oxonii 1897, col. 4036 to emend these words to *šab'â šabû'ê d'ġaumâtâ* is absolutely unacceptable since the text, in repeatedly speaking of fifty days (*ħamšîn ġaumîn*), aims at explaining why in bygone times the parents of a newborn child were obliged to abstain for fifty days from intercourse. See also below, p. 100, note 402.

³⁸⁷ For references see Payne Smith, *loc. cit.*, II, col. 4240.

³⁸⁸ In an unpublished Old Assyrian letter (Giessen 1-4, l. 26), there occurs the expression *II ša-na-at ūmūmu* "2 years of days", i. e., "two full years"; another unpublished Kültepe text speaks of *12 waraḥkam ūmēme-e*; see further BIN IV 32, l. 4 (*III ša-na-at ūmīmi*; cf. *ibidem* l. 10: *V ša-na-at ūmīmi*) and Middle Assyrian passages such as KAV, no. 1, col. II, ll. 79 and 91 (*ištēn araḥ ūmāte meš le*). Also the Neo-Babylonian text VS VI 65 (translated by San Nicolò and Ungnad, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden* I, Leipzig 1935, pp. 660 f.), l. 2 of which defines the time "[from the 1]st [day] of the month of *simānu* to the end of the month of *adāru*" as *X araḥ ūmūmu* "10 full months", is to be quoted in this connection.

³⁸⁹ See, e. g., Deut. 21.13 (ירח ימים) and Gen. 29.14 (חדש ימים).

³⁹⁰ This follows also from a statement found in the *Ḥūdūd* (see below, p. 102, note 405).

root š—b—' and the notion "fifty"—or rather "fifty days"—, this Nestorian source leads us again to the conclusion that the Western Semites once used the numeral *šabû'* "unit of seven" as both an ordinal, as did the Ethiopians, and a fractional number denoting, like the Old Babylonian ordinal number *sibûtum*, "the seventh part of a whole" and especially "the seventh part of a year". If, on the other hand, the grammatic form of this fractional number is in Syriac not the same as in Hebrew in as much as the latter uses the feminine plural *šābū'ôt* whereas the former offers the masculine singular *šabû'â*, this is unessential; for it is a matter of fact that the grammatical form of the Semitic fractional numbers differs not only from language to language but even within the same language, as is illustrated by Akkadian which, as was noted before, expresses the fractions sometimes by the singular or plural of the feminine forms of its ordinals and at other times by the singularic forms of the corresponding masculines. Hence there remains no doubt that Old Babylonian *sibûtum*, Syriac *šabû'â*, and Hebrew *šābū'ôt* are equivalent terms which, because expressing the fraction "one seventh", came to be used as designations of the fifty-day time-unit of the old Amorite calendar.

The division of the year into seven pentecontads and a number of *šapattum*-days is not the only feature of the Amorite calendar which can be traced in the Bible. As was explained above, pp. 71 ff., the Assyro-Amorite calendar knew besides the week, the pentecontad, and the year two further time-units, viz. the heptad of years composed of fifty fifty-day-periods and the pentecontad of years designated by the Assyrians as *dârum* "cycle" and obtained by squaring the time-unit of $7\frac{1}{7}$ years. Both of these larger units recur in the Bible where they are known as *šemittâ* and *jôbêl* periods. It is not surprising that these two units were retained by the Israelites even after the definite adoption of the luni-solar system; for as they are independent of the agricultural conditions and therefore not affected by the inadequacies of the calendar recorded in Gen. 7 and 8, there was no need to eliminate them together with the smaller units of the pentecontad calendar. Moreover, by rounding them off to seven and fifty full years, the *šemittâ* and *jôbêl*

periods could easily be adapted to the luni-solar as well as any other calendaric system³⁹¹.

It is obvious that the deficiencies of the pentecontad-calendar resulting from the stabilization of the *šapattum* at fifteen days in Babylonia and Palestine and at sixteen in Assyria could lead to its complete abandonment only in those regions where a comparatively stable calendar such as the luni-solar was known and used³⁹².

³⁹¹ In view of the fact that the Jubilee cycle can be traced in the Assyrian sources of the early second millennium, the opinion expressed by several authors (see, e. g., Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*⁶, Berlin 1905, p. 114) that this cycle represents a late, possibly even post-exilic, institution, is, of course, to be abandoned. The same is true of the speculations of Mahler, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 ff. who tried to prove the Egyptian origin of the Jubilees. It may be stressed in this connection that the Jubilee as well as all the other calendaric institutions connected with the pentecontad system were not borrowed by the Israelites from their neighbors to the south, east, or north but have been organically developed on Palestinian soil as a corollary of the cult of the seven wind and weather-gods practiced by the early agricultural settlers of the country.

³⁹² Since the Egyptian civil calendar with its year of 365 days was, of course, in no way superior to the Palestinian pentecontad system, it is to be expected that the Jews living in Egypt did not participate in the reform of their coreligionists in Palestine. That this was actually so follows from Philo's treatise "On a Contemplative Life". Here we learn that the Jewish sectarians whom Philo designates as the Therapeutes observed as their highest holidays every fiftieth day and, within the pentecontad, the days with numbers divisible by seven. The relevant passages are found in III 30, IV 36, and VIII 65 (*Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, rec. L. Cohn et S. Reiter, vol. VI [Editio minor] Berolini 1915, pp. 37, 39, and 44) from which we quote the following statements: τὰς μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἡμέρας χωρὶς ἕκαστοι μονούμενοι παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἐν τοῖς λεχθεῖσι μοναστηρίοις φιλοσοφοῦσι ταῖς δὲ ἐβδόμαις συνέρχονται τὴν δὲ ἐβδόμην πανιέρων τινα καὶ πανέορτον εἶναι νομίζοντες ἐξαιρέτου γέρωσ ἡξιώκασιν οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀδρορίζονται δι' ἐπτά ἐβδομάδων, οὐ μόνον τὴν ἀπλὴν ἐβδομάδα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τεθηπότες ἔστι δὲ πρόεορτος μεγίστης ἐορτῆς, ἣν πεντηκοντὰς ἔλαχεν, ἀγιώτατος καὶ φυσικώτατος ἀριθμῶν In view of Philo's report, it is perhaps not merely accidental that the events related in III Macc. 4.14-6.30 are said (*ibidem*, 6.38-40) to have covered exactly fifty days. (We owe these references to the kindness of Dr. Morgenstern who was good enough to place at our disposal all the material he collected for a paper on "The Seven Fifties" that he presented in 1922 at a meeting of the American Oriental Society; we are glad to take this opportunity of expressing to him our warmest thanks for his generous help.) Incidentally,

Since, as we intimated above³⁹³, the latter grew out of the cult of the celestial bodies which originally was in sharp contrast to the worship of the wind and weather-deities practiced by the earliest agricultural settlers of western Asia, it follows that the luni-solar calendar could replace the older pentecontad-calendar only among those populations which, at least temporarily, embraced the cult of the moon, sun, and stars³⁹⁴; those people, on the other hand, who remained faithful to the worship of the old agricultural wind and weather deities continued to use the calendar based on that cult. Since certain parts of the Fertile Crescent and particularly of Palestine remained essentially untouched by the moon-cult³⁹⁵, it is not surprising that in

a passage in the Book of Tobit indicates that the Egyptian Jews were not the only Israelites living in the diaspora who, regardless of the innovations introduced in Palestine, continued to use the pentecontad system. In chapter 1.21, the author of that book asserts that, after Tobit had lost all his possessions, "not even fifty days had passed" until Sennacherib was murdered by his sons. This wording is only understandable if it is assumed that for the author as well as for his readers fifty days represented a current and familiar time-unit. — For the pentecontad-calendar among the Falasha see below, pp. 113 ff.

³⁹³ See above, p. 21.

³⁹⁴ Since the Sumerian cuneiform sign for god represents a star, it is likely that the Sumerians were among those who introduced the worship of the heavenly bodies.

³⁹⁵ In a forthcoming paper on the cult of Bethlehem, one of the present writers will show that this town practiced an extremely old fertility cult even at the time of the creation of the Christian religion. That the cult of the seven winds was, in historic times, still alive in southern Palestine is shown, aside from the place name באר שבע "Well of the Seven" (see above, p. 40, note 178), by the biblical personal names בְּחִישָׁבֶּעַ, אֱלִישָׁבֶּעַ, and יְהוֹשָׁבֶּעַ, the latter of which identifies the Divine Heptad יְהוָה. The proof that these names actually contain a theophoric element שָׁבַע referring to the Divine Heptad is furnished by the variants Ἑλισαβετ and יְהוֹשָׁבֶּעַ in which the Septuagint (Ex. 6.23) and 2 Chr. 22.11 replace the masculine form of the numeral seven by its feminine, precisely as the Akkadian sources use sometimes the masculine ^d*Sibi* and at other times the feminine ^d*Sibittum*. (This analogy was correctly noticed by Grimme, *Das israelitische Pfingstfest und der Plejadenkult*, Paderborn 1907, p. 62. If, however, Grimme interprets the element שָׁבַע as "Pleiades", this is unjustified since the identification of the Divine Heptad with the Pleiades, on which he bases his whole book, must, in view of our previous results, be attributed to those comparatively late Baby-

those regions the calendar which was based upon the cult of the winds, the rains, and the fertility of the soil conditioned by these atmospheric phenomena retained its place until the Christian era and even survived, though in a Christianized form, up to the present day.

The most striking example of this survival of the ancient pentecontad-calendar is found among the *fallâhîn* of southern Palestine who divide their year into seven periods of approximately fifty days known under the name of *el-ḥamsînât* "the fifties"—a term which, significantly enough, denotes in the classic Arabic sources the biblical חמשים יום defined in Lev. 23.15 f.³⁹⁶. The first of *es-sab' (i) ḥamsînât* "the seven pentecontads"³⁹⁷ begins at Easter and extends until Pentecost, thus comprising the season of the grain harvest; the second runs from Pentecost to the time of "guarding the grapes", a season which begins at the Feast of St. Elias; the third lasts from the "guarding of the grapes" until the "pressing of the grapes", i. e., the period beginning with the Christian "Feast of the Cross". The fourth pentecontad extends from this feast until the Day of St. George the Dragonkiller³⁹⁸ and the fifth from that festival until Christmas. The sixth comprises the time between Christmas and the beginning of Lent, while the seventh and last runs from Lent to Easter³⁹⁹. The adaptation to the

Ionian theologians for whom the celestial bodies were the only recognized deities and who therefore assigned even to numina originally representing the forces of nature some stars or constellations as their heavenly symbols; cf. Nötscher's remarks in regard to the various stars of Enlil, *op. cit.*, p. 85. On the other hand, it is obvious that the constellation of the Pleiades with its seven stars was particularly well suited to represent a deity named "The Divine Seven".)

³⁹⁶ So in al-Maqrîzî's afore-quoted ذکر تاریخ اليهود واعيادهم in a passage to be found on pp. 97 f. of De Sacy's edition.

³⁹⁷ The following details concerning the *ḥamsînât*-calendar of the *fallâhîn* of southern Palestine are gathered from a pertinent article by Cana'an in *ZDPV XXXVI*, 1913, pp. 266 ff. We found the reference to this study among the notes which Dr. Morgenstern kindly placed at our disposal.

³⁹⁸ This day is also called "Feast of Lydda" after the town in which St. George supposedly has his grave; see Cana'an, *op. cit.*, p. 274, note 3.

³⁹⁹ The fact that this year of the *fallâhîn* of southern Palestine begins with Easter and not, as does the usual Christian calendar, with Advent

Christian festive calendar made it, of course, necessary to depart somewhat from the strict pentecontad scheme, all the more so since some of the *hamsînât*-periods depend on Easter the date of which varies from year to year, whereas others are bound to fixed festivals such as Christmas, St. Elias Day, St. George Day, etc. So the two pentecontads between Christmas and Easter will comprise approximately 100 days only in those years where the latter feast falls in the early days of April, whereas they will be considerably longer when Easter is celebrated later in the year⁴⁰⁰. Inversely, the period between Pentecost and the Feast of St. Elias will be longer in a year with an early Easter and shorter if Easter falls at a later date. Due to this instability it was unnecessary and even impracticable to insert the *šapattum*-days which, in the original Amorite calendar, preceded the first pentecontad containing the grain harvest. It is, however, of particular interest to note that, despite of its adaptation to Christianity, this South-Palestinian calendar has, at least in part, preserved its agricultural character.

Another group of people among whom remnants of the ancient pentecontad-calendar have been preserved until modern times are the Nestorian Christians who designate the divisions of their religious year by the term *šabû'â* (now pronounced *šābū'â*⁴⁰¹) which, as was pointed out above⁴⁰², denotes a time-

supports our previous conclusion that the ancient pentecontad calendar of the early agricultural settlers of the Near East began the year in the spring.

⁴⁰⁰ In the years in which Easter falls on its earliest possible date, March 22, it is separated from Christmas by 87 days (in leap-years by 88 days); if it falls on its latest possible date, April 25, the two pentecontads would comprise 121 (or in a leap-year 122) days instead of 100.

⁴⁰¹ See A. J. Maclean, *Grammar of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac*, Cambridge 1895, p. 230.

⁴⁰² See p. 95 with note 386. Further evidence to the effect that the Nestorians were familiar with the time-unit of fifty days is, for instance, to be found in G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880; see particularly p. 30, ll. 2-4, a passage which strongly recalls the wording of Tobit 1.21 (see above, note 392). Under these circumstances, and since three pentecontads of days may be counted for five months (cf. above, p. 86), it is perhaps not accidental that in the Nestorian sources (see, e. g., Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 83, l. 5; Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela*, Berlin

unit of fifty days and, from the linguistic point of view, corresponds to Old Babylonian *sibûtum* and Hebrew *šāḇū'ôṭ*⁴⁰³. In this case, the adaptation of the Amorite calendar to the Christian festivals was so far-reaching that it lost not only its agricultural character but also many of its other features. So, for instance, the beginning of the year was shifted from spring to winter in accordance with the Christian habit of starting the religious year with Advent. Only around Easter the old pentecontad system is clearly discernible: the so-called "Great Fast" begins on the seventh Sunday before Easter and lasts for exactly seven weeks, as does the "*šāḇū'â* of Resurrection" which comprises the time from Easter to Pentecost⁴⁰⁴; the feast of Pentecost itself which marks the end of this *šāḇū'â* is at the same time the first day of the "*šāḇū'â* of the Apostles" so named because it ends with the "Feast of the Twelve Apostles" which falls on the seventh Sunday after Pentecost. The "*šāḇū'â* of the Apostles", in turn, is followed by that of Summer which likewise comprises seven Sundays, the "Feast of the Twelve Apostles" being counted as the first. Then follows the "*šāḇū'â* of Elias" which also extends over exactly seven weeks. The remaining number of days (corresponding to the interval between the end of the "*šāḇū'â* of Elias" and the beginning of the "Great Fast"), which formerly must have covered two further pentecontads and the *šapattum*, is now divided in accordance with Christian festivals into four further periods which, even though they retain the

1915, p. 58, l. 31) the expression "after five months" occurs, to all appearances, in the sense of "after some time".

⁴⁰³ The following data regarding the religious calendar of the Nestorians are taken from liturgical sources found in manuscripts of the fifteenth century and compiled by A. J. Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices*, London 1894, pp. 264 ff. and *passim*. An abbreviated description of the same calendar is to be found in Maclean and Browne, *The Catholics of the East and his People*, London 1892, pp. 331 and 346 ff. (we owe this latter reference to Dr. Morgenstern's kindness). The account of the Nestorian festive calendar given by J. S. Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, vol. III, 2, Romae 1728, pp. 380 ff., sub 6 varies only slightly from that found in Maclean's sources, the differences that exist between the two reports being irrelevant in regard to the subject here under discussion.

⁴⁰⁴ The view of Maclean that *šāḇū'â* denotes "a period of seven weeks" is therefore virtually correct.

name of šāḥū'ā, are, of course, considerably shorter than fifty days.

One of the characteristic changes to which the pentecontad-calendar was subjected by the Nestorian Christians deserves further discussion. As may be seen from the preceding enumeration of the five fully preserved šāḥū'ā-periods before and after Easter, the festivals which once marked the beginnings and the ends of those time-units are arranged in such a way as to fall always on a Sunday. This implies that the feast terminating one šāḥū'ā and that opening the next are celebrated on the same day: Pentecost (according to its name "the fiftieth" day after Easter, i. e., the closing festival of the Easter pentecontad) coincides with the "first Sunday of the Apostles" (i. e., the opening day of the "šāḥū'ā of the Apostles"). In the same way the "Feast of the Twelve Apostles" marks not only the end of the šāḥū'ā bearing the same name but also the beginning of the pentecontad of Summer. As a consequence of this double-counting of the Sundays just mentioned, the Nestorian pentecontads actually last only forty-nine days, even though in theory they still comprise fifty full days⁴⁰⁵. The double function of those Sundays indicates that the overlapping of the pentecontads was not a feature of the old calendar but was merely due to the desire not to interrupt the continuous sequence of the weeks which is an essential trait of every Christian calendar.

This brings us to the realization that the unbroken succession of the weeks is incompatible with the Amorite calendar as traceable in the sources from Assyria, Babylonia, and Palestine; for in this old order the succession was interrupted after seven weeks, or forty-nine days, by the fiftieth day which was, as we have seen, observed as a holiday. This becomes particularly clear in view of the above-quoted passages from Philo Alexandrinus' *Vita Contemplativa*⁴⁰⁶ which mention that the Ther-

⁴⁰⁵ So the *Hûlra* (i. e., the service-book for the Sundays and holidays of the whole year as used by the Nestorian Church) expressly says that, e. g., the Sunday which introduces the "Great Fast" should always be "fifty days before Easter"; see p. 270, note 1 of the book by Maclean quoted above, p. 101, note 403.

⁴⁰⁶ See above, p. 97, note 392.

apeutes observed the seventh sabbath merely as the eve of their highest festival, the fiftieth day. That this feast of the fiftieth day was not, as might be assumed in consideration of the Nestorian calendar, identical with the opening day of the following pentecontad is shown in the first place by the designation of those periods as *hamuštum* (so in Old Assyrian), *han-šātum* (so in Old Babylonian⁴⁰⁷), or *hamsînât* (so in modern Palestinian Arabic⁴⁰⁸) which all point to a period of fifty, and not forty-nine, days, and secondly by the marked distinction made by both Assyrians and Babylonians in their appreciation of the nineteenth and the twentieth day of the month which, as was mentioned before, represent the forty-ninth and the fiftieth day of the preceding month. Whereas the former was, like the 7th, 14th, 21st, etc.⁴⁰⁹, considered a sinister day unsuited for any desirable work, the latter was regarded as an *ûmu namru* "a favorable (literally "shining") day"⁴¹⁰, a belief which transpires also in the Akkadian onomastic: the birth of a son on the twentieth day of the month was taken to be a good omen, as is indicated by the frequent occurrence of the personal name *Mâr-ešrê*⁴¹¹ "Son of the twentieth"⁴¹²; inversely, it was an ill

⁴⁰⁷ See above, pp. 88 f. with notes 352-354.

⁴⁰⁸ See above, pp. 99 f.

⁴⁰⁹ See the passages quoted above, p. 3, note 4.

⁴¹⁰ See particularly the text 82-3-23, 4344+4473 and 4593 published by Pinches, *PSBA* XVIII, 1896, p. 258 where a bird-catcher, after having laid out his net, prayed to Šamaš for the success of his undertaking by exclaiming: "Šamaš, Šamaš", ⁶*ûm XX*^{kom} ⁷*ûmu*^{mu}-ka nam-mar "the 20th day, 7th day (is) favorable" (contrary to the view expressed by Nougayrol, *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud* I, Paris 1939, p. 73, note 3 *nam-mar* is not an imperative IV 1 of *amâru* "to see" but the *status indeterminatus* of the adjective *namrum*). For the twentieth day as an *ûmu namru* see further Landsberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 137 f.

⁴¹¹ For the various spellings and the pronunciation of the name see the remarks of Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XXXI, 1934, pp. 192 f.; for further occurrences of the name in the texts from Nuzi see, e. g., *Mâr-ešrê* father of *Taiani* in Chiera, *Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi*, vol. II, Paris 1930, no. 201, l. 24 and *ibidem*, vol. III, Paris 1931, no. 224, l. 32; *Mâr-ešrê* father of *Hamanna*, *ibidem* I, Paris 1927, no. 72, l. 16; no. 84, l. 15; II, no. 210, l. 19; *Mâr-ešrê* father of *AN.MEŠ.IGI.ZI*, *ibidem*, IV, Philadelphia 1934, no. 410, l. 32. For references from Old Babylonian texts see Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names*, Philadelphia 1905, p. 123.

⁴¹² It is not surprising that this name is not found in the Old Assyrian

omen when he was born on the nineteenth; for then he received the name *Arad-UD-XIX-KAM* "Slave of the 19th day"⁴¹³ or even *UD-XIX-KAM-nakir* "The 19th day is hostile"⁴¹⁴.

That in Israel, too, the pentecontads comprised fifty full days follows from our analysis of the festive calendar preserved in Gen. 7-8 where seven fifty-day-periods are clearly distinguishable. Even Talmudic sources have retained the memory of this fact, as is shown by two passages⁴¹⁵ which mention that the *עצרת* of *sukkôt* should have been separated from that festival by fifty days, precisely as the *עצרת* of Passover followed fifty days after that feast. For the use of the term *עצרת* for the fiftieth day — a use confirmed by a statement of Josephus who expressly defines *Asartha* (*עצרתה*) as the "fiftieth"⁴¹⁶ — shows that this feast was a "day of conclusion"⁴¹⁷ and not one of "opening",

texts from Kültepe whereas it appears in the Middle Assyrian documents (see, e. g., Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Juristischen Inhalts*, Leipzig 1927, no. 44, l. 17; no. 60, l. 6); for so long as the pentecontad-calendar was simultaneously used with the luni-solar system, the fiftieth day of a pentecontad coincided only very occasionally with the twentieth day of a month which latter had therefore no particular importance. In other words, the occurrence of the name *Mâr-ešrê* can reasonably be expected only in those countries and periods in which the pentecontad-calendar was no longer in general use.

⁴¹³ For references see Clay, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period*, New Haven 1912, p. 58.

⁴¹⁴ See Keiser, *Letters and Contracts from Erech Written in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, New Haven 1917, no. 159, l. 18. The reading *Ūmu-XIX^{kam}-nāšir* proposed by Keiser, *op. cit.*, p. 32 and Stamm, *MVAeG* XLIV, 1939, p. 272 makes little sense, for one does not see how a day should be in a position to protect an individual. Moreover, this rendering would be contrary to the character of the nineteenth day as an *UD.ḪUL.GÁL*, i. e., an "evil day" (cf. Landsberger, *op. cit.*, p. 119).

⁴¹⁵ See Midrāš rabbā, *šir hašširim* VII, 2 § 2 and P^esiqtā d^e Rab Kāhānā, *pišqā* 30 (cf. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* III, Leipzig 1883, p. 681 s. v. *עצרת*). We owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. Morgenstern.

⁴¹⁶ See *Anl.* III, 10, 6: τῇ πεντηκοστῇ ἡν Ἑβραῖοι Ἀσαρθὰ καλοῦσι, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο πεντηκοστήν.

⁴¹⁷ This use of the term *עצרת* in the sense of "conclusion" shows that the root *עצר* has the same double meaning as Latin *concludere* or German *ab-schliessen*.

as were to be expected if the fiftieth day had been at the same time the first day of the next pentecontad.

In view of this evidence the question arises as to why the Jews decided to establish the uninterrupted succession of the weeks by suppressing the fiftieth day of each pentecontad. The reason for this break with a more than millenary tradition is probably to be sought in a new interpretation of the ancient law to abstain from work on the 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, 42nd, and 49th day of each fifty-day-period, a law which, being, as was mentioned before, traceable in the Akkadian onomastic material as well as in certain Assyrian menologies, was originally due to the superstitious fear that work done on these ill-fated days might turn to the disadvantage of the person who did it. We noted, on the other hand, that the annual *šapattum*-period was observed as a time of religious celebration during which work was suspended because the processions to the temples outside the cities called the population for several days away from their homes and occupations⁴¹⁸, a fact which, incidentally, explains the meaning "to pause", "to rest" of the verb שָׁבַח. It would not be surprising if the religious reasons which prompted this suspension of work during the *šapattum*-period were eventually used to motivate the abstention from work on the 7th, 14th, 21st, etc. day of each pentecontad; for the progress achieved by the Israelites in their conception of the Divine obviously precluded a continued sanctioning of those old superstitions. Such an evolution would explain why the once ill-fated days with the numbers divisible by seven were given the same function as the *šapattum*-period. If, in consequence of this innovation, the calendar henceforth recognized as *šapattum* the annual periods of intercalary days as well as every seventh day within the pentecontads, it was only logical to apply the term *šabbât* also to each of those latter days. This double use of the word is, in fact, attested in the afore-quoted passage Lev. 23.11 ff.: while in verses 11 and 15^a *šabbât* refers to the spring-

⁴¹⁸ It will be shown below, pp. 111 ff., that such celebrations in the *šêru* "desert" or "open country" were customary not only in Babylonia and Assyria but also in Israel.

period of intercalary days⁴¹⁹, it designates in verses 15^b and 16 the multiples of seven within the first pentecontad. Whereas the context of this law precluded for those familiar with the pentecontad-calendar any confusion between the two applications of the term *šabbât*, this was, of course, not always the case; but a way to avoid any possible misunderstanding was the introduction of the expression "great sabbath" for the *šapattum*-periods — an expression which, as was mentioned above⁴²⁰, still characterizes, in Syriac and other sources, the Christian counterpart of the spring-*šapattum* of C's calendar — and the use of *šôm haššabbât* (instead of *šabbât*) as a designation of the weekly sabbath day⁴²¹. On the other hand, it is easy to understand that, after it had thus become a religious duty to observe as holidays those formerly ill-fated multiples of seven, one eventually conceived the idea of celebrating not merely the multiples of seven within each pentecontad but rather every seventh day throughout the years and centuries. This had, as was intimated before, not been the case in the old system; for since the 49th day of one pentecontad and the 7th day of the next were "sabbath days", these two were, of course, separated by eight and not by seven days. Accordingly, it became imperative to suppress the fiftieth day of each pentecontad in order to obtain the uninterrupted succession of the sabbath days.

It is, of course, impossible to determine the exact date when this new system was first propagated, nor are we in a position to ascertain at what time it actually prevailed over the old order. We possess, however, a *terminus a quo* in the fact that the Egyptian Jews described by Philo did not accept this innovation and continued to use the pentecontads in their religious calendar⁴²²; for this implies that at the time when their ancestors left the homeland the pentecontad-calendar still regulated the

⁴¹⁹ See above, pp. 78 ff.

⁴²⁰ See above, pp. 79 f. with note 332.

⁴²¹ It will be recalled that the Bible uses *יום השבת* more frequently than the simple *שבת*.

⁴²² See the passages quoted above, p. 97, note 392. It is perhaps not by mere accident that there the term sabbath is not used for the days with numbers divisible by seven.

religious festivals in Palestine. Since the settlement of a considerable number of Jews in Egypt goes back at least to the seventh and sixth pre-Christian centuries, it is clear that at that time the abolishment of the pentecontad-system in Israel had not yet taken place. A *terminus ad quem*, on the other hand, is furnished by the fact that the Christian religion from its very beginning adopted the principle of the continuous succession of the weeks as one of its characteristics. We can, however, narrow the margin between these two *termini* by comparing the festive calendar of C recorded in Gen. 7 and 8 with that expounded by the author of the Book of Jubilees⁴²³. There can be no doubt that the latter writer was well acquainted with C's scheme, for he, too, deliberately chose the deluge story as a background for his calendaric system; but it is equally clear that he disagreed with C to such an extent that he felt compelled to rewrite C's entire story in order to substitute his own ideas for those of his predecessor. In the first place, he no longer tried to harmonize the festive calendar with the luni-solar system; on the contrary, he vigorously opposes "those who will assuredly make observations of the moon", for "(it) disturbs the seasons and comes in from year to year ten days too soon. For this reason the years will come upon them when they will disturb (the order), and make an abominable (day) the day of testimony, and an unclean day a feast day."⁴²⁴. Instead of the lunar months of 30 and 29 days which we discovered in C's calendar⁴²⁵, the author of the Book of Jubilees proposed a scheme of stereotyped months of which eight were to contain 30 days and the remaining four 31 days⁴²⁶. But far from being satisfied with the elimination of the luni-solar system, he also advocated

⁴²³ For the approximate date of introduction of C's calendar see below, pp. 139 f.

⁴²⁴ In Charles' translation (*The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis*, London 1902), this passage (6.36-37) is found on pp. 57 f.

⁴²⁵ See above, p. 86.

⁴²⁶ This way of reckoning the months follows from the stipulation in 6.25-29 that the four periods comprised between the "new-moons" (i. e., the first days) of the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth month should be equal and contain 13 weeks, or 91 days, each.

the abolishment of C's division of the festive year into pentecontads and *šapattum*-periods; in fact, his calendar contains no trace of these institutions, even though he still mentions (in 5.27) that the world was flooded for 150 days, or five months. According to his scheme, the various stages of the flood which were to be commemorated for ever in festivals are marked by the "new-moon"⁴²⁷ of the first, the fourth, the seventh, and the tenth month (6.23 ff.). These festivals were to be separated from each other by exactly 13 weeks so that the whole year comprised 364 days (6.29 ff.). These latter stipulations make it clear why in the writer's opinion C's scheme of a pentecontad-year of 365 days was to be abandoned: he attaches such an importance to the continuous succession of the weeks that he even proposes to subordinate the length of the year to the uninterrupted flow of the weeks; for by fixing the length of the year at 52 full weeks and by beginning each of his four 13-week-periods with one of his four festivals, he actually obtains the result that neither the feasts nor the start of a new year interrupted the succession of the weeks, as it had been the case in C's calendar. The fact that the whole book grew out of the tendency to introduce a new calendar⁴²⁸ based upon the strict principle of an uninterrupted succession of the weeks and sabbath-days becomes particularly clear when we consider the only feature of the old Amorite calendar which the author tolerated in his scheme, viz. the *š'mittâ* and Jubilee cycles. As was mentioned before, the former period originally comprised 50 pentecontads, or about $7\frac{1}{7}$ years, whereas the latter represented the square of these $7\frac{1}{7}$ years, or approximately 51

⁴²⁷ The expression "new-moon" for the first day of a month is, of course, unjustified in a calendar in which the months are independent of the movement of the moon.

⁴²⁸ The author clearly states this purpose of his book in both the first and the last sentence; see 1.1 ("This is the history of the division of the days") and 50.13 ("Herewith is completed the account of the division of the days."). The same is true of the Hebrew title of the book as found in the manuscript edited by Schechter as "*Fragments of a Zadokite Work*" (Cambridge 1910) where (p. 16, ll. 3-4) the Little Genesis is referred to as *ספר מחלקות העתים ליובליהם ובשבועותיהם* "The Book of the Divisions of the Times according to their Jubilees and their Weeks."

years⁴²⁹. We further explained that when the luni-solar calendar definitely replaced the agricultural pentecontad-calendar these two time-units were adapted to the luni-solar system by being brought to the round numbers of seven and fifty luni-solar years, respectively. Through this process the Jubilee cycle obtained exactly the same appearance as the pentecontad of days: precisely as the latter contained seven weeks plus one additional day, the Jubilee cycle now was composed of seven year-weeks plus an additional year. Moreover, this extra year interrupted the continuity of the *šemittâ* cycles in exactly the same way as the fiftieth day of the pentecontad interrupted the succession of the weeks. Hence it was necessary for the author of the Book of Jubilees to eliminate that fiftieth year in order to adapt the cycle to his scheme. Thus he emphatically claims in several passages of his book⁴³⁰ that the Jubilee contained forty-nine and not fifty years⁴³¹. Hence it becomes apparent that in the second century B.C. when the author of the Book of Jubilees proposed his calendaric scheme, the uninterrupted succession of the weeks and sabbath-days, even though already in use, was still a matter of discussion and controversy.

VI. THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ISRAELITE FESTIVALS

In view of the fact that, as was shown above, the second of the three annual *ḥaggîm* has its origin in the pentecontad-calendar, the question arises as to whether the same is true of any of the other Jewish festivals. This question can be answered in the affirmative in regard to the feast of 'omer-waving which, by its very definition in Lev. 23, is characterized as the opening day of

⁴²⁹ See above, p. 96.

⁴³⁰ See 4.29-30; 10.16; 23.8; 36.18.

⁴³¹ How well he and his school succeeded in disguising the original character of the Jubilee cycle follows from the fact that as late as the time of Maimonides the question as to whether the Jubilee contained forty-nine or fifty years occupied the minds of Jewish scholars and gave rise to sharp controversies; see Abraham ben David *ad* Maimonides, *Mišnê tôrâ*, h. *šemittâ w'jôbêl* X, 6 f. and cf. Mahler, *op. cit.*, pp. 410 ff.

the pentecontad of the grain harvest. Since it was proved before that the second *hâg* was the closing festival of the fifty-day-period comprising the grain harvest, it follows that both the first and the last day of that pentecontad were observed as feast-days, the latter obviously being intended as a thanksgiving for the produce gathered during the preceding seven weeks⁴³². Among these two pentecontad-festivals the thanks-offering at the end of the season was the more important one; for the 'omer-day on which, according to Deut. 16.9 "the sickle was first put to the standing-grain"—a ceremony strongly recalling the Assyrian *šibit niggallim* "seizing the sickle" on the opening day of the *ḥarpû*-pentecontad—obviously did not differ very much from an ordinary working day, whereas the regulation concerning the second *hâg* expressly prescribes that no work should be done and that a holy religious meeting should take place at the sanctuary (Lev. 23.21).

The fact that the day of 'omer-waving was, according to its very definition as the beginning of the grain harvest, a working day⁴³³ shows at the same time that originally it was not identical with the first day of the *maššôṭ*-festival with which it coincides in the extant Israelite calendar; for Lev. 23.7 stipulates that on the first *maššôṭ*-day no work should be done. The redactor of Lev. 23 even underlines the distinction to be made between the *maššôṭ*-festival and the day of sheaf-waving by inserting verses 9–10^a between the rules governing the two celebrations⁴³⁴. Hence it remains to determine the original relation between these two festive occasions.

We have seen that in the Amorite calendar the first pentecontad was preceded by the *šapattum*-period which, having

⁴³² See above, p. 91, note 367 and below, p. 116, note 447.

⁴³³ In Assyria, the corresponding day of *šibit niggallim* obviously marked the resumption of work after the holiday-period of the *šapattum*.

⁴³⁴ Both ancient and modern interpreters have repeatedly stressed the fact that the 'omer-day originally did not coincide with the *maššôṭ*-festival; the various relevant opinions have been gathered by D. Hoffmann (*op. cit.*, pp. 9 ff.) who, despite his conservative approach to the question, admits that "der Wortlaut des Gesetzes sowohl in Lev. 23,10 fg. als auch Deuteron. 16,9 dem ersten Anscheine nach diese Auffassung begünstigt".

originally been extended long enough to allow the barley to ripen, was subsequently fixed in Assyria at sixteen, and in Babylonia at fifteen days. Our analysis of C's festive calendar as preserved in Gen. 7-8 led us to the further conclusion that in Palestine the stabilized *šapattum* was divided into two parts comprising seven and eight days, respectively, the former being represented by the seven days which, in C's calendar, precede the first pentecontad⁴³⁵. On the other hand, it was pointed out that both Assyrians and Babylonians celebrated during the *šapattum*-days their New Year's festival by moving in large processions to the *akîtu*-temples outside the cities where they stayed for the duration of the feast. Since C lists the first day of the first Palestinian *šapattum* among the most important festivals to be observed by the Israelites, it is to be expected that a similar custom prevailed in Palestine. That this was actually the case follows from the fact that, in the Exodus legends, the negotiations between Moses and Pharaoh center around the question as to whether or not "the Hebrews" should be granted permission to make a three-day journey "into the steppe" in order to celebrate there a festival⁴³⁶; to judge from Ex. 3.18, this celebration culminated in the offering of a sacrifice and was, according to Ex. 10.9, attended by the whole people, young and old, male and female. Since the tradition links this feast which obviously represents the Palestinian counterpart of the Assyrian *akîtu*-festival with the Exodus from Egypt and the eating of unleavened cakes, we may well assume that this Palestinian *šapattum*-festival inaugurating, in C's calendar, the new pentecontad-year, is identical with the seven-day celebration subsequently known as the feast of *maššôṭ*. This means that the *maššôṭ*-week immediately preceded the day of 'omer-

⁴³⁵ I. e., in the "year of the flood" the days from the first through the seventh of the first month; see col. 1 of the tabulation above, p. 87.

⁴³⁶ See Ex. 3.18 and 5.1-3. Since it is a matter of fact that the Exodus tales give a correct and realistic picture of conditions in the second half of the second pre-Christian millennium (for some characteristic examples see J. Lewy, *HUCA* XIV, 1939, pp. 618 ff.), it is only reasonable to assume that the festival "in the steppe", far from being merely a fictional motif created by a late narrator, actually belonged to the habits of the ancient Israelites.

waving⁴³⁷ and that, on the other hand, the important feast which C placed, in "the year of the flood", on the first day of the first month (i. e., feast IV in our tabulations above, pp. 85 and 87) was the first *maššôṭ*-day. Since, accordingly, the 'omer-waving, opening day of the first pentecontad, fell in this same year on the 8th day of the first month and *šâḇû'ôṭ*, the closing day of the same period, on the 27th day of the second month, it becomes clear that the three summer festivals of C's calendar (i. e., feasts IV, V, and II in our tabulations, above, pp. 85 and 87) represent the first day of *maššôṭ*, the feast of *šâḇû'ôṭ*, and the fall festival. This conclusion is confirmed by several passages which mention these same three feasts — subsequently called the three *ḥaggîm* — as the most important to be observed by the Israelites; Ex. 23.14–16, for instance, enumerates (1) the feast of unleavened cakes lasting for seven days and falling in the month of *Âbîb*; (2) the feast of the grain harvest (*šâḇû'ôṭ*), and (3) that of ingathering the fruits in the fall, an enumeration which recurs with only slight variations in Ex. 34.18 ff. Having realized that C's "fourth" festival is identical with the first *maššôṭ*-day, we are therefore in a position to explain why both passages place the *maššôṭ*-festival merely into the month of *Âbîb* without giving a specific date: as will be seen from our tabulation, above, p. 87, this feast begins in "the year of the flood" on I 1, in the next year on I 12, in the following on I 23, and in the fourth, after the insertion of an intercalary month, its beginning returns to I 4. In other words, while always falling into the month of *Âbîb*, its opening day was bound to change from year to year. As regards the two other *ḥâg*-festivals, neither of the two passages from Exodus mentions even the month during which they were celebrated; on the contrary, they place them vaguely after the grain harvest and the fruit harvest in the fall. This lack of precision, too, is in perfect agreement with C's calendar, because, as will be seen from the tabulation on p. 87, feast V (i. e., *šâḇû'ôṭ*) fluctuates between the second and third month, whereas feast II (i. e., the fall festival) can fall in the seventh

⁴³⁷ Basing his inferences on entirely different considerations, Morgenstern (*The American Journal of Theology* XXI, 1917, p. 282) obtained virtually the same result.

or in the eighth month. These facts make it clear that the festive calendar recorded in Ex. 23.14 ff. and 34.18 ff. represents the application of C's calendaric system⁴³⁸.

In view of the fact that the seven *šapattum*-days which preceded the first pentecontad are represented by the *maššôl̄*-festival, the question arises as to whether the eight days of the second *šapattum* which, falling in the autumn, preceded the fifth pentecontad (see the tabulation on p. 87) were marked by a similar celebration; this question is all the more justified since, as was pointed out above, the first day of the second *šapattum* is marked in C's scheme by the second of his festivals. Now Lev. 23.35–36 actually knows a feast which is celebrated in the fall and lasts for eight days. The close relation between this fall festival and the seven *maššôl̄*-days follows from the very wording of the regulations governing, according to Lev. 23, these two holiday seasons. In both cases, the first and the last days were set aside for a holy religious meeting, and in both cases an offering made by fire was to be presented on each of the intermediary days. The complete parallelism between Lev. 23.7–8 and 35–36 is, indeed, not merely accidental; for it can be shown that the fall festival which in the extant Israelite calendar is named *sukkôl̄* was in the old days celebrated in exactly the same way as the *maššôl̄*-festival. Proof to this effect comes from a Jewish calendar which, even though subject to certain changes in the more than two thousand years of its history, retained to a far larger extent the features of C's calendar than the traditional Israelite almanac. We are referring to the calendar of the Falasha which is known to us particularly through the inquiry conducted among the learned men of that Jewish community in the middle of the nineteenth century by Antoine d'Abbadie. From the answers to a questionnaire which had been prepared for him by Philoxène Luzzatto⁴³⁹ we gather the following informa-

⁴³⁸ The calendar of Deut. 16.1–15 is marked by the same characteristics, the only difference being that here a fourth festival, the Passover, is added to those recorded by C as well as in Ex. 23.14 ff. and 34.18 ff.

⁴³⁹ See *Archives Israélites*, XII^e année, Paris 1851, no. 7 (pp. 179–185), no. 9 (pp. 234–240), and no. 10 (pp. 259–269); cf. *L'Univers Israélite*, VI^e année, no. 8, avril 1851.

tion in regard to the Falasha calendar: Whereas in civil life the Falasha use, like the Abyssinian Christians, a calendar based on a year beginning in the fall and containing 365 days (i. e., 12 months of 30 days plus 5 epagomenae), they regulate their religious festivals according to the luni-solar system. The names of the lunar months are in principle those used in the traditional Israelite calendar, Nisân being the first month of the religious year. The lunar months with uneven numbers are counted at 30, those with even numbers at 29 days⁴⁴⁰. Their intercalary system consists in theory in a four-year-cycle in which the fourth year is extended by the addition of a thirteenth month of 30 days. However, since this intercalation fails to bring about a permanent equalization between the civil and the religious year, the latter seems to be regulated in practice in such a way that the Passover is being celebrated on the day after the full-moon falling into the eighth Ethiopic month⁴⁴¹; the Passover-day, counted as the 14th of Nisân⁴⁴², then determines

⁴⁴⁰ In practice, however, this rule is not applied; for previously (*op. cit.*, p. 236) d'Abbadie reports that the Falasha count as opening day of the lunar month the day on which they first observe the new moon, a statement which is confirmed by the data discussed below, p. 117, note 449.

⁴⁴¹ We possess two dates which enable us to verify the correctness of our conclusion. D'Abbadie reports (*op. cit.*, p. 267) that in 1848 the Falasha celebrated Passover on Tuesday, April 18, and Fäitlovitch, *Quer durch Abessinien*, Berlin 1910, tells on p. 160 that in 1909 their Passover began on the evening of April 5. Both dates correspond exactly to the Passover-dates of the traditional Jewish calendar, a correspondence which would be hardly possible if the Falasha really practiced that four-year-cycle. The report of d'Abbadie, as well as those of other travellers, makes it clear that the Falasha usually refer as follows to the lunar dates: "So and so many days after the new-moon of the month of X" (X being the name of an Ethiopic month); this wording shows that in fact they regulate the religious year in accordance with the civil year and not after their theoretical intercalary cycle. See also the next note.

⁴⁴² It is worth noting that the Falasha celebrate Passover on the 14th, and not on the 15th, day of Nisân. This follows not only from the express statement in d'Abbadie's report (*op. cit.*, p. 185) that the crossing of the Red Sea (which the Falasha believe to commemorate in the Passover-festival) took place on the 14th of Nisân, but also from the fact that the seven *maşşôt*-days of the Falasha calendar extend until the 21st of Nisân — in accordance with the unmistakable wording of Ex. 12.18 which, incidentally, agrees on

all other lunar dates of the year. During the seven days after Passover, the Falasha eat unleavened bread and abstain from the drinking of fermented beverages^{442bis}. 57 days after the beginning of that *maṣṣôl*-feast, i. e., on the 12th of Siwân, the Falasha observe a festival which they call Ma-irar "harvest"⁴⁴³ and which is said to commemorate the reception of the laws; this feast obviously corresponds to the traditional *šâbû'ôl*, even though, characteristically enough, no cognate name seems to be known among the Falasha. On the 15th day of the seventh lunar month another seven-day festival is observed during which, precisely as during the seven *maṣṣôl*-days, only unleavened bread is being eaten⁴⁴⁴; although this feast corresponds, of course, to the traditional *sukkôl*, the Falasha do not know the habit of building booths or tabernacles⁴⁴⁵. Again 57 days after

this point with the evidence contained in the Elephantine papyrus no. 6 discussed below, pp. 130 ff. As will be presently seen, the date of the Feast of Pentecost in the calendar of the Falasha also indicates that their Passover falls on Nisân 14. If, nevertheless, the Gregorian date of the Falasha Passover is identical with that of the Rabbanite calendar (see the preceding note), this is evidently due to the fact that the beginnings of the months do not coincide in the two calendars: since, as was mentioned above, p. 114, note 440, the Falasha determine the first day of the month by actually observing the new moon whereas the Rabbanites fix it by calculation, the 14th of Nisân of the Falasha calendar may well coincide with the 15th of the traditional system. As, furthermore, the Rabbanite celebration of Passover on the 15th of Nisân is due to a comparatively recent interpretation of the expression *בין הערבים* in passages such as Lev. 23.5 (see Mahler, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 ff.), we disregard in the following discussion this difference of one day and consider the 14th of Nisân the genuine date of the feast of Passover; the corresponding date of *šâbû'ôl* then is, of course, the 5th of Siwân.

^{442bis} See Fäitlovitch, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

⁴⁴³ *Ma-irar* is the transliteration given by d'Abbadie, *op. cit.*, p. 185 and *passim*; for the corresponding classic term *mâ'ērār* "harvest" see Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicæ*, Lipsiae 1865, col. 741.

⁴⁴⁴ This seems to be a habit which, in pre-exilic times, was more or less common to all Israelites. This conclusion is suggested by Lev. 8.2 and 26, where *maṣṣôl* play a rôle in the ceremonies of consecrating Aaron and his sons as priests; for it can be shown (see below, p. 126, note 472; cf. further pp. 149 f.) that these ceremonies were thought to have taken place in the autumn during the festive season. See also below, pp. 121 f.

⁴⁴⁵ See Flad, *The Falashas (Jews) of Abyssinia*, London 1869, p. 51;

the beginning of this second *maṣṣôṭ*-festival (i. e., on the 12th of Kislew⁴⁴⁶), the Falasha celebrate a second Ma-irar, or harvesting feast, during which they bring the tithe to the priest⁴⁴⁷. In other words, we find in the Falasha calendar not only the four-year intercalary cycle which we presupposed for C's scheme, but also the 57 days separating the first *maṣṣôṭ*-day from the second *hâg*, and especially the complete parallelism between the *maṣṣôṭ*-festival and the third *hâg*, a parallelism which is evidenced by the custom of eating unleavened bread on both occasions as well as by the observance of the "harvesting day" on the fiftieth day of the pentecontad following each of these two festive weeks.

There is another significant feature of the Falasha calendar which betrays its relationship to C's scheme. Abâ Ieshaq, the Falasha sage who informed d'Abbadie, is reported by the latter to have made the following statement⁴⁴⁸: "Si l'on compte sept

Stein, *Die Juden in Abessinien*, Amsterdam 1880, p. 70, note 101; Stern, *Wanderings among the Falashas in Abyssinia*, London 1862, pp. 190-f.

⁴⁴⁶ See Joseph Halévy, *Excursion chez les Falacha, en Abyssinie*, Paris 1869, p. 24.

⁴⁴⁷ See Halévy, *ibidem* and cf. d'Abbadie, *op. cit.*, p. 235 (who, however, erroneously places this feast in the tenth lunar month). This custom leaves no doubt as to the original purpose of the closing festivals on the fiftieth day of each pentecontad: on these days the Israelites presented a certain portion of their harvest to the priest as a thanks-offering for the produce gathered during the preceding seven weeks. The amount thus offered seems to have been originally determined by each individual (so, e. g., Deut. 16.10), whereas it was subsequently fixed at one tenth of the harvest (see Deut. 14.22 f. and cf. 26.1 ff.). As will be seen later, these offerings were presented not only on the closing day of the harvesting-pentecontad but also on the last day of the third and fourth fifty-day-periods. The practice of the Falasha to offer, on their Ma-irar festival, the tithe of their harvest, furnishes at the same time the answer to the question (discussed by Eissfeldt, *Erstlinge und Zehnten im Alten Testament*, Leipzig 1917, pp. 24 f.) as to why the second *hâg* is called "feast of the first-fruits". The answer was correctly anticipated by Dillmann (*Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus*, Leipzig 1880, p. 247) who stated: "Fest der Erstlinge von der Saatfrucht heisst das Fest nicht, weil man an diesem die Erstlinge heimholt (denn Heimholen macht noch kein חג), sondern weil man sie Gott darbringt."

⁴⁴⁸ See *op. cit.*, p. 235. It is to be remarked that d'Abbadie's report was made from shorthand notes taken by him throughout the interview with Abâ Ieshaq and his companions; see *op. cit.*, p. 182.

samedis après Pâques, le 7^e est un sabbat de grâces, où ceux qui font des prières ou des bonnes oeuvres sont par le fait absous de leurs péchés. Il en est de même pour chaque 7^e samedi." He continued to enumerate the names of each of these seven sabbaths which, except for the two first, are being designated in accordance with the prayers recited on each of them. However, in regard to those *lengeta*-sabbaths, or sabbaths of grace, theory and practice seem again to differ, precisely as they did in the case of the intercalary system: from a remark of Faïtlovitch it follows that the seventh sabbath is actually being counted not from the day after the Passover-week, i. e., from Nisân 22nd, but from the beginning of the lunar year⁴⁴⁹. Nevertheless, the theoretic knowledge of the Falasha sage shows that those seven sabbaths to be counted from the end of the Passover-week, i. e., from the beginning of the first pentecontad, were originally the seven days with numbers divisible by seven within that fifty-day period; for since, as we have shown, the Passover-week represents the spring-*šapattum*, the first sabbath after Passover is, according to the system of the pentecontad-calendar discussed above, pp. 102 ff., the seventh day of the first pentecontad. In other words, like the Assyrians and the other peoples using the pentecontad system, the Falasha originally observed, within each fifty-day period, the days with numbers divisible by seven. The special rôle attributed to the seventh sabbath, or forty-ninth day, of the pentecontad then corresponds to the outstanding place of the 19th of the month in the late Assyrian calendar and goes back to the same source as the custom of the Therapeutes to celebrate the eve of the fiftieth day as the most solemn

⁴⁴⁹ Faïtlovitch reports (*op. cit.*, pp. 76 f.) that in 1908 the third *lengeta*-sabbath fell on the 22nd of August. Since in 1908 the new-moon of Nisân coincided with Thursday, April 2 (the epact of 1908 being 27), the first sabbath of the lunar year coincided with April 4; hence the 21st sabbath of the lunar year fell on August 22, i. e., on the very day named by Faïtlovitch as the third *lengeta*-sabbath. Moreover, Faïtlovitch's date is in perfect agreement with another remark made by the Falasha sage Abâ Ishaq (see d'Abbadie, *op. cit.*, p. 185), viz. that the greatest sabbath of the year was the fourth Saturday of the fifth lunar month; the 22nd of August 1908 actually coincides with the fourth Saturday of the month of Âb of that year.

among the multiples of seven⁴⁵⁰. In practice, however, the Falasha count the *lengeta*-sabbaths from the first Saturday of the lunar year, obviously because they found it impossible to maintain in their religious calendar an order of the sabbath days different from that introduced by the Abyssinian Christians which latter they themselves use in civil life.

In spite of the obvious relationship between C's calendar as reconstructed from Gen. 7-8 and that of the Falasha, there are important differences between the two systems. In the first place, the Falasha festivals are fixed within a lunar year, whereas those of C's calendar, bound to the pentecontad, or agricultural, year, fluctuate within the lunar months. In the second place, the distance between the two *šapattum* celebrations (i. e., between the end of the Passover-*maššôl* week and the beginning of the fall festival) amounts to 170 days in the Falasha calendar and to four pentecontads, or 200 days, in that of C. In the third place, the fall festival which comprised eight days in C's calendar lasts only seven days in that of the Falasha. Finally, in contradistinction to C who gave 30 days to each of the first six months and 29 days to each of the remaining months of the lunar year, the Falasha count, as we have mentioned, the months with uneven numbers at 30 and those with even numbers at 29 days⁴⁵¹. All these points of distinction make it certain that C's calendar underwent one or several reforms before it took the shape in which we find it among the Falasha. In order to recognize which developments led to these reforms an attempt must be made to determine until what time C's calendar was used by the Israelites. As was pointed out above (pp. 106 f.), that calendar must have been in use in Palestine in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. when the ancestors of the Egyptian Jews described by Philo left the homeland. A feature of the extant Jewish calendar enables us, however, to collect information about a precise date at which the pentecontad system still regulated the festivals. As is well known, the present calendar comprises a coherent period of seven "Sabbaths of Consolation"

⁴⁵⁰ Cf. above, p. 97, note 392 and pp. 102 f.

⁴⁵¹ Cf., however, p. 114, note 440.

which begin with the sabbath following the commemoration on the 9th of Âb of the destruction of the First Temple and end with the sabbath preceding *rôš haššânâ*. Having learnt, on the other hand, from the Falasha calendar with its institution of the *lengeta*-sabbaths that the counting of seven consecutive sabbaths after a certain festival goes back to the observance within each pentecontad of the days with numbers divisible by seven, we may well conclude that the destruction in 586 B.C. of the First Temple coincided with a pentecontad festival which, in that particular year, fell around the ninth of Âb⁴⁵². There is, in fact, evidence to corroborate this conclusion, for, as was pointed out by Morgenstern⁴⁵³, tradition actually knows a feast in the middle of the month of Âb which, being characterized by the same joyful dances in the vineyards as the three annual *haggîm*, must be considered a festival originally belonging to the same agricultural calendar as the *maššôṭ*, *šâḥû'ôṭ*, and *sukkôṭ* celebrations. We are even in a position to determine exactly the nature of this pentecontad-festival. As was expounded above, pp. 55 ff. and 66, the third fifty-day period of the Old Assyrian calendar was named for the fuel-wood which people used to gather during that season. If in Israel such a pentecontad of wood-gathering existed, it is to be expected in view of our previous inferences⁴⁵⁴ that it closed with a festival on which the tithe of the wood collected was donated to the sanctuary. Such a festival is actually traceable in our sources. Morgenstern⁴⁵⁵ called attention to Talmudic traditions according to which the aforementioned joyful celebration on the 15th of Âb was named "the day of breaking the saw" because on that day people ceased to cut wood for the altar. Josephus, in a passage also quoted by

⁴⁵² That both the fast-day in the month of Âb and the seven Sabbaths of Consolation are institutions going back to the time soon after the destruction of the First Temple follows from the passages Zech. 7.1 ff. and 8.19 discussed below, p. 139. It is, of course, not impossible that this custom was revived after the destruction of the Second Temple.

⁴⁵³ See *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series VIII, 1917, pp. 31 ff.

⁴⁵⁴ See above, p. 116, note 447.

⁴⁵⁵ See *op. cit.*, p. 37, note 3. For the details and for the older literature see Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* II⁴, Leipzig 1907, pp. 316 f.

Morgenstern in this connection⁴⁵⁶, is even more explicit when he calls the 14th of Âb the feast of Xylophory on which people came to the Temple in order to bring their share of wood for the altar⁴⁵⁷. It is not surprising that the various traditions disagree in regard to the precise date of the Âb festival; for it must be remembered that the pentecontad-festivals fluctuated within the lunar months and that, moreover, the pentecontad-year of 365 days as traceable in C's calendar slowly receded within the luni-solar year. This flexibility becomes particularly clear in view of the fact that the extant Falasha calendar observes that festival on still another date within the month of Âb. Since, as was mentioned before, the *lengeta*-sabbaths correspond approximately to the closing festivals of the pente-

⁴⁵⁶ *De Bello Judaico* II, 17, 6-7.

⁴⁵⁷ It is of particular interest to note that the same festival is attested in the Babylonian calendar. Several Old Babylonian texts refer to the fifth luni-solar month as *warah isin a-bi* "month of the feast of fuel-wood" (see, e. g., VS VIII, no. 47, l. 9; no. 48, l. 9; VS IX, no. 55, l. 5; no. 56, l. 5; for *abu* "fuel-wood" see above, p. 56, note 244), a wording which indicates that the month of *abu* was so named because it contained the closing festival of the pentecontad of fuel-wood. If combined with our previous conclusions in regard to the origin of the name of the third Old Babylonian month, *sibâtum* (see above, pp. 90 f.), the existence of the "feast of fuel-wood" indicates that the celebration of the last day of each pentecontad was not limited to the Palestinian pentecontad-calendar but was characteristic of the agricultural Amorite calendar as such. It may be remarked that the closing festival of the third pentecontad fell regularly into the fifth luni-solar month only at a time when the Old Babylonian pentecontad-year, due to its stabilization at 365 days, had already considerably receded in comparison with the agricultural year (cf. the tabulation above, p. 65). This state of affairs suggests that the fixation of that festival within the fifth luni-solar month and the naming of that month after the feast took place at the time when the pentecontad-year was definitely abandoned because it no longer agreed with the seasons. That before the stabilization of the *šapattum* when the pentecontad-year actually corresponded to the seasons, the month of *abu* contained not the end but rather the beginning of the pentecontad of fuel-wood is also indicated by the practice of the modern Palestinian Arabs which Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* IV, Gütersloh 1935, p. 3 describes as follows: "Von dem Zweigholz unterscheidet man das Holz von Baumstümpfen und Wurzeln, deren Ausrodung Männerarbeit ist Diese Arbeit geschieht gern erst vom Monat *âb* ab, weil die Männer dann Zeit haben und das Holz trocken ist."

contads, it is clear that the third *lengeta*-sabbath, which, as will be recalled, is considered the greatest sabbath of the entire year⁴⁵⁸, is identical with the closing celebration of the third pentecontad, i. e., the fifty-day period which in the Amorite calendar was named after the fuel-wood. In other words, the third *lengeta*-sabbath which the Falasha observe today on the fourth sabbath in $\hat{A}b$ is nothing but the feast of Xylophory attested by Josephus and in the rabbinical sources. The high esteem in which this day is held by the Falasha corresponds, moreover, to a tradition preserved in the Mishna⁴⁵⁹, viz. that the feast in the middle of $\hat{A}b$ was among the gayest celebrated by the Israelites. The fact that the destruction of the sanctuary occurred on this joyous festival must have made so profound an impression on the mind of the people that not only the lunar date on which the feast chanced to fall in the fateful year but the whole fourth pentecontad by which it was followed remained for ever connected with that tragic event⁴⁶⁰. Thanks to the coincidence of festival and catastrophe which thus happened to preserve almost intact the entire fourth pentecontad, it is clear that in the year of the destruction of the First Temple the pentecontad-calendar was still in use in Jerusalem.

In view of this evidence it becomes apparent that the profound changes which occurred in Israel's cultural and religious life during and immediately after the Exile remained not without influence on the history of the calendar. In order to trace its development during that period, we have to return for a moment to the calendar of the Falasha which, as we have seen, retained more features of C's scheme than that of the Rabbanites. It is of particular interest in this respect that some of the characteristics of the Falasha calendar obviously representing survivals of C's system are also found in the festive almanac of other Jewish groups; we are referring to the custom of celebrating a closing festival fifty days after the end of the seven-day feast in the

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. above, p. 117, note 449.

⁴⁵⁹ Ta'ānīt IV. 8; see below, p. 137.

⁴⁶⁰ The ultimate reasons why the fourth pentecontad remained connected with the day commemorating the destruction of the First Temple will be expounded below, pp. 137 ff.

fall and the eating of unleavened cakes during the latter festival, two habits which Epiphanius⁴⁶¹ knows as characteristics of the Sebuaeans and the Essenes⁴⁶². Significantly enough, Epiphanius ascribes the divergences between the Sebuaean and Essenian calendar, on the one hand, and that of the other Jews, on the other, to the hostility of those sectarians against Ezra. In view of the fact that the relevant features of the sectarian calendars are also found in the pre-exilic calendar of C, this remark of Epiphanius suggests that Ezra introduced a reform which was not accepted by the Sebuaeans, the Essenes, and those Jews who converted the Falasha⁴⁶³. What was the nature of this reform?

From Neh. 8.14 it is learnt that according to the law read by Ezra before the people in 458 B.C.⁴⁶⁴, the Israelites were to live in booths during the seven days of the fall festival; verse 17 of the same chapter adds that this ritual had not been observed by the nation since the days of Jeshua, the son of Nun. Hence it follows that Ezra revived a very old custom which had for centuries been obsolete. Now the building of booths from branches obviously is a feature of the vintage season, for even today the natives of Palestine live in booths in their vine-

⁴⁶¹ See his *Panarion haer.* I, X 2 ff. (ed. Holl, pp. 203 ff.).

⁴⁶² Epiphanius states that, in contradistinction to other Jews, those sectarians observed both the feasts of unleavened cakes and of Pentecost in the fall; he continues to assert that inversely they celebrated the Feast of Booths at the time when the other Jews had their Passover. In view of our previous results, this latter statement is, however, open to doubt; it seems more probable that, like the Falasha and, in all likelihood, all Jews in pre-exilic times (see above, p. 115, note 444), the Sebuaeans and Essenes observed two identical festivals in the spring and in the fall during both of which unleavened cakes were eaten. (Hence the remarks made by one of the present writers in *Orientalia* X, 1941, p. 34, note 1 in regard to Epiphanius' assertion have to be modified accordingly.)

⁴⁶³ In this connection we may recall once again the Talmudic statement (see above p. 104 with note 415) that in theory the feast of *sukkôt* should be followed, after fifty days, by a עֲצֵרָה, just as the Passover festival is followed by *šābū'ôt*; this remark suggests that even in later times certain Jewish scholars were aware of the fact that in bygone days such a closing festival had been celebrated by all Jews.

⁴⁶⁴ See Schaeder, *Ezra der Schreiber*, Tübingen 1930, pp. VI and 11 ff.

yards while they are gathering the grapes⁴⁶⁵. On the other hand, we know from the Old Assyrian calendar that the fourth pentecontad beginning with the day of *qitip karânim* "plucking the grapes" was called *tašmîṭum* "plucking". Since, as we have seen, the first and the third pentecontads (i. e., those of the grain harvest and of gathering the fuel-wood) were characterized by the same agricultural activities in both the Old Assyrian and the Palestinian pentecontad-calendars, it is a fair conclusion that also the work done during the fourth pentecontad was the same in both countries, a conclusion which implies that the fourth fifty-day period of the Palestinian calendar was also named for the fruit and vintage season. As we have further seen that each pentecontad ended with a festival on which a percentage of the products gathered during the respective period was brought to the sanctuary as a thanks-offering, it seems likely that the Feast of Booths originally marked the celebration on the fiftieth day of the pentecontad of ingathering the fruits. This interpretation is well in line with the designation *ḥag ḥâ'âsîf* which is used in Ex. 23.16 and 34.22 in reference to the fall festival. Since these two passages apply the name *ḥag ḥâ'âsîf* to the same festival which we previously identified with the fall-*šapattum*, and since, as was also explained above (pp. 112 f.), they represent the application of C's calendar, it follows that in the pre-exilic period this fruit-festival had been merged with the celebration of the fall-*šapattum*. This amalgamation of the two festivals is not surprising; for when in Palestine the *šapattum*-period was divided into two parts — a spring-*šapattum* preceding the first and a fall-*šapattum* preceding the fifth pentecontad —, the fruit-festival, closing day of the fourth pentecontad, came to precede immediately the eight days of the second *šapattum*⁴⁶⁶. In other words, the fruit-festival and the

⁴⁶⁵ Cana'an (*op. cit.*, p. 298) describes as follows this custom of the Palestinian Arabs: "Der Winzer zieht dann mit Sack und Pack in seine Weinbergshütte hinaus, die er sich aus Steinen und Reisig roh zurechtgemacht hat, und bleibt hier so lange, bis er alles verkauft oder aufgegessen hat. Hier im Freien kocht, isst und schläft er, und fühlt sich gemütlich und zufrieden."

⁴⁶⁶ Since, as will be presently shown (see below, p. 124), the fall-*šapattum* represented the New Year's celebration of a year beginning in the fall, the

fall-*šapattum* together represented an uninterrupted festive season of nine days⁴⁶⁷. Hence it becomes clear that when Ezra revived that old feast with its custom of living in booths, he separated it from the *šapattum* celebration and thus restored it to the independent place which it had held before the creation of the second *šapattum*. Since in regard to the fruit-festival Ezra's reform thus re-established a state of affairs such as it had existed in the old Amorite calendar before the division of the *šapattum*, we may well assume that he did the same for the *šapattum* itself; in other words, it seems that the reference in Neh. 8.17 to the state of the festive calendar at the time of Jeshua, the son of Nun, implies that by re-uniting the two separate *šapattum*-periods at the beginning of the year Ezra tried to re-introduce an institution of the Amorite calendar as it is attested in the Old Assyrian documents. Such action was not as arbitrary as it might seem at first sight. Since the *šapattum* celebration with its processions to the *akîtu*-temple "in the steppe" was a feature of the New Year's festival, the division of the *šapattum* in Palestine is to be attributed to the fact that that country virtually observed two New Year's days, one in the spring and one in the fall⁴⁶⁸. If Ezra wished to abolish this

Feast of Booths, falling on the day before the *šapattum*, was the last day of the old year. This conclusion is well in line with Deut. 31.10 f. where it is prescribed that the public reading of the law should begin at the end of each seventh year "on the Feast of Booths". This obviously means that the reading started on the holiday marking the last day of both the fourth pentacontad and the year ending in the fall and that it continued throughout the festive *šapattum* season. Cf. Neh. 8 and the discussion below, p. 128 with note 474.

⁴⁶⁷ The 49th day of each pentacontad being a sabbath day (see above, pp. 105 f.), the day preceding the fruit-festival was also a holiday, so that the festive season actually extended over as many as ten days.

⁴⁶⁸ It is interesting to note in this connection that the south-Babylonian city of Uruk also had two *akîtu*-feasts, one in *nisânu* and one in *tišrîtu*, the ritual for both celebrations being almost identical; see Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, Paris 1921, pp. 86 f. As was pointed out by Thureau-Dangin, this duplicity, which also characterizes the calendar of the city of Ur, is due to the fact that, like the ancient Israelites, the people of Ur and Uruk observed two New Year's days and, accordingly, used two intercalary months, one (the second *adâru*) preceding the New Year's day in *nisânu* and the other (the second *ulûlu*) preceding that in *tišrîtu*.

duplicity, it was therefore only logical to eliminate the fall-*šapattum* together with the New Year's day in Tišrî.

If our conclusions in regard to the elimination of the fall-*šapattum* in favor of a re-united *šapattum* at the beginning of the year are correct, we must expect that the first day of the first pentecontad (i. e., the 'omer-day) no longer coincided with the eighth day of Nisân, as had been the case in the first year of C's system (see col. 1 of the tabulation, above, p. 87), but that it fell in the middle of the first month, as it does in our tabulation above, p. 65 demonstrating the first year of the stabilized Assyro-Amorite calendar, and that, correspondingly, the last day of the first pentecontad (i. e., the feast of *šâbû'ôt*) was no longer celebrated in the last days of the second month but early in the third. To be sure, the Book of Ezra contains no information in regard to the date of either the 'omer-day or the feast of *šâbû'ôt*; but in the extant Jewish calendar both of these conditions are fulfilled. Now the data given in Ezra 6.19 and 22 seem to reveal a festive order identical with that observed today; hence we may well assume that this particular feature of the traditional Jewish almanac was introduced soon after the arrival in Jerusalem of the first Jews who availed themselves of Cyrus' permission to return to Palestine. Since, accordingly, it may well be supposed that at Ezra's time the 'omer-day was already fixed on Nisân 15⁴⁶⁹ and *šâbû'ôt* on Siwân 5^{469bis}, the re-united *šapattum* seems to have comprised fourteen days⁴⁷⁰.

The latter passage (Ezra 6.19 ff.) makes it, however, clear that the reform of the calendar, even though, according to Neh. 8.1 ff., enforced by Ezra, was not actually conceived by him; for by placing this first solemn Passover celebration immediately after the inauguration of the Second Temple, our passage,

⁴⁶⁹ This is all the more likely since Ezra 6.19 and Ez. 45.21 agree in regard to the date of the Passover celebration on Nisân 14.

^{469bis} Cf. above, p. 115, end of note 442.

⁴⁷⁰ This appears, at first sight, to represent a reduction by one day in comparison with the 7+8 *šapattum*-days contained in C's calendar. However, as will be shown below, pp. 136 ff., this seeming reduction is due to the fact that of the eight days of C's fall-*šapattum* actually only seven were transferred into the spring whereas the eighth, the later Day of Atonement, was left on its former place.

as well as Esdras α 7.10 ff., suggests that the reform was first planned together with the project of restoring the sanctuary and the ritual connected with it. This conclusion is borne out by Ezra 3.1 ff.: these verses which deal with the events following Zerubbabel's arrival in Jerusalem not only mention a vintage festival observed in much the same way as, later on, Ezra wanted it to be celebrated but also state that subsequently (אחר־כֵּן) — i. e., up from the vintage festival celebrated by Zerubbabel and Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, — one observed all the sacred festivals as prescribed by the law, "although the foundation of the temple of Jahweh had not yet been laid"⁴⁷¹. In other words, the reform of the calendar was part of the post-exilic revival of the temple ritual, and the first attempt at introducing it was made even before the temple was rebuilt. A further observation confirms that, at least in theory, the reformed calendar was already in use when the Second Temple was dedicated. 1 Ki. 8.2 and 65 f. state that Solomon's temple was solemnly inaugurated during the seven-day celebration of the *hâg* in the seventh month. Hence it appears that in pre-exilic times it was customary to inaugurate a sanctuary during the fall-*šapattum*⁴⁷². As regards

⁴⁷¹ The usual scepticism against the data contained in Ezra 3.1 ff. is not justified. It cannot well be assumed that years passed until Zerubbabel and those who arrived with him resumed the sacrificial services and the celebration of the festivals. Moreover, the verses Ez. 45.20 and 25 leave no doubt that the question as to how and on which days the fall festivals should be observed had been under discussion even during the captivity in Babylonia.

⁴⁷² Even though 1 Ki. 8.16 maintains, of course, that the dedication of the Solomonic Temple was a unique event, we are entitled to speak of the custom of inaugurating a sanctuary during the great fall festival. For it is significant that the later sources when describing inaugurations of an altar or sanctuary depict the pertinent ceremonies as having taken place in the festive season in the fall. A first example to the point is contained in the afore-quoted passage Ezra 3.1 ff. which implies that Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, and "his brothers" rebuilt the altar in Jerusalem in time to resume the sacrificial service at the festival in the seventh month. A further instance is contained in the Book of Jubilees which (in chapters 31 and 32) asserts that Jacob erected the altar at Bethel immediately before the celebration of the feast in the seventh month so that its inauguration and the simultaneous initiation of his son Levi as priest could take place during that festival. A third case in which, like in the Book of Jubilees, the dedication of the sanctuary is connected with the installation of the priests who were to officiate

the Second Temple, we learn from Ezra 6.15 ff. and Esdras a 7.5 ff. that its construction was finished in the course of the month of Adâr, and that, on the other hand, the dedication ceremonies were closed when the Israelites celebrated the Passover festival on the 14th day of the first month. From these dates it follows with fair certainty that the inauguration took place between the first and the fourteenth of the first month; in other words, while remaining faithful to the tradition of dedicating the sanctuary during the *šapattum*, the post-exilic reformers placed that celebration, in accordance with their elimination of the fall-*šapattum*, in the re-united *šapattum* at the beginning of the year⁴⁷³.

there is contained in the narrative of the consecration of the Tabernacle in the wilderness. This double ceremony of inaugurating the sanctuary and ordaining the priests (so particularly Ex. 29.44) — a ceremony which, together with the necessary preparations, is treated in Ex. 25–30, Lev. 8–10, and Lev. 16 — lasted (according to Ex. 29.30–37; Lev. 8.33–35) for seven days and reached (according to Lev. 9 and 16) its highest point on the eighth day (so Lev. 9.1) in the presentation of sacrifices, including sin-offerings, by the newly consecrated priest. As was remarked by Driver (*The Book of Leviticus*, Leipzig 1904, p. 81, note 4), the sending into the wilderness of a goat “for Azazel” mentioned in Lev. 16.7 ff. among the ceremonies of this eighth day recalls the later custom of leading, on the Day of Atonement, a goat to the rocks from which it was precipitated in order to perish. In fact, the description of the observance of the eighth day of the two-fold consecration is immediately followed, in Lev. 16.29 ff., by the regulations to be observed on the 10th day of the seventh month, the *šabbat šabbâtôn*; this shows that the redactor of Lev. 16 meant to represent the ceremonies of dedication and ordination in the wilderness as having taken place during the seven days preceding the *šabbat šabbâtôn* in the seventh month. Since, as will be shown below, pp. 136 ff., this day represents, in C’s pre-exilic calendar, the eighth day of the fall-*šapattum*, it follows that the redactor of Lev. 16 projected the inauguration of the Tabernacle into the pre-exilic fall-*šapattum*. As was noticed by Morgenstern, *HUCA* I, 1924, p. 49 (who also came to the conclusion that, in the afore-cited chapters, the inauguration of the Tabernacle is depicted as having been celebrated in the seventh month), Ex. 40.2 and 17, obviously reflecting the view of another redactor, place the same ceremonies into the beginning of the first month; it will be presently seen that this version is probably due to the tendencies which led to the inauguration of the Second Temple during the first days of the first month.

⁴⁷³ This extension over fourteen days of the inauguration ceremonies of the Second Temple explains the gloss to 1 Ki. 8.65 according to which the

The realization of the fact that after the Exile the 'omer-waving, or opening day of the first pentecontad, was, in all likelihood, placed on the 15th day of the first month makes it possible to draw a further conclusion in regard to the post-exilic reform. By combining the data contained in Ezra 3.6 with those of Neh. 8.18. it is learnt that in the reformed calendar the Feast of Booths was observed from the first through the eighth day of the seventh month⁴⁷⁴. Since, as was shown before, this feast marked, in the old Amorite calendar, the end of the fourth, or fruit, pentecontad, it follows that after the reform the space of time from the opening day of the first pentecontad through the closing day of the fourth was no longer 200 but only about 164 days. This implies that, aside from the first, or harvesting, pentecontad, the pentecontad system had been definitely abolished; since, on the other hand, the *šapattum* as well as the traditional pentecontad festivals were retained, it is obvious that these festive institutions had been detached from the calendaric system in which they originated and had, instead,

dedication of Solomon's temple likewise lasted for fourteen days; cf. also 2 Chr. 7.8 ff.

⁴⁷⁴ E. Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*, Halle 1896, p. 203, Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* III, 2, Stuttgart 1929, pp. 591 ff., and Schaefer, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 and 12 with note 2 take it for granted that the festival described in Neh. 8.13-18 lasted from the 15th to the 22nd day of the seventh month, a hypothesis which compels them either to separate, on insufficient reasons, Neh. 9 from Neh. 8 (so Kittel) or to assume that the Feast of Booths preceded *jôm hakkippûrîm* by only two days (so Meyer and Schaefer). But Neh. 8.13 ff. contain no evidence whatsoever from which it might be deduced that Ezra celebrated the *sukkôt* festival on the date prescribed by Lev. 23.34 ff. and accepted in the present-day Jewish calendar. On the contrary, an unprejudiced examination of Neh. 8 leads to the conclusion that the festival began with Ezra's reading the law "in the presence of the men and women and those (children) who could understand", which event, no doubt, took place on the first day of the seventh month (Neh. 8.2; Esdras a 9.37). Meyer's, Kittel's, and Schaefer's divergent supposition is all the more untenable since the afore-quoted passage Deut. 31.10 f. expressly defines the Feast of Booths of the *šemittâ* year as the proper occasion for reading the law before "men, women, and children", and since, as may be seen from the fact that the years 164/163 and 38/37 were sabbatical years (see Schürer, *op. cit.*, I⁶, Leipzig 1920, p. 35), the year 458/457 in which Ezra arrived in Jerusalem and read the law actually was a *šemittâ* year.

been placed on certain fixed dates within the lunar year⁴⁷⁵. Since the luni-solar system had thus become the only recognized calendar, it is perhaps not by mere coincidence when Ezra 3.5 mentions, besides the festive sacrifices, those for the new-moons which henceforth were to be regularly observed.

The basic ideas of this reform planned at the time of the construction of the Second Temple and enforced by Ezra did, however, not actually originate in the post-exilic period. In connection with its report on the year 622/621, the Book of Kings (II Ki. 23.21 f.) relates that, in fulfillment of his program of religious renovation, Josiah ordered the people to celebrate a Passover such as it had not been observed since "the time of the judges". According to II Chr. 35.1, this Passover took place, like that of the post-exilic calendar, on the 14th day of the first month and was also followed immediately by the seven-day celebration of the feast of *maššôl* (II Chr. 35.17). Hence it becomes clear that, as a part of the new law promulgated in 622, Josiah tried to introduce the same reformed calendar which we were able to trace later on at the time of the Second Temple. It is not surprising that in the later part of the seventh century the idea of a reform of the calendar was first conceived, for, as will be presently shown, at that time C's pentecontad-year had, due to its inherent inadequacies, receded noticeably in comparison with the agricultural seasons. Since, on the other hand, C's pentecontad system was still in use at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, it is apparent that Josiah's attempted reform remained without consequence, a conclusion which is well in line with the unfavorable comment made by the Book of Kings in regard to Josiah's successors who are blamed for having failed to live up to the principles enunciated by him.

⁴⁷⁵ Even though Ezra retained the most important of the ancient pentecontad festivals, he did not always preserve their original features: the Feast of Booths, which, as we have seen, originally was the closing festival of the fourth pentecontad and lasted therefore for only one day, was henceforth celebrated for eight days (cf. above, pp. 122-124). As it had, for centuries, been followed by the fall-*šapattum*, it would in fact have been difficult to limit it to its original length.

If Josiah's successors returned, in spite of its shortcomings, to C's traditional calendar, this may be due chiefly to the reluctance of the people to accept any changes and innovations in the order of their festivals. The reformers of the late sixth century seem to have met with no better response; for otherwise it would not have been necessary for Ezra to start, almost immediately after his arrival in Jerusalem, explaining to the people how the festivals were to be observed in accordance with the reformed calendar (see Neh. 8.9 ff.). But, to judge from Epiphanius' afore-quoted remark as well as from Ezra's failure in his action against intermarriage, even he seems to have been unable to impose the new regulations upon the people; the violent reaction which his measures obviously aroused in certain circles probably accounts for the fact that shortly after him a counter-reform took place which partly restored the calendar to its pre-exilic condition. An indication as to the circumstances in which this counter-reform was carried out comes from a letter addressed by a certain Hananiah to the Jewish mercenaries in Persian service stationed at Elephantine⁴⁷⁶. As is well known, the writer of this letter communicates the contents of a decree by which Darius II fixed the date of the *maššôl*-festival and determined the way in which that feast was to be observed. Obviously the very existence of such a royal decree implies that both the date of the feast and the manner in which to celebrate it had been subject to doubt. Since the papyrus letter dates from the year 419 B.C., i. e., only a few decades after Ezra's activity in Jerusalem, it becomes clear that, as a consequence of controversies raised by the reform, there was uncertainty about the proper way in which the great spring festival should be observed; in order to end that suspense, one of the opposing parties seems to have petitioned the Persian king and obtained from him a decree settling the controversial issue. Even though the document is rather fragmentary, it still allows to infer that the party which prevailed with Darius II was that opposing

⁴⁷⁶ For a translation and discussion of this letter, which was published in facsimile and translation by Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantine*, Leipzig 1911, no. 6, see particularly E. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*², Leipzig 1912, pp. 91 ff.

Ezra.⁴⁷⁷ That this is so follows in the first place from the fact that the decree does not mention at all the Passover festival⁴⁷⁸ but speaks only of the observation of the seven *maššôl*-days. As we have seen before, the pre-exilic pentecontad-calendar of C reflected in the passages Ex. 23.15 ff. and 34.18 ff., while laying particular stress on the *maššôl*-regulations, also ignores the feast of Passover. The reports on the reforms of Josiah and Ezra, on the other hand, deal in detail with the observation of Passover, whereas in regard to the *maššôl* celebration they either remain silent⁴⁷⁹ or mention it only incidentally⁴⁸⁰. Since Darius' order also ignores the feast of Passover, it is clear that those Jews who inspired it aimed at restoring to the spring festival its earlier pre-exilic character. There is a further feature of the papyrus letter which proves that Darius' decree of 419 B.C. reflects a reform directed against Ezra and his school and sponsored by the Persians: With the exception of one date (Ezra 6.15) obviously taken from an official document⁴⁸¹, the Book of Ezra uses the typical Jewish way of dating by numbering the months instead of naming them⁴⁸²; this shows that

⁴⁷⁷ As will be presently seen, Meyer's opinion that it was Ezra's party which obtained the decree from the Persian king does not stand the test of a careful examination.

⁴⁷⁸ The bold attempt by Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford 1923, pp. 62 ff. to restore in ll. 4 and 5 passages containing the words פסח and פסחא has, as he admits himself, no basis in the extant parts of the papyrus. His procedure is all the more unjustified since the decree, while giving directions concerning the diet to be observed during the *maššôl* festival, certainly makes no mention of the paschal sacrifices prescribed in Ex. 12.3 ff. and Deut. 16.2.

⁴⁷⁹ So II Ki. 23.21 ff.

⁴⁸⁰ So Ezra 6.22; II Chr. 35.17.

⁴⁸¹ That the date given in Ezra 6.15 does not come from Ezra's memoir was recognized by E. Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*, p. 54. Since then Schaefer, *Iranische Beiträge I* (*Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse VI, 5), Halle 1930, pp. 14 ff. has tried to establish that the Chronicler found it in the collection of Aramaic documents which Schaefer calls the *Denkschrift des Tâb'êl*. The present writers hope to show elsewhere that it must be excerpted from an official document, even if this should not have been the source postulated by Schaefer.

⁴⁸² See Ezra 3.1; 3.6; 3.8; 6.19; 7.8-9; 8.31; 10.9; 10.16-17; the same practice is found in the chapters Neh. 8-9 which belong to Ezra's memoir,

Ezra's calendar retained here one of the peculiarities of C's pre-exilic system. The papyrus letter, on the other hand, even though written by a Jew to a Jewish community, uses the month name Nisân; since, as will be shown by one of the present writers in a forthcoming article, the series of month names characteristic of the extant Jewish calendar was, contrary to a widely spread opinion, transmitted to the Israelites not by the Neo-Babylonians⁴⁸³ but by the Persians who applied it wherever they were in contact with a Semitic population, it is obvious that the introduction of those month names into the Jewish calendar was due to the Persian-sponsored reform which partly abolished Ezra's calendar.

Unfortunately we possess no direct information as to the measures taken by the counter-reformers of 419 B.C. in regard to the festivals other than the *maššôṭ* celebration. However, since we learnt from the papyrus letter that, according to Darius' decree, the great spring festival — the former spring-*šapattum* — was again celebrated in the pre-exilic way, we may well assume that the same was true of the fall-festival. This would imply that the custom of living in booths and the other features of the fruit-festival re-introduced by Ezra were once more abandoned in favor of the pre-exilic habit of celebrating in the fall a second *šapattum*-festival characterized by the eating of unleavened cakes and followed, after fifty days, by a feast of conclusion. That this measure in regard to the autumn festival actually was included in the counter-reform seems further evident in view of Epiphanius' afore-quoted remark to the effect that the observance of a *maššôṭ*-festival in the fall and of a feast of conclusion fifty days afterwards were precisely the features by which certain Jewish sectarians manifested their rancor against Ezra. Since, while being contrary to the Rabbanite

whereas the remainder of the Book of Nehemiah uses the month names known from the extant Jewish calendar.

⁴⁸³ It will be pointed out that forms such as מרחשון and ואדר cannot possibly be derived from the corresponding Neo-Babylonian names *arab samna* and *adâru arkû*; on the contrary, they have come to the Persians through the medium of a certain non-Semitic people which probably borrowed them at the time of the First Babylonian Dynasty.

festive order, these two features also distinguish the almanac of the Falasha who, according to the unanimous testimony of all travellers, ignore the habit of building booths for the celebration of their fall festival⁴⁸⁴, the question arises as to whether the reform carried out in 419 B.C. has survived in the Falasha calendar. If this be so, it would imply that those Jews who converted a part of the Abyssinians to Judaism belonged to a group which, while being less acquainted with Ezra's school of thought, was more open to the Persian influence than were their co-religionists in Palestine among whom there obviously were, despite the opposition, many followers of Ezra⁴⁸⁵. This seems, in fact, to have been the case; for it can be shown with fair certainty that those Israelites who subsequently immigrated into Abyssinia had belonged to the "Jewish army" in Persian services stationed in Egypt.

Besides the official Ethiopian version dating the immigration of the Falasha back to the time of Solomon, there exists among the Abyssinian Jews a tradition according to which their ancestors fled into Egypt at the time of the Babylonian captivity and subsequently moved up the Nile into Ethiopia⁴⁸⁶. But even if one ascribes this tradition merely to their knowledge of Jer. 42-44, one cannot overlook the striking similarities which exist between the religious practices of the Jews of Elephantine as revealed by the papyrus documents and those of the Falasha. As has been remarked by various authors, the *masgid*, or house of worship, of the Falasha has little in common with the synagogue of the other Jews but rather shows some of the features of the Temple in Jerusalem. Halévy summarizes as follows his impressions in this respect: "À la différence des synagogues juives qui sont proprement des lieux d'assemblée, les mesguids falacha révèlent tout le caractère de l'ancien temple de Jérusalem. Nul autre que les prêtres ne peut y entrer; le peuple se tient dans la cour, les deux sexes séparément. L'office se fait au

⁴⁸⁴ See Flad, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Stern, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 f.; d'Abbadie, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. below, pp. 143 ff.

⁴⁸⁶ See Flad, *op. cit.*, pp. 2 f.; d'Abbadie, *op. cit.*, p. 183; the report recorded by the latter even specifies that they came by way of Sannar on the Blue Nile.

son des sistres et des clefs et en brûlant de l'encens."⁴⁸⁷ This peculiarity shows that, unlike the Palestinian Jews, the forbears of the Falasha did not recognize the Temple in Jerusalem as the only legitimate sanctuary; the same is true of the Jews in Elephantine who, according to the papyri, had had a temple of their own "since the time of the Egyptian kings"⁴⁸⁸. Moreover, a *masgîd* is erected in every town or village where several Falasha families are living together, precisely as, to judge from the information given by Josephus⁴⁸⁹, the Egyptian Jews had numerous small sanctuaries before Onias established the central temple at Leontopolis⁴⁹⁰. Furthermore, in the rear of each Falasha sanctuary there is a small enclosure with a stone in the center on which animal sacrifices are offered on each sabbath and holiday⁴⁹¹. These bloody offerings also belonged to the religious practices of the Jews in Elephantine who, according to the afore-quoted papyrus no. 1 (l. 21), presented them until the destruction of their temple in 410 B.C. and afterwards repeatedly approached the Persian administration in order to obtain the permission to rebuild their sanctuary and take up that practice⁴⁹². These common features which, barring the Samaritans, have no analogy among other Jewish groups, strongly suggest that those who were to become the Falasha had actually been living near the Upper Egyptian border before they migrated to Ethiopia. There is, in fact, evidence to the effect that from time to time troops stationed in the frontier-garrison of Elephantine either actually deserted into Abyssinia or threatened to do so. Herodotus (II 30) tells of the desertion,

⁴⁸⁷ See *op. cit.*, p. 22; cf. Stern, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

⁴⁸⁸ See Sachau, *op. cit.*, no. 1, l. 13; no. 2, l. 12.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ant.* XIII, III, 1.

⁴⁹⁰ It is even possible that the use by the Falasha of the word *masgîd* is not due to the spreading of Islâm into Abyssinia (as taken for granted by Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, p. 36, note 4) but (like the term *kâh"n* "priest") goes back to the religious vocabulary of the Egyptian Jews. For papyrus 32 (Sachau, *op. cit.*, pp. 118 f. and plate XXXII) where a Jew swears יבענתי ובענתי במסודא shows that the latter were acquainted with the Aramaic prototype of the Arabic word مسجد.

⁴⁹¹ See Stern, *op. cit.*, p. 188; cf. Halévy, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Flad, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁴⁹² See Sachau, *op. cit.*, nos. 1 and 2.

under Psammetichus I (663–609), of Egyptian soldiers from Elephantine who were settled by the Ethiopian king in the northern part of his country, and a hieroglyphic inscription dating from the reign of Apries (588–569) reports a revolt by foreign mercenaries from the same garrison who threatened to depart for Ethiopia⁴⁹³. Hence it seems that the idea of leaving for the country across the southern border of Egypt was always present in the minds of those frontier troops as soon as they were, for some reason, dissatisfied with their superiors. We are even in a position to surmise the approximate date of the emigration of these Egyptian Jews into Abyssinia; for since it is known that, according to papyri nos. 3 and 5, the Persian governor subsequently entitled the Jews of Elephantine merely to present bloodless sacrifices, it seems likely that the ancestors of the Falasha left Egypt at a time when they had not yet forgotten their ancient habit of presenting animal sacrifices, a habit which, as was mentioned before, was practiced by the Jews in Elephantine until the destruction of their temple in 410 B.C. This inference is in line with the fact that the Falasha, even though accepting all the pre-Christian scriptures contained in the Ethiopic Bible, recognize as binding only those written not later than Ezra⁴⁹⁴. The conclusion that the forbears of the Falasha left Egypt around, or some time after, 400 B.C. is further in agreement with their failure to observe not only the feast of *ḥ^anukkâ* but also that of *pûrîm*; for the latter was adopted by the Jews some time after the reign of Artaxerxes II⁴⁹⁵, the successor of Darius II under whom the counter-reform of the calendar was carried out.

These considerations make it clear that the festive almanac of the Falasha reflects to a large extent the calendar used, after the reform of 419 B.C., by the Egyptian Jews in Persian service. Hence it is obvious that those features which the Rab-

⁴⁹³ See Schäfer in *Klio* IV, 1904, pp. 155 ff.; cf. E. Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 f. and *Kleine Schriften*, Halle 1910, p. 77, note 1.

⁴⁹⁴ See Halévy, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁴⁹⁵ For the history of the *pûrîm*-festival borrowed from the Persians first by the Babylonians and subsequently by the Jews see J. Lewy, *HUCA* XIV, 1939, pp. 127 ff.

banite calendar has in common with that of the Falasha are mainly due to that same reform, whereas those in which the traditional Jewish system differs from that of the Falasha represent in all likelihood the measures introduced by Ezra⁴⁹⁶. To the former group of features belongs, as we have mentioned, the series of month names which seems to have soon become familiar among both Egyptian and Palestinian Jews. A further characteristic common to both the Rabbanite and the Falasha calendars and, as will be presently seen, contrary to Ezra's reform, is the observance of a day of fasting on the 10th of Tišri. Morgenstern⁴⁹⁷ advanced the theory that this fast-day — today generally known as *jom hakkippûrîm* — marked the culmination of the great pre-exilic fall festival on the eighth day of which it was celebrated; this means, according to our previous conclusions in regard to C's pre-exilic calendar, that it was the eighth and last day of the fall-*šapattum*. Morgenstern's observation is confirmed by several considerations. From Neh. 9.1 it is learnt that Ezra celebrated *jom hakkippûrîm* on the 24th day of the seventh month. Since, as we mentioned before, Ezra transferred only seven days of the fall-*šapattum* into the first month⁴⁹⁸, it is to be expected that the remaining eighth day retained its former place. In fact, according to C's calendar, the fall-*šapattum* began, in "the year of the flood", on the 17th day of the seventh month (see the tabulation above, p. 87); hence the eighth day fell on the 24th of that same month, i. e., precisely on the day on which it was observed under Ezra.

Further evidence to the effect that *jom hakkippûrîm* fell in the fall-*šapattum* comes from the expression *šabbat šabbâton* which is used in reference to that festival in Lev. 16.31 and 23.32 as well as by Philo⁴⁹⁹. Since the ending -*ôn* forms adjectives of appurtenance⁵⁰⁰, the term *šabbâton* defines *jom*

⁴⁹⁶ The later reforms through which the calendar passed after the separation of the Falasha from the rest of the Jews seem to have concerned mainly the perfection of the luni-solar intercalary cycle and the definite transfer of the New Year's day to the first of Tišri.

⁴⁹⁷ See *HUCA* I, 1924, p. 48.

⁴⁹⁸ See above, p. 125 with note 470.

⁴⁹⁹ *De specialibus legibus* II 23, 194.

⁵⁰⁰ Cf. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den Semitischen Sprachen*², Leipzig 1894, pp. 340 f.

hakkippûrîm as "belonging to the *šabbât*". Consequently the whole expression *šabbat šabbâtôn* means "a sabbath belonging to a sabbath"⁵⁰¹, a definition which makes only sense if it is admitted that the second term sabbath is used here, like in Lev. 23.11 and 15⁵⁰², in the archaic sense of the word, i. e., as a designation of the old Amorite *šapattum*. In other words, the expression *šabbat šabbâtôn* describes *îôm hakkippûrîm* as "a sabbath belonging to a *šapattum*". Since we know, on the other hand, that *îôm hakkippûrîm* is, and so far as we can see, always was celebrated in the fall, it is obvious that it represents more specifically the sabbath day of the fall-*šapattum*; this latter being in itself a festive period, it is to be expected that its sabbath-day was one of the highest festivals of the entire religious year. That this was actually so, follows from the abovementioned Mishna-passage (Ta'ânî IV.8) according to which "Israel had no festivals like the 15th of Âb and the Day of Atonement The maidens of Jerusalem would go out and dance in the vineyards."⁵⁰³

As the context of this mishnic passage leaves no doubt that the Day of Atonement originally was, like the 15th of Âb⁵⁰⁴, a feast of rejoicing and gladness, the question arises as to how it subsequently became the day of fasting and repentance par excellence⁵⁰⁵. The answer to this question is closely connected

⁵⁰¹ It will be noted that the shortened form *šabbat*, which led to the usual but unfounded interpretation of *šabbat šabbâtôn* as "sabbath of complete rest", "Sabbath der Ruhefeier", and the like, recurs in the idiom *šabbat šabbât* I Chr. 9.32; hence it is obvious that the use of the shortened form *šabbat* is due to rhythmic grounds, and that there is no reason to regard *šabbat šabbâtôn* as composed of a *status constructus šabbat* as *regens* and a substantive *šabbâtôn* as *rectum*.

⁵⁰² See above, pp. 78 ff.

⁵⁰³ Cf. Morgenstern, *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series VIII, 1917, p. 31; see also Elbogen, *Studien zur Geschichte des Jüdischen Gottesdienstes*, Berlin 1907, p. 53 where references to the older literature are to be found.

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. above, pp. 119 ff.

⁵⁰⁵ It is interesting to note in this connection that among the Falasha the Day of Atonement has partly preserved its original nature: according to Faitlovitch (*op. cit.*, pp. 96 f. and p. 97, note 1), its first half is devoted to repentance and self-affliction, whereas the second half is characterized by the singing of gay hymns and the performance of joyous dances.

with the problem as to why the counter-reformers of 419 B.C. placed it on the 10th of Tišrî, i. e., five days before the great fall festival of which it formerly was the eighth day. As was pointed out before⁵⁰⁶, the destruction of the First Temple on the day usually observed as the joyous closing festival of the third pentecontad made so deep an impression on the people that not only the feast of wood-carrying itself but the entire fourth pentecontad by which it was followed were henceforth dedicated to the memory of that disaster. If we accept (with Josephus, *De Bello Jud.* VI, IV, 5) as correct the date of the destruction of the Temple given in Jer. 52.12, it follows that in that year 586 B.C. the feast of Xylophory fell on the 10th of Âb; accordingly the fourth pentecontad opened on the 11th of Âb and, lasting for fifty days, closed on the 2nd of Tišrî. The fall-*šapattum*, by which it was followed, then began on the 3rd of Tišrî, and, extending over eight days, ended with the *šabbat šabbâtôn* falling on the 10th of Tišrî, i. e., on the very date chosen by the reform of 419 B.C. for the Day of Atonement. Hence the reasons for setting aside this day for the fast of *îôm hakkippûrîm* become clear: both of the festivals which formerly had been the most joyous of the whole year (namely the feast of Xylophory and the *šabbat šabbâtôn*) were turned into days of mourning and repentance, and the entire period comprised between those two days — viz. the fourth pentecontad and the second *šapattum* — were devoted to meditation about the misfortune which had struck the nation. The fact that the lunar dates on which the two festivals happened to fall in 586 were chosen as permanent fast-days suggests that this period of meditation and mourning was instituted immediately after the catastrophe when all details were still fresh in the memory of the survivors. The correctness of these conclusions is corroborated by two biblical passages: When Ezra re-introduced the old Amorite vintage feast in the beginning of the seventh month, he is said (in Neh. 8.9–11) to have exhorted the people to refrain from weeping and mourning and to rejoice, instead, in the festive season. These manifestations of grief in

⁵⁰⁶ See above, pp. 119 ff.

the early days of the seventh month are, in fact, easily explainable if, since the destruction of the Temple, the entire period from the 10th of Âb through the 10th of Tišrî had been observed as a season of self-affliction. The passage Zech. 7.5 ff. points in the same direction, since it speaks of the fast-days in the fifth and the seventh month which had been observed by the people for seventy years; for this can only mean that at the very beginning of the Exile the feast of Xylophory and the *šabbat šabbâtôn* were set aside as days of religious mortification⁵⁰⁷. The afore-quoted passage from the Book of Nehemiah proves at the same time that Ezra was, for reasons unknown to us, determined to abolish this period of mourning; here again he took up a measure initiated by the reformers of the late sixth century; for the passages Zech. 7.1 ff. and 8.19 make it clear that more than half a century before Ezra an attempt had been made to eliminate the fast-days commemorating the events of the war against the Babylonians. But once more the practice which had become a custom proved to be stronger than the reformers and therefore the measure had to be revoked by the counter-reform of 419⁵⁰⁸.

At this point it is necessary to make a slight digression; for our considerations in regard to the lunar dates on which the feast of Xylophory and the *šabbat šabbâtôn* fell in the year 586 make it possible to determine the approximate date of introduction of C's pentecontad-calendar. As was pointed out before, C's inexact computation of the length of the year (viz. 365 days) caused a recession of one day in four years. Since, on the other hand, a luni-solar calendar represents, in the long run, a remarkably stable system even if the intercalations are irregular, the approximate number of days by which the festivals of C's

⁵⁰⁷ In regard to the fast on the 9th of Âb, this interpretation of the passage Zech. 7.5 ff. was also proposed by Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁵⁰⁸ Today the Falasha observe the fast of Âb on the 17th (see d'Abbadie, *op. cit.*, p. 236), whereas the Rabbanites have fixed it on the 9th. It is, of course, impossible to account for these divergences from the date given in Jer. 52.12. That the feast of Xylophory was subsequently celebrated on the 14th or 15th of Âb (see above, pp. 119 ff.) may have been due to the desire to separate it from the day of fasting.

calendar receded is obtained by a comparison of their dates at the time of the destruction of the Temple (586 B.C.) with those of the year of introduction of the calendar (i. e., "the year of the flood" of our tabulation above, p. 87). If in 586 B.C. the last day of the third pentecontad (i. e., the 157th day of the year) fell on the 10th day of the fifth month, and the last day of the fall-*šapattum* (i. e., the 215th day of the year) on the 10th day of the seventh month, the first day of that year, i. e., the opening day of the spring-*šapattum*, fell around the first day of the twelfth month of the preceding lunar year. As it is known from Ex. 23.15 and 34.18 that the initial day of the spring-*šapattum*, which is the first day of the feast of *maššôt*, was not to fall outside the month of *Âbîb* (see also the tabulation above, p. 87), it is obvious that this festival had receded a minimum of 29 days, a recession which corresponds to 116 years of use of the calendar. In other words, the introduction of C's calendar fell approximately 116 years before the destruction of the First Temple, or around 702 B.C., i. e., in the reign of Hezekiah. This result is well in line with the passages II Chr. 30.13 ff. and II Ki. 18.22 which suggest that some calendaric and religious reforms actually took place under Hezekiah.

To return now to the reform of the Jewish calendar carried out in the fifth pre-Christian century, we concluded from the dates on which Ezra fixed the great spring and fall festivals that he had definitely abandoned the pentecontad system which was restored only in part by the reform of 419 B.C. Since, as was previously shown, both the week and the sabbath day were closely connected with the pentecontad system, the question arises as to how these two institutions were affected by Ezra's reform of 458 and the subsequent counter-reform. In order to answer this question we have to examine various biblical passages dealing with the laws regulating the observation of the sabbath. One of the most perplexing passages to be discussed in this connection is found in the Book of Exodus where, without any visible connection with the context, the sabbath law is inserted (in 31.12 ff.) into the report on the construction of the Tabernacle in the desert and the consecration of Aaron and his sons. Now it can be shown that both the dedication of the

Tabernacle and the consecration of the priestly family are depicted as having taken place during the fall-*šapattum* of C's calendar⁵⁰⁹. Once it is recognized that the chapters preceding Ex. 31.12 ff. deal with ceremonies to be held during the fall-*šapattum*, it becomes clear that in the passage here under discussion the term *šabbât* has to be taken in its archaic sense; in other words, this sabbath law originally did not apply to the weekly sabbath day but it regulates the observance of the annual *šapattum* weeks⁵¹⁰. Verse 15^a then is to be interpreted as stating that during the first six days of the *šapattum* weeks the Israelites were allowed to do some work, whereas the *šabbât šabbâtôn*, the sabbath day of the *šapattum*, should be a holiday not to be profaned by any mundane activity⁵¹¹. In view of the

⁵⁰⁹ See above, p. 127, note 472.

⁵¹⁰ This conclusion is not invalidated by the fact that verse 15^b (כל העשה) uses the term *יום השבת* (מלאכה ביום השבת מוח יומת) "sabbath day". For verse 15^b is obviously an expansion saying in other terms what had already been stated in 14^b. It is further to be noted that the Septuagint, which, throughout this passage, renders שבת by *σάββατα*, offers, instead of *ביום השבת*, *τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ*. It appears therefore that the Hebrew manuscript on which the Greek version is based read — in accordance with the secondary verse 17 — *ביום השביעי*.

⁵¹¹ The fact that here the fall-*šapattum* is thought to contain seven days is in contradistinction to C's calendar with its year of 365 days or two *šapattum*-periods of seven and eight days, respectively. This divergence suggests the existence of an older calendar operating with two equal *šapattum*-periods of seven days each, i. e., with a year of 364 days. The aforementioned fact that, guided by the desire to revive certain calendaric institutions ascribed to the time of Jeshua, the son of Nun, Ezra introduced a single *šapattum* of fourteen days points in the same direction. Further evidence to the effect that — due to a reform, possibly to be attributed to C himself — the fall-*šapattum* was lengthened from seven to eight days is contained in the Book of Jubilees 32.27 where the eighth day of the great fall festival is expressly defined as "Addition, for this day was added", a statement which is supplemented in verse 29: "And its name was called Addition according to the number of the days of the year". Hence it follows that there existed, between the epoch when the Israelite calendar had a flexible *šapattum* and the pre-exilic period during which C's calendar was in use, another pentecost-calendar with two equal seven-day *šapattum*-periods. Since a year of 364 days leads, after a few decades, to a major calendaric confusion, it is probable that this latter calendar was soon abandoned in favor of C's more precise system. On the other hand, the very existence of that old year of

observation that in the sabbath law in Ex. 31.12 ff. the term *šabbat šabbâtôn* is used in the same sense as in Lev. 16.31 and 23.32 (see above, pp. 136 f.), namely for the sabbath day of one of the two pre-exilic *šapattum*-weeks, it is manifest that the same is true of the two further passages where the expression occurs in connection with the sabbath law, viz. Ex. 35.2⁵¹² and Lev. 23.3. The latter verse makes this particularly clear when it prescribes that on the *šabbat šabbâtôn* a *מקרא־קדש* should be held, i. e., a holy religious meeting of the same character as those taking place on the first and the last days of the two *šapattum* celebrations in the spring (Lev. 23.7–8) and in the fall (Lev. 23.35–36). Accordingly it must be assumed that originally Lev. 23.3 dealt with the feast of *maṣṣôṭ*, or spring-*šapattum*, which, being according to C's pre-exilic calendar the opening celebration of Israel's religious year, naturally headed, as it does in the extant version of the law, the regulations governing the festive seasons; in other words, Lev. 23.3 seems to have duplicated, perhaps in another redaction, the laws now contained in verses 6^b–8. This interpretation is fully confirmed by the analogous festive almanac contained in Ex. 34.18 ff., where verse 21 as it stands obviously refers to the same seven-day celebration in the month of *Âbîb* as does verse 18.

To be sure, our sources do not allow to determine a priori at what time the verse Lev. 23.3 concerning the observance of the spring-*šapattum* was cut out of its original context and thus taken to refer to the weekly sabbath day; nevertheless, our previous inferences regarding the calendaric reforms carried out in the fifth pre-Christian century make it possible to reach some conclusions in this respect. If, as we have shown, Ezra reunited the two separate *šapattum*-periods which had characterized the pre-exilic calendar, he certainly was compelled also to change the meaning of the passages dealing with those two

364 days may explain how the author of the Book of Jubilees dared to propose the introduction of this faulty unit of time as late as the second pre-Christian century.

⁵¹² Much like Ex. 31.15 (see above, p. 141, note 510), Ex. 35.2 was expanded by a redactor who, supposing that this law concerned the weekly sabbath day, added verse 3: *לֹא תַעֲבֹדוּ אֱשֶׁשׁ בְּכָל מַשְׁבְּחֵיכֶם*.

šapattum-periods; for as soon as the calendar comprised only one single *šapattum* of fourteen days placed at the beginning of the year (i. e., from Nisân 1 through 14), those verses referring to the two seven-day *šapattum*-periods had naturally lost their meaning and had, therefore, to be given a new interpretation. This new interpretation which transformed the former *šapattum*-regulations into laws governing the observance of the weekly sabbath day made it, of course, necessary to abolish the observance of the old sabbath days, or days with numbers divisible by seven within the pentecontads; for this system was, as was pointed out above (pp. 102 ff.), incompatible with the continuous succession of the weeks and the new sabbath days. Thus we realize that Ezra's desire to re-establish what he considered the state of the calendar at "the time of Jeshua, the son of Nun" (so Neh. 8.17) actually led to the destruction of the old Israelite pentecontad-calendar.

In order fully to evaluate the influence that the school represented by Ezra exerted upon the festive calendar, it might be well to recapitulate now the characteristics in which the order of the feasts discernible in the early post-exilic period differed from the older customs, on the one hand, and from the regulations introduced by the counter-reformers of 419 B.C., on the other; for such a survey makes it clear in regard to which features the extant Jewish calendar agrees, after all, with the scheme advocated in 458 B.C. Ezra abolished the fall-*šapattum* in its pre-exilic form and re-united it with the spring-*šapattum* so that the year began with a single *šapattum*-season of 14 days lasting from Nisân 1 to 14 which, with the exception of its last day, the Passover festival, was, however, deprived of the festive celebrations characteristic of the corresponding period of the old Amorite calendar. As regards the date on which the *šāḇū'ôṭi*-festival was fixed in Ezra's calendar, we have no direct information whatsoever; but it is logical to assume that it was to be celebrated fifty days after the end of the re-united *šapattum*, i. e., on Siwân 5⁵¹³. Whereas the places given to the *šapattum* and to the feast of *šāḇū'ôṭi* remained in perfect agreement with

⁵¹³ For this date see above, p. 115, note 442.

the basic principles of the Amorite pentecontad-calendar, the date chosen by him for the great spring festival was unprecedented: instead of observing it within the two-week period formed by the re-united *šapattum*, he placed it at the end of the latter in such a way that the day of "seizing the sickle", i. e., the 'omer-day, henceforth coincided with the first *maššôl*-day, a provision which, as is well known, survives in the traditional calendar and gave rise to the aforementioned controversies. In regulating the fall festival, he was likewise at variance with the old pattern. To be sure, his suppression of the closing festival which, in C's calendar, followed 50 days after the end of the fall-*šapattum* was only logical since he eliminated the latter as well as all pentecontads except the first which followed the spring-*šapattum*. But when he decided not only to re-introduce the old vintage feast which once had marked the fiftieth day of the fourth pentecontad (corresponding to other closing festivals such as *šāḫū'ôl* and the day of Xylophory) but also to extend it over eight days and, moreover, to celebrate it from the first through the eighth day of Tišrî, he obliterated the original character of the Feast of Booths. In so fixing the date of this festival, he simultaneously abolished the period of mourning which, created immediately after the destruction of the First Temple, used to begin with the fast day on Âb 10 and to end with another fast day (the subsequent *jom hakkippûrîm*) on Tišrî 10, thus comprising the fourth pentecontad and the former fall-*šapattum*. Instead, he placed the Day of Atonement on Tišrî 24, i. e., on the lunar date on which the eighth day of the fall-*šapattum* had fallen in the "year of the flood" of C's calendar. Attempting to alleviate the discontent that had sprung up as a consequence of these innovations, the counter-reformers of 419 B.C. restored certain pre-exilic features of the calendar but also endorsed some of the regulations which had been advocated by Ezra. Thus they again placed the *maššôl*-festival before, and not within, the first pentecontad so that the 'omer-day (i. e., in their calendar, Nisân 22) was once more detached from the first *maššôl*-day (Nisân 15) which latter consequently fell once more 57 days before the feast of *šāḫū'ôl* (Siwân 12). On the other hand, the *maššôl*-festival was not shifted back to its pre-exilic

place within the first seven days of the year. They again gave to the fall festival (the former fall-*šapattum*) its pre-exilic character as a second feast of unleavened cakes, but in placing it on the seven days from Tišrî 15 through 21 they did not restore the old interval of 207 days which, in C's calendar, had separated the opening day of the first from that of the second *maššôt*-feast. They re-introduced, however, the closing festival of the fifth pentecontad celebrated 57 days after the beginning of the second feast of unleavened cakes. On the other hand, they abstained from restoring the eighth day of the latter festival which had become the Day of Atonement; instead, they again chose the 10th day of Tišrî for *jom hakkippûrîm*, at the same time re-establishing it as the closing day of a whole period of meditation beginning with the fast-day in the month of Âb⁵¹⁴. To judge from the *lengeta*-sabbaths observed by the Falasha, they even preserved some vestiges of the pentecontad system, although they retained the luni-solar calendar for all other purposes.

Our rapid survey of the origin and development of the Israelite festivals⁵¹⁵ makes it clear that, insofar as the old Amorite calendar is concerned, the Jewish sources have, in spite of their intricacies, one advantage over the cuneiform sources from Assyria and Babylonia: each of the latter groups of documents reveals the Amorite calendar in merely one stage of its development, the period when a fixed *šapattum* had been introduced being known from the Kültepe-texts, and the last phase when only the first, or harvesting, pentecontad and some of the festivals were preserved being attested in tablets dating from the First Babylonian Dynasty. The Bible, however, contains vestiges of each of the various phases through which the calendar passed in its long history. Lev. 23.11 and 15 reveal the use

⁵¹⁴ It goes without saying that, after a later reform shifted the New Year's day to Tišrî 1, this period was shortened so as to end in Elûl, although the 10th of Tišrî remained the Day of Atonement; cf. above, p. 136, note 496.

⁵¹⁵ The Passover festival which, while not belonging to C's calendar, has, nevertheless, its roots in the pentecontad system was, for methodological reasons, not included in the present investigation; it will be discussed in a separate article.

of the oldest form with its *šapattum* varying in length from year to year in accordance with the state of the harvest; the sabbath laws prove the existence of an early attempt at introducing a fixed *šapattum* consisting of two separate seven-day periods; C's calendar (Gen. 7-8) as well as the passages Ex. 23.15 ff. and 34.18 ff. reveal the improvement achieved at the time of Hezekiah by the introduction of the year of 365 days including two *šapattum*-periods of seven and eight days, respectively; the evidence bearing upon the events of the year 586 B.C. sheds light upon the recession of the pentecontad-festivals in comparison with their original seasons and thus on the aberration caused by the stabilization of the *šapattum* and the inaccurate determination of the length of the year in C's calendar; the post-exilic sources finally reveal the various stages leading to the definite abandonment of the old Amorite calendar.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS AND TECHNICAL TERMS

- abum* "reeds used as fuel": n. 244; see also *warah (isin) abim*
- warah (isin) abim* fifth Old Babylonian month containing the closing festival of the "pentecontad of fuel-wood": 91; n. 457
- Addition* designation of the eighth day of the fall festival in the Jewish calendar: n. 511
- akîtu-festival*: see *New Year's festival* and *bît akîti šêri*
- Anunnaki* deities of heaven and earth of the same character as the wind-genii: n. 207
- apkallû* "wise ones"; designation of various heptads of wind-genii: 29-33; 40-43; n. 189 and *passim*
- aptum* "magazine for storing grain": 54 with n. 239
- asartha* ('*ašartâ*) "closing festival"; term originally used for the closing days of the pentecontads in the Old Palestinian calendar: 104 with n. 415-417; n. 463
- Be'êr Šeba'*: see *Well of the Seven*
- bît akîti šêri* "*akîtu*-temple outside the city"; destination of the processions taking place during the Assyrian New Year's festival: 61-63; n. 266; 111; 124 with n. 468
- Bitter River*: see *nârmarratu*
- warahbaltam(ma)* perhaps name of an Old Assyrian intercalary month: n. 299
- burâdu* name of a fish used as a designation of the fish-coated wind-genii: 42 with n. 189
- dârum* "period"; Old Assyrian designation of a time-unit comprising approximately fifty years: 72-75 with n. 311-315; 96
- daš'û* "fresh herbs"; designation of the seventh pentecontad of the Old Assyrian calendar: 57 f. with n. 249 and 253; 65; 66 with n. 292; 90
- Divine Heptad*: see *dSibitti*
- elabbuḫū, ellabūḫū* Hurrianized Akkadian term denoting animalic fatty refuses used as fuel; corresponding to Hebrew *heleḫ* "omentum", "fat from the omentum": n. 244
- Enlil* god of the storm and fertility; ruler of heaven and nether-world 22-27; 45 with n. 205; n. 229 and *passim*
- Enmešarra* god of the same character as *Enlil*; banished into the lower world: 26-28
- Enmešarra's seven sons* the Nippurian variety of the seven wind-genii: 26-28; 37-40; 42; n. 229 and *passim*
- Eridu-priest* priest performing a ceremony of purification on a sick person: 42 with n. 190
- fallâḫîn*: see *pentecontad-calendar* among the *fallâḫîn*
- fast-day in the month of Âb* originally closing day of the Palestinian "pentecontad of fuel-wood": 119-121; n. 452; 139 with n. 508; see also *Xylophoria*
- Falasha*: 113-122; 133-136; see also *pentecontad-calendar*
- Feast of Booths*: see *sukkôt*
- Feast of Unleavened Cakes*: see *maš-šôt*
- four-direction-system in Babylonian cosmology*: 7-10; 18 f. with n. 74; 21
- el-ḥamâsîn* modern Arabic term denoting the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost: n. 366

- es-sab'*(i) *ḥamsīnāt* "the seven fifties"; modern Arabic term denoting the pentecontads in the calendar of the *fallāḥīn* in Southern Palestine 99–100 with n. 397–400; 103
- ḥamuštum*, pl. *ḥamšātum* designation of the pentecontads in the Old Assyrian calendar: 47–75; n. 211; n. 220; n. 255; 77; 78; 86; 88 f.; 103 and *passim*
- ḥanšāti* Babylonian term corresponding to Assyrian *ḥamuštum*: n. 211; 88 f. with n. 352–355; 103
- ḥarpū* "first-fruits"; designation of the first Old Assyrian pentecontad: 52 with n. 228; 55; 57 with n. 247; n. 254; 60; 65 with n. 285; 79; 110
- ḤĒ-ZI* "pregnant with life"; name of a wind-genius: n. 127
- ilibbuḫū*, *illibuḫū*: see *elabbuḫū*
- iḏbēl* period of approximately fifty years in the Jewish calendar: 96 f. with n. 391; 108 f.
- iḏm* "day", used in the sense of "wind": 5
- iḏm hakkippūrīm* "Day of Atonement"; formerly called *šabbat šab-bātōn* and falling on the eighth day of the pre-exilic fall-*šapattum*: n. 472; n. 474; 136–140
- Jubilee period*: see *iḏbēl*
- kibrum*, pl. *kibrātum* "shore", used in the sense of "direction", "region": n. 26; n. 66
- warah k/g/qiratim* perhaps name of an Old Assyrian intercalary month: n. 299
- kiššatum* "universe", written with the numeral VII: 16 f.; written with the numeral L: 46 f.
- kudullu* "fire-wood": n. 244
- warah kuzallī* "month of fuel-wood"; fifth Old Assyrian month: n. 244; 66
- kuzallū* "fuel-wood"; designation of the third Old Assyrian pentecontad: 55 ff. with n. 244; 66; 119
- kuzullu* "reeds", "fire-wood": n. 244
- lengeta-sabbath* "sabbath of grace"; designation, in the Falasha calendar, of every seventh sabbath counted from the beginning of the lunar year: 116–121 with n. 448–449; 145 and *passim*
- ma-irar* "harvest"; Ethiopic term denoting, in the Falasha calendar, the two closing festivals celebrated fifty days after the end of the great feasts in the spring and in the fall: 115 f. with n. 443 and 447; 121 f.
- nārmarratu* "Bitter River"; ocean thought by the Babylonians to surround the inhabited earth: 11–15; n. 59; n. 61
- mandidi šatti* "he who measures the year"; attribute of the weather-god: 20
- maššōt-festival* originally the celebration of the two *šapattum*-periods of seven and eight days in the pre-exilic Palestinian pentecontad-calendar: 110–113; 129; 142; 144 f. and *passim*; among the Falasha: 115 ff.; among the Sebuaeans and Essenes: 122; 132; among the Jews of Elephantine: 130–132
- masgīd* Falasha sanctuary: 133 f. with n. 490
- šad Māši* mountain range beyond the inhabited earth: 13 f. with n. 51–52; 18
- moḥorat haššabbāt*: 78
- mountain of sunrise*: 18 f.
- mountain of sunset*: 18 f.
- nagū* designation of each of the seven world mountains in Babylonian cosmology: 11–15 with n. 43, 44, and 48; 18 f. with n. 75
- Nestorian Christians*: see *pentecontad-calendar*
- New Year's festival* in the Old Assyrian calendar: 61–64; 66; 70 f.; 111; in the Babylonian calendar: 60; 124 with n. 468
- nineteenth day of the month* thought to correspond to the 49th day of the

preceding month: 3; 26; 103 f. with n. 413-414; 117

Oannes fish-coated Babylonian genius: n. 145

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THE ARK, THE EPHOD, AND THE "TENT OF MEETING"*

JULIAN MORGENSTERN, Hebrew Union College

I

INTRODUCTION

IN a study published in 1928¹ I discussed in considerable detail the important question of the origin and history of the so-called "ark of the covenant." Among other matters I endeavored to show that the ark had certain very positive relations to the *mahmal*, the sacred, tent-like structure which, empty and borne upon the back of the sacred camel, is carried in the *ḥaḡ*, or annual

*For convenience previous publications of the author, which are cited frequently in this work, are here listed:

- "Two Ancient Israelite Agricultural Festivals," *JQR* (n. s.), VIII (1917), 31-54.
"The Tent of Meeting," *JAOS*, XXXVIII (1918), 125-139.
"Kedesh-Naphtali and Ta'anach," *JQR* (n. s.), IX (1919), 359-369.
"The Sources of the Creation Story — Genesis 1.1-2.4," *AJSL*, XXXVI (1920), 169-212.
"The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel," *HUCA*, I (1924), 13-78.
"The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," *HUCA*, IV (1927), 1-138.
"The Book of the Covenant, I," *HUCA*, V (1928), 1-151.
"*Beena* Marriage (Matriarchat) in Ancient Israel and Its Historical Implications," *ZAW*, (n. F.), VI (1929), 91-110.
"Supplementary Studies in the Calendars of Ancient Israel," *HUCA*, X (1935), 1-148.
"Amos Studies, I," *HUCA*, XI (1936), 19-140.
"A Chapter in the History of the High-Priesthood," *AJSL*, LV (1938), 1-24, 183-197, 360-377.
"Amos Studies, III; The Historical Antecedents of Amos," *HUCA*, XV (1940), 59-304.
"Psalm 48," *HUCA*, XVI (1941), 1-95.
¹ "The Book of the Covenant, I."

pilgrimage of the Moslem faithful to Meccah, and likewise to the *'otfe*, the somewhat similar, tent-like structure which serves as the palladium of a number of Bedouin tribes, and particularly of the truer and more primitive camel-Bedouin tribes, such as the Ruwala. The points of similarity and of evident relationship between the ark, on the one hand, and the *maḥmal* and *'otfe*, on the other hand, are striking and significant.

I discussed various functions which these three sacred objects served, such as going into battle in company with the tribe and assuring it of victory over its enemies, selecting the road which the tribe or the pilgrim caravan must travel through the desert, that it might reach its goal safely, imparting oracular decisions, and the like, and then drew the general conclusion that all three sacred objects must have been regarded originally as the abode or container of the tribal deity or deities. From this, and coupling this evidence and conclusion with the further tradition of the two tablets of the Decalogue stored in the ark, I drew a second inference, viz., that these two tablets of the Decalogue² represent a development in tradition growing out of the actual, historical fact that in the ark there were originally two sacred stones, two betyls, in which the deity or deities were thought to dwell.

Furthermore, I concluded that the ark, with its two sacred stones, must have been originally the tribal cult-object and palladium of Ephraim; then it must have come to be regarded as the inter-tribal palladium of that close federation of northern tribes of Israel which had united their forces for joint resistance to the common Canaanite enemy at the decisive Battle of Ta'anach,³ and which likewise offered joint resistance to the later and more dangerous common enemy, the Philistines, at the even more decisive but quite futile second Battle of Eben Haezer;⁴ from there, after an interval of approximately three quarters of a century, during which it was stationed, apparently half-forgotten, at Kiryat Yearim, the ark was brought by David to Jerusalem and there deposited in his tent-sanctuary, the new national

² "Amos Studies, III," 121 f.

³ Cf. Jud. 5 and "Kedesh-Naphtali and Ta'anach."

⁴ I Sam. 4-6.

shrine. This event marked the end of the first, the primitive, period in the history of the ark.

I then endeavored to trace the history of the ark and of the various traditions concerning it, recorded in the Bible, in the second period of its existence, the period extending from its installation in the national sanctuary at Jerusalem until the Deuteronomic Reformation in 621 B.C., or perhaps even until the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem by the Babylonians in 586 B.C. I sought to show in particular that it was during this period, and beginning quite early therein, under the influence of evolving national religion and of prophetic doctrine, with its uncompromising antagonism to idols and related cult-objects, that the two former sacred stones or betyls of the ark came rather speedily to be reinterpreted as two stones still sacred, but sacred now only because of a newly arisen tradition, viz., that upon them were written the ten "words" of divine revelation.⁵ During this entire period the ark was manifestly regarded primarily as the container of the two stone tablets of the Decalogue.

Thereupon I endeavored to determine the history of the ark in the third period of its existence, in post-exilic times. The conclusion was reached that actually there was no ark at all in the post-exilic Temple and that the authors of the Priestly Code had only a vague tradition of the ark and of its actual contents and nature. Therefore they could coin the fiction of an ark in the tabernacle in the wilderness, and so impliedly in the post-exilic Temple, which was only secondarily, and in the most uncertain and obscure way imaginable, the container of the two tablets of the Decalogue, or rather of the "tablets of testimony," as the P authors termed them; primarily the ark was the throne upon which Yahweh sat as divine King in majestic solitude in the holy and holies, and into whose august presence no mortal might enter except the high-priest, and even that only once in the year, upon the annual New-Year's Day-Day of Atonement, and as the culminating rite in the peculiar ceremonies of this great day. Influenced chiefly by this principle of the transcendence and the consequent inaccessibility by mortal beings to this

⁵ Cf. also "Amos Studies, III," 118 ff.

august deity and its obvious relationship to the inaccessibility by ordinary mortals to the presence of the Persian king, recorded at least in persistent tradition, I drew the inference that this picture of Yahweh enthroned upon the ark and the attendant reinterpretation of the ark, no longer primarily as a container of the two sacred stones, but now primarily as the throne of Yahweh, were evolved under Persian cultural influence, so potent in Judaism in the post-exilic period.⁶ The entire tradition of the ark in the post-exilic period and in the second Temple, as well as in the tabernacle in the wilderness of the Priestly Code, is theoretical and doctrinal, and has little foundation in historic reality.

Shortly after the appearance of the article my attention was called by Professor Albright to a very important study by Père Lammens entitled "Le culte des bétyles et les processions religieuses chez les arabes préislamites,"⁷ the significance of very much of the material contained in which for the subject which I had under consideration was unmistakable. With the help of this new material, drawn entirely from the pre-islamic period of Arabic culture and religious practice, the close relationship, and in fact the relative identity, of which with much of the culture and religious belief and institutions of the pre-Canaanite, desert, nomadic or semi-nomadic Israelite tribes, and also with

⁶ Subsequently, in "Amos Studies, III," I established that the real source of this concept was a persistent and lively reminiscence of a golden image of Yahweh in human form, seated upon a throne and with feet resting upon a footstool, which stood in the *d^ebîr*, or inner shrine, of the Temple from its erection by Solomon until the reformation of Asa in 899 B.C. It was indubitably the figure of the august and inaccessible, enthroned Persian "king of kings" which revived this reminiscence of the ancient enthroned Yahweh and gave form and content to the picture of Yahweh, enthroned upon, or above, the ark, in the august and, to mortals, inaccessible solitude of the "holy of holies" of the tabernacle in the wilderness of the Priestly code.

⁷ First published in the *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, XVII (1919) and then reprinted in the volume of studies by the same author, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire*, (1928), 101-179. The importance of this authoritative and well-documented study for the history of Semitic religions cannot be overemphasized. The article as first published was quite inaccessible to me; the reprint appeared only in the same year in which my own study was published.

much of the culture and religious belief and institutions of the present-day Bedouins, especially of the true, nomadic, camel-Bedouins, are beyond question, it has become possible not only to establish with complete certainty the large majority of the conclusions to which I had come with regard to the origin and history of the ark, but also to carry these conclusions further, and, as the result thereof, to solve other related and equally significant problems, those connected with the so-called "tent of meeting," and also with the much discussed and still quite perplexing ephod; and with this to get a better knowledge of the most primitive concept of Yahweh and of the nature and manner of His earliest worship.

Moreover, since the publication of my study in 1928 quite a mass of material bearing upon the *'otfe* has appeared, or at least has become known to me, material which, while perhaps not greatly expanding our knowledge of this strange object, none the less confirms most, if not all, of the conclusions with regard to it there reached and sets forth their significance for our particular study so much more clearly and convincingly, that it is eminently worth while to consider anew the question of the *'otfe*, its nature and origin, and its relation, on the one hand, to the *ḡubbe* of the pre-islamic Arabs and, on the other hand, to the ark of ancient Israel. In so doing some repetition of material presented in my original article is almost unavoidable.

II

THE *'Otfe*

The starting-point in the study of the *'otfe* is the earliest account of this object given by Musil.⁸ "The Ruwala have a structure made out of thin wooden boards, decorated with ostrich feathers, which is fastened upon the baggage-saddle of a camel. It is called *abu ḡhūr al-markab*. Only the Ruwala possess this. No other tribe has anything like it. As they believe, the *abu ḡhūr* comes from Ruweil (the eponymous ancestor of the Ruwala) and is called

⁸ *Die Kultur*, XI (1910), 8 f.; quoted from Hartmann, "Zelt und Lade," *ZAW*, 37 (1917-1918), 220 f.

abu zhûr (*pater aeterni saeculi*) because it is passed on from generation to generation through the ages. *Abu zhûr* is the visible focus . . . of all the tribes of the *zana*-Moslems. Whoever has it in his possession is prince of all these tribes, and they are obligated to follow him in battle. Every year a white camel is sacrificed before it, with the words, 'This is thy sacrifice, O Abu Zhûr!', and its blood is sprinkled upon the corner posts of the structure. In this *abu zhûr* Allah takes pleasure in abiding and imparts directions to the tribes through external signs. Ofttimes the ostrich-feathers are supposed to tremble, although there may be no wind. Ofttimes the structure is believed to bow itself unceasingly to the right. This signifies *kudrat min allâh*, 'the power of God.' . . . If the camel bearing the *abu zhûr* begins to move, the entire tribe follows it; where the *abu zhûr* lets itself down, there the camp is set up. Whenever the Ruwala are threatened by a powerful enemy and fear defeat (but only then), they bring the *abu zhûr*, and with it at their head they attack the enemy."

Upon this description of the '*otfe* I commented as follows: The points of similarity and manifest relationship between this strange object and the various Biblical traditions about the ark are almost startling. It too has the power of selecting the road it wishes to take, by driving the camel which bears it irresistibly onwards. It too leads its people through the desert and determines their nightly camping-places by causing the camel bearing it to kneel, implying thereby that there it desires to stop and remain for the night. It too imparts oracles and, in the interest of its tribe, declares future events. It too goes into battle with its people, especially decisive battle, when the very existence of the people is threatened, and gives them victory over their enemies Most significant of all these points of contact with the ark, Allah is thought to reside in the *abu zhûr*, if not permanently, then upon occasions when the tribe has need of him and his presence with them; . . . and every year a sacrifice . . . is offered to the *abu zhûr*, or to the deity associated with it, and the blood thereof is sprinkled upon the corner-posts of the peculiar object, with the significant words, "This is thy sacrifice, O Abu Zhûr."

This parallelism becomes still more significant when we realize that Musil did not at the moment grasp the full significance of this peculiar object and its role in the life of the tribe, and particularly in its warfare, having been misled somewhat by the popular but incorrect interpretation of the name *abu zhûr*. This was more clearly recognized by Hartmann⁹ and Torczyner.¹⁰ The latter scholar quotes a verse, recorded by Curtiss,¹¹ communicated to him by a Ruwala-tribesman,

Abu ed-Duhûr will come unfailingly
To help those who put on their equipment for war;
And through him their horses become fear-inspiring.

As Curtiss has pointed out, *abu zhûr*, according to these verses, plays exactly the role of a tribal deity, and particularly a deity who gives his tribesmen victory in war. Not improbably *abu zhûr* was originally the actual name of the tribal deity of the Ruwala, which has, however, under the influence of official Islam, superficial though it be with the Bedouin tribesmen, been half forgotten with the passage of time, and lingers on chiefly, if not entirely, in its association with this peculiar tribal cult- or war-object.

In one other respect Musil's description of this object, based upon the information then given to him, was somewhat inexact, in that it was claimed that this was the only object of its kind, and that no other people possessed anything like it. The full name of this object was communicated to Musil as *abu zhûr al-markab*. The consideration given by him to the very important first half of the name has tended to detract somewhat from the consideration which the second half likewise merits.

Markab connotes in Arabic a vehicle of any kind used for transportation, whether wagon, boat or beast of burden. Burckhardt¹² is our authority for the fact that the Bedouin tribes of

⁹ *Op. cit.*

¹⁰ "Die Bundeslade und die Anfänge der Religion Israels," *Festschrift zum 50-jährigen Bestehen der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 265.

¹¹ *Ursemitische Religion im Volksleben des heutigen Orients*, XV; cf. also "The Book of the Covenant, I," note 114.

¹² *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, 82 f.

the North Arabian desert actually possess several such objects, or at least did so a century ago. He says, "Some of the Aeneze chiefs use, in time of war, what may perhaps be styled the 'battle banner'; for it is never displayed but in decisive and important actions, where the fall or the loss of it is regarded as a signal of defeat. The standard is of two sorts, one called *merkeb* (مركب or the 'ship'), consisting in two stands of wood, about six or seven feet high These are placed one opposite to the other on a camel's back, so that above there is not more than a span's distance between them; but below they are sufficiently separated for a person to sit in the midst on a saddle, and guide the camel: the upper part of this standard is covered with black ostrich feathers.

"The other sort of banner is called '*otfe* (عطفة); this consists of two side pieces of board, of an oblong square form, about five feet high, ornamented like the other with ostrich feathers. Such is now used by the *Teyar*, the chief of *Woud Aly* *En Ibsmeyr* and *Ibn Fadhel* have each a *merkeb* All the horse-men assemble around it; and the principal efforts of both parties are directed against the respective *merkeb* or '*otfe* of the enemy. A captured banner is borne in triumph to the tent of the victorious sheikh."

Likewise Wetzstein's description of the '*otfe*¹³ is of sufficient importance for this study to warrant its repetition. "Should it develop that they become convinced that victory can not be won except by extreme measures, they have still in the '*Otfa* a final and in fact a very drastic means of inflaming the battle-spirit. The '*Otfa* is a lattice-work object, made of strong wood, four-cornered, of greater length than width, and almost oval in shape, which is fastened upon the back of a strong, decorated camel. The older the '*Otfa* is, the more it possesses the qualifications for serving as the palladium of its people; that of the *Ruwala* is said to be hundreds of years old. Before the beginning of the battle an especially handsome and reputable woman or maiden, if possible the one of highest rank within the tribe, adorned as a bride, unveiled, and, what has a peculiarly disturbing effect upon

¹³ *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, X (1878), 389; quoted from Hartmann, "Zelt und Lade," 219 f.

the Arabs, with hair flying loose and neck laid bare, mounts the 'Oṭfa, rides in front of the first battle-line and halts before the elite of the army, the youth of the tribe, in order to direct toward them the Intichâ, i. e., the solemn charge either to win the victory or to die Thereupon the 'Oṭfa advances upon the enemy and the battle begins. The greatest slaughter naturally takes place in the neighborhood of the 'Oṭfa, towards the capture and defense of which the main efforts of both sides are directed. During the combat the occupant of the 'Oṭfa, standing erect and turning now here, now there, spurs her fellow-tribesmen on with glance and gesture, with loud challenge and calling individual warriors by name, with praise and blame and the trilling sounds of the Zağrûta (the customary cries of joy of the attendants of the bride at weddings). Not infrequently the entire body of male youth has fallen beside the 'Oṭfa. Likewise it is often captured, a fact which is remembered as a lasting humiliation for many generations. However, the beautiful woman, captured with the 'Oṭfa, is always treated honorably and is released for a ransom, but one of very great amount. The 'Oṭfa remains as the trophy of the victor, if it is not recaptured by an attack upon the enemy's camp."

Particularly significant for our study in this account of Wetzstein is the fact that this object, which Musil heard designated by the descriptive title *al-markab*, Wetzstein must have heard called '*otfe*. This indicates that the two names are apparently used interchangeably, without the distinction between them which Burckhardt recorded.

No less significant, however, is the procedure, here encountered for the first time, but which we will meet again and again, though almost always in slightly varying form, of the woman in the '*otfe* when it goes into battle, into the very thickest of the melee, encouraging by word and gesture the warriors to fight on courageously, even to death. Here she is either a woman or a maiden of the very highest rank within the tribe, especially handsome and reputable, adorned as a bride, but unveiled, with hair flying loose and neck or, as we will see is really the case, with bosom, laid bare, manifestly a form of dress which ordinarily would be looked upon decidedly askance.

I shall not repeat here the description of the 'otfe given by Lady Anne Blunt,¹⁴ but merely the significant inferences which I have drawn from it, first the fact that she describes the 'otfe simply as "a gigantic camel-howdah," and second that, when the Ruwala are about to migrate, the 'otfe is the very last object which is loaded upon camel-back. Apparently this act serves as the signal for the tribe to set out upon its journey.

The account of the 'otfe given by Rogers,¹⁵ however, merits repetition here. "The sheikhs of the 'Anazy tribes say that in ancient times every tribe had its 'Atfah, which was regarded as the repository of its valour and honour, and was only made use of on occasions of unusually serious importance. When a tribe went to war with a powerful opponent, the 'Atfah was placed on a strong and handsome camel, and was gaily and gorgeously decorated with ostrich-feathers, carpets, and embroidery work, and was surrounded by a band of warriors selected from among the bravest men of the tribe. In some tribes it was customary for a virgin, the daughter of one of the sheikhs, to take her seat under the canopy, and, by her singing, to incite the men to acts of bravery. Every effort was made and every precaution taken to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy; and, if the men engaged in fighting in another part of the field, or told off for the protection of the flocks or of the tents, perceived that the 'Atfah was in danger, they would leave their occupation, abandoning everything to rally round the mysterious emblem for its protection; for, if lost, the tribe was disgraced, and a new 'Atfah could not be made until after a victory over the enemy who had possessed himself of the original and the recovery of a remnant — be it ever so small a portion — of the old wooden framework. The captured 'Atfah could not be used by the victorious tribe, and it was therefore generally destroyed after capture. This custom accounts for the fact that of all the numerous tribes in the Syrian desert only two now possess an 'Atfah."

Upon this description of the 'otfe I commented as follows: This account is of extreme importance. In the first place it gives

¹⁴ *The Bedouins of the Euphrates*, 351.

¹⁵ In *The Academy* of March 31, 1883, 221 f., writing from Cairo.

further confirmation to the conclusion that the customary, though by no means invariable, occupant of the 'otfe was a maiden. And in the second place it too records that at one time the institution of the 'otfe was quite common among Bedouin tribes A new 'otfe could not be made indiscriminately to replace an old one which had been captured or destroyed in battle. The capture of an 'otfe was regarded as such a supreme calamity that the tribe did not shrink from the most extreme efforts and sacrifices to protect it. The tribe whose 'otfe had been captured in battle was regarded as, and felt itself, disgraced and humiliated. Not until it had regained its old 'otfe through victory in battle, could it hold its head high once more. A new 'otfe could be made only with at least a remnant of the old 'otfe as its nucleus. A captured 'otfe could not be used by its captors. Therefore, in order to forestall all possibility of its former tribe regaining it, or at least a portion of it, from which a new 'otfe might be made, symbolic of the restored power of the now conquered tribe, a captured 'otfe was usually destroyed. The inevitable result of such a practice must have been the gradual disappearance of the 'otfe from among the Bedouin tribes

But the question arises here; Why, if the old 'otfe were captured, could not a new one be made to replace it, unless at least a fragment of the old 'otfe was used as the nucleus for it? An answer altogether natural and of deep significance suggests itself. We have seen that, according to Musil's direct account, Allah was believed to reside in the 'otfe, if not permanently, at least occasionally. Moreover, other important evidence links this particular 'otfe of the Ruwala with Abu Zhûr, apparently the ancient, half-forgotten deity of this tribe. It is altogether probable that every 'otfe had similar associations, that it was regarded, in earlier and more primitive stages of its development, as the symbol, or even as the actual container, of the tribal deity. In such case its capture in battle would mean nothing other than this deity's capture by his enemies. It would imply, on the one hand, his own weakness and impotence in comparison with the enemy tribe and its deity; and, on the other hand, it would imply that his old tribe was now without divine protection, was therefore in truth divinely forsaken, weak and humiliated. We can

well understand, on the basis of this hypothesis, why a tribe would spare no effort and sacrifice to prevent the capture of its '*otfe*, and would even leave its cattle and its tents, of course with the women and children in them, unguarded and at the mercy of the enemy, in order to protect its '*otfe* against capture.

Above all, on the basis of this assumption of an original association of '*otfe* and tribal deity, we can understand why a new '*otfe* could be made only with a portion, no matter how small, of the old one serving as a nucleus. For the old '*otfe* must have been charged in its every part with the spirit or indwelling of a deity, in other words, with *mana*. And this *mana* could be communicated to the new '*otfe* only by contact with the old one, and particularly if a portion of the old '*otfe*, charged with this divine essence, were built into the new one. From this nucleus this *mana* spread, until it completely permeated the new '*otfe* and endowed it with a divinity and power equal to, and in fact identical with, that of the old '*otfe*. Accordingly the complete destruction of an '*otfe* by its captors made it absolutely impossible for its old owners to replace it. It must have meant to them and to their neighbors that they were a tribe entirely without divine protection, that they were therefore weak and impotent, held in light esteem by the surrounding tribes, and themselves dispirited and humiliated. It goes almost without saying too, just as Rogers states, that a captured '*otfe* could not be used by its captors. For, on the one hand, it had been the tribal deity of their enemies, and therefore could not be expected to bestow its divine help and blessing upon its former foes; and, on the other hand, of what value would its help and blessing be to its captors, since in comparison with their own tribal deity it had proved of inferior strength and powerless to protect even itself from capture? To its captors it was of no avail whatever; but it might, despite its unquestionably divine nature, be destroyed by them with impunity. From such an impotent deity they had naught to fear.

There is no need to repeat here the accounts of the '*otfe* given by Leachman¹⁶ and Seabrook,¹⁷ except to note that the latter,

¹⁶ "A Journey in North-Eastern Arabia," *Geographical Journal*, 37 (1911), 267.

¹⁷ *Adventures in Arabia*, 85 ff.

although not actually using the name, '*otfe*', records the fact that various tribes employed this object when they went into battle, and that he gives a detailed account of the '*otfe*' of the Sirdieh, a small tribe dwelling east of the Djebel Druse, in which not one, but four, of the most beautiful, marriageable virgins of the tribe, dressed in crimson silks and adorned with all their jewels, occupied the '*otfe*' during the course of the battle. However, inasmuch as Seabrooke had his information from a secondary source, there may well be some inaccuracy in his statement that four maidens instead of the customary one, occupied the '*otfe*', and this all the more so since his actual narrative tells of the conduct of only one maiden within the '*otfe*'. The other three were probably maidens who, as we shall see, quite often attended upon the girl in the '*otfe*', but upon camels of their own. It is to be noted, however, that here too these were marriageable maidens, virgins, and of the best tribal families, and clad in their dearest finery, as if for their own marriage.

Thus far the material bearing upon the '*otfe*' and its use contained in my first study of this interesting object and its related objects and institutions. However, since the publication of that study in 1928 I have gathered quite a bit of additional material bearing upon the '*otfe*', most of it corroborating fully and clarifying materially the information already gathered and adding quite a number of new details of much significance.

And first a record of the '*otfe*' of the Ruwala by Oliphant,¹⁸ made in 1881. "One of the most interesting tribes on the Syrian border is the Roala . . . They alone still retain the famous war-cradle which all the tribes once possessed. It is a sort of car, called '*uttfa*', composed of ostrich feathers; and before the tribe goes to war, the most lovely girl in it is selected, and placed, in the lightest possible attire, in the cradle, which is then put on the back of a camel. The silken strings by which the camel is led is then placed in her hand, and the warriors of the tribe pass before her. Whoever she selects as the leader of the camel becomes the leader of the host, which she accompanies, and is a prominent figure in the battles. If, in the war which follows, the tribe is

¹⁸ *The Land of Gilead*, 122 f.

beaten and the war-cradle captured, it is deprived forever after of the privilege of possessing one. The Roala are the only tribe who still retain this singular distinction; but one or two Arabs whom I afterward spoke to on this subject told me they were not likely ever to lose it, as they now never perform the ceremony, or risk the capture of the cradle in battle."

This account should not be pressed too strongly since Oliphant too had his information not at first hand. There is some minor confusion in his narrative, and some of the details which he gives do not agree completely with later and much more authentic information about this particular '*otfe*, some of which has already been considered and other of which is still to be presented. These facts, however, are to be noted in this description of this object, that Oliphant's source heard this particular object, which we know from Musil as *abu zuhûr* and *al markab*, called by what was obviously the more generic and inclusive term, '*otfe*; that it speaks of the maiden in the '*otfe* as being lightly clad, manifestly with reference to the fact that in the course of her functioning during the battle, as we shall later see more clearly, she lays bare her neck and breasts; and finally, that she selects from among the warriors who defile before her the one who is to lead in the battle. Actually, as we shall see, there is only a half-measure of truth in this statement; yet it must recall to us the role of Deborah at the Battle of Ta'anach, playing the role of the battle-maiden, as we have endeavored to show,¹⁹ and selecting Barak as the actual leader in the battle.²⁰

Of fuller detail and greater significance is the account of this same object given by Jaussen.²¹ "Every tribe has its standard and its war-cry. The Eben Ša'alân²² have preserved the *merkab*, which is kept in the tent of the sheikh. . . . Furthermore, the Eben Ša'alân employ the *merkab* in a triumphal march, in which a large portion of the tribe participates, or in war. In this latter case the *merkab*, brought forth from the tent of the sheikh, is

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, 112 f.

²⁰ Jud. 4.6 ff.; cf. 5.12.

²¹ *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 173 f.

²² Actually he means the Ruwala, of whom the Eben Ša'alân are the ruling family.

carefully decorated with ostrich plumes and all manner of shells; it is then placed upon a strong *ḍeloul* richly caparisoned. The sheikh himself leads forth his own daughter, adorned as a bride; her long hair falls in heavy tresses upon her shoulders; she has put on her most beautiful dress; many necklaces are suspended about her neck; on her arms silver bracelets gleam; about her head ostrich plumes seem a veritable aureole.

"Lightly she mounts the *merkab* and seats herself upon the triumphal throne. In her hand she takes the bridle so that she herself may guide the *ḍeloul* and in some manner direct the affair. All about her the braves of the tribe arrange themselves in order to serve her as escort, determined to die rather than abandon the '*otfah*', that is the *merkab* made ready and mounted for the battle. The battle begins; the efforts of the enemy concentrate about it (the '*otfe*'); to capture it would constitute a complete victory and at the same time the forfeiture (of the '*otfe*') by the conquered tribe, which would lose permanently the right to employ a new one. But the defence is vigorous. Should the enemies succeed in pressing too near to the '*otfah*', its defenders with a stroke of the sword would hamstring the camel which carries it so that it would fall. Then, the combat having become desperate, the struggle goes on hand to hand under the eyes of the young heroine, who, standing at full length within the *merkab*, by her words, her cries and motions animates and stirs up the combatants.

"Every year a camel is sacrificed by the chief on behalf of the *merkab*, the various parts of which ought to be anointed with the blood of the victim. The sheikh speaks the following words; 'O Allah! here is the camel for the *merkab*; may Abou'z-Zohor regard it with favor.' "

Jaussen too himself never actually saw this *merkab* but had all his information indirectly. But inasmuch as his informer was a member of the clan of Eben Ša'alān, and Jaussen himself an experienced and authoritative investigator of Bedouin life and institutions, his account of this object may be accepted without the slightest hesitation. Significant in it is first the fact that he designates it by both names *merkab* and '*otfe*', and that he likewise heard the name of Abu Zhûr associated with it; moreover, Abu Zhûr, as Jaussen heard it used in connection with the '*otfe*,

was manifestly not the name of the object itself, but rather of the deity or divine presence thought to dwell in it or to be associated with it in some way. Annually a camel is sacrificed to Abu Z̤h̤r on behalf of the 'otfe. Jaussen too emphasizes the fact that the maiden within the 'otfe is clothed and adorned as a bride. Finally, as we shall see in due time, his reference to the role which the *markab* or 'otfe plays in triumphal marches or processions, in which the major portion of the tribe participates, is of great significance, while no less is the import of the statement that normally the 'otfe was kept in the tent of the sheikh.

Curtiss too speaks²³ of the *merkab*, "a canopy resting upon four uprights and adorned with ostrich feathers, placed upon the back of a camel, beneath which the daughter or sister of the emîr rides into battle, surrounded by at least five hundred chosen warriors. Should she be captured, the tribe could never bring another into battle." Actually Curtiss spent only two days among the Ruwala and obviously learned of the *merkab* only by hearsay and not at all by personal observation or actual experience. Otherwise he could not have described the *merkab* as being covered with a canopy, for, as will soon be established with absolute certainty, just this piece of equipment the *merkab* of the Ruwala, in contradistinction to the 'otfe's of other tribes, did not possess. Furthermore, Curtiss seems to have confused the *merkab* itself with the maiden in it, for, as has already been amply attested, it was the capture of the *merkab*, rather than of the maiden in it, which would have forbidden the tribe ever to substitute another for it.²⁴ Unquestionably Curtiss' confusion resulted from the fact that both the *merkab* and the maiden within it were called by the same name, 'otfe, though whether he had himself heard this latter name applied to either the *merkab* or to the maiden, Curtiss gives no indication whatever. Elsewhere²⁵ he relates that "at the outbreak of a war the Ruwala offer a sacrifice to their ancestor, Abu

²³ *Ursemitische Religion im Volksleben des heutigen Orients*, 34 (not in the English original).

²⁴ Geyer ("Die arabischen Frauen in der Schlacht," *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, XXXIX [1909], 148-155) follows Curtiss in this same confusion of terms and ideas.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, XV f. (likewise not in the English original).

ed-Duhûr, so that he might aid them in gaining the victory over their enemies. With the blood of the sacrifice they anoint the *merkab*, borne by a camel, in which the daughter or sister of the sheikh is carried into battle. She has clad herself magnificently, darkened her lashes with antimony, greased her hair and bared her bosom, so that, as the ideal of Arab femininity, she might incite the warriors to heroic deeds." Of major significance in this account is that it completely substantiates the statement of Jaussen and of Oliphant that when going into battle the *merkab* is inhabited by a maiden, the noblest of the entire tribe, magnificently clad and with bosom bared.

An account by Canaan²⁶ gives certain additional details of importance. "The custom of *el-'utfeh* still exists among some Bedouin tribes. In raids the noblest and most courageous girl of the tribe mounts a camel and takes a central position in the camp. The young men and warriors, all fully armed, pass and ask her to lead the raid. She remains motionless and silent until the most valiant group of the tribe arrives, which group she chooses as her protector (*ḥaiyâlet el-'utfeh*). The camel is allowed to rise and the girl rides on, stimulating her party by fiery songs and speeches. As soon as the place of battle is reached the camel sits on the ground; the rider upon its back continuing to excite her people. Should her division retreat, she reproaches them with cowardliness and blames them with scorching words for leaving her to fall a captive in the hands of the enemy. A tribe whose *'utfeh* is once captured has no longer the right to replace her. At present only the Rwala, a Bedouin tribe of Syria, has an *'utfeh*." To this account Canaan adds the note; "Such a girl is called *'utfet el-hôdadj*, since the camel on which she mounts has a domed litter. The Liâtneh Bedouin assured me that some Bedouin tribes of Transjordan still have an *'utfeh*."

This account contains some confusion and one or two inaccuracies, due no doubt to the fact that in all likelihood Canaan himself had never actually seen an *'otfe*, and that all his information about it came from secondary sources. Unquestionably he

²⁶ "Unwritten Laws Affecting the Arab Women of Palestine," *JPOS*, XI (1931), 197.

is mistaken in his statement that the '*otfeh* was or is employed by the tribes in their raids or *ghazû*'s, for the procedure when such a raid is undertaken is not at all that which he describes, nor as a rule do such a considerable number of warriors participate in a raid. Actually what he has in mind are important or decisive battles, in which the very existence of the tribe is at stake. Evidence of this has been presented already, and more, and that even more conclusive, will follow soon. Likewise his account confuses the '*otfe* itself and the maiden within it, a confusion natural however, since, as we have seen, the same name, '*otfe*, is actually applied to both. Of extreme significance, however, are the two facts recorded in his footnote, that the girl is called '*utfet el-hôdadj*, and that the camel which she mounts bears a domed litter. Here, for the first time, we have the word, *howdah*, the tent-like and curtained camel saddle in which women customarily ride, specifically linked with the '*otfe*;²⁷ and in addition thereto we have the explicit statement that the '*otfe*, as Canaan heard about it, had the appearance of a domed litter. The deep import of this will be developed later. But this much is already clear, that in his description Canaan did not have at all the '*otfe* of the Ruwala in mind, even though he says that they are the only tribe which at present possesses one, for, as has been suggested already, and as will become clear very shortly, the '*otfe* or *markab* of the Ruwala had an altogether different shape and appearance than the '*otfe* which he describes. But this very fact renders his statement all the more significant for our study. It recalls the statement of Burckhardt that there were actually two varieties or forms of this object,²⁸ one called *merkeb* and the other '*otfe*. We will see that the designation of these two types of this object by these two distinguishing names is by no means so constant and absolute as Burckhardt seems to imply. In fact we have already learned that the two names seem to be used more or less synonymously, and that in particular both are applied indiscriminately to the sacred standard of the Ruwala. None the less this much is certain, that the *markab* or '*otfe* appears

²⁷ Though, as we have seen, Blunt described the '*otfe* as a "gigantic camel-howdah."

²⁸ Above, p. 160.

in what seem to be two distinct and rather dissimilar forms. And unquestionably the '*otfe*' which Canaan described is of the type which Burckhardt has designated as *merkab*.

Just as at first our fullest and obviously most authentic account of the '*otfe*' was that of Musil, quoted at the beginning of this section, so now our most complete and illuminating account comes from the same scholar in his most recent work.²⁹ It is interesting to note that Musil's acquaintance with the '*otfe*' seems to have developed only gradually, for in his earliest work on the manners and customs of the Bedouin he manifested no knowledge of the '*otfe*' whatever, except that implied in the single and, in the light of our present knowledge of the object, somewhat obscure statement, "The Şhûr lost their banner, el-bêraḡ, in an unsuccessful battle with Ibn Ša'lân. It was borne by the 'Aṭfa'. 'Aṭfa' means a fully matured maiden who, adorned with her best ornaments, sits upon a good riding-camel, swings the banner and with words and lashes drives the animal into the midst of the enemy. She is surrounded by the chosen men of her tribe, who must defend her; for should she be captured the battle is lost and the tribe may never again carry with them either 'Aṭfa' or banner."³⁰ From this account it is clear that in 1908 Musil had only a vague and inaccurate knowledge of what the '*otfe*' really was, and that in this account he too has confused the maiden with the '*otfe*' proper, since the name, '*otfe*', was, as we have seen, likewise applied to her. By 1910 Musil's knowledge of the true nature of the '*otfe*', or at least of the *merkab* of the Ruwala, was much more complete and authentic. In his latest work his information about both '*otfe*' and *merkab* has expanded greatly. And first of all, his account of various '*otfe*'s other than that of the Ruwala.

Describing the procedure in important and decisive battles, he says,³¹ "The fight called *manâh*, as distinguished from the *razw* or raid for booty, is very different. When a stronger tribe wants to possess itself of the territory of a weaker or to increase its fame . . . , it moves with all its herds and tents into the terri-

²⁹ *The Manners and Customs of the Ruwala Bedouins*, New York, 1928.

³⁰ *Arabia Petraea*, III, 377.

³¹ *The Manners and Customs of the Ruwala Bedouins*, 540 f.

tory occupied by the latter, . . . and finally encamps near the main camp of the enemy. The tents form as a rule two long rows . . . ; in front of them, within rifle shot, stands the tent of the leader and a few others belonging to his retinue Before the attack, the men on foot sometimes hide by the war tents. The cavalry attempts to drive the enemy to them and within rifle shot³² These warriors are accompanied by the prettiest women and girls of the camp, who, with their bosoms bared and hair loosened, keep shouting: "He who runs away today shall never receive anything from us; *illi ješred al-jowm mâ leh 'endana haḳḳ*." ³³ Their inspiring high-pitched cries, *zaḳârât*,

³² I have here omitted from this account of the '*otfe* this sentence, "Before the attack the tribal emblem Abu-d-Dhur is fastened to a camel which walks in the midst of the bravest youths on horseback." I cannot escape the impression that this sentence does not really belong here, and that it was interpolated by Musil unwittingly. For while it is clear that in his main account he described the general procedure with the '*otfe* of the Bedouin tribes, and not specifically that of the Ruwala, the reference to Abu-d-Dhur can contemplate only the Ruwala specifically. Moreover, were this sentence original, it would certainly imply that this tribal emblem, Abu-d-Dhur, which is fastened to a camel, is something quite apart and distinct from the '*Atfa*, the fancy litter, also borne by a camel, and that in these decisive battles there were therefore two parallel objects of the same kind and class serving precisely the same purpose. Such is certainly not the case. It must be therefore that the sentence which I have omitted was inserted by Musil inadvertently and confuses, and even misrepresents, the actual facts.

³³ The import of these words of the women in battle is obviously that the coward and fugitive shall never enjoy the privilege of marriage and sexual relations with them. Impliedly the thought or hope of such relations with these women, the most attractive within the camp, should serve as a stimulus to the warriors to fight intrepidly nor refrain from even the most extreme sacrifice of courage. This too is obviously the purpose of the baring of the breasts by the woman in the '*otfe*, when going into battle surrounded by the warriors of the clan or tribe. This is borne out by a number of battle songs which Musil recorded. The Tiyâha warriors, going into battle, call to their maidens:

Loosen your braids, loosen them:

Lay bare your breasts completely. (*Arabia Petraea*, III, 3)

A Ġēheni woman, seeing her husband flee in battle, and unable to induce him to turn about, sang:

Whoever desires my love

Must press forward, when the coward fears.

are heard for a great distance. In order to raise the courage and steadiness of his warriors the chief orders the 'Aṭfa', a fancy litter, to be placed on a she-camel and the handsomest of the girls to take her place in it. Throwing off her kerchief the maiden loosens her hair, unfastens the string holding together the dress under the throat, and seats herself in the litter. Her female companions, likewise, mount she-camels and shouting *zarârît* hasten to join the *melée* in order to encourage their relatives and friends. If it is impossible to withstand the superior strength of the enemy, they call out to the girl on the 'Aṭfa' to conceal herself, as the capture of the 'Aṭfa' by the enemy would mean the greatest disgrace for both the reigning kin and the whole tribe."

He recounts³⁴ the following incident which happened among the Beni Hâled, a tribe which camped by the Persian Gulf in the territory of al-Ḥasa, whose chief was Turki eben Ḥmejd eben 'Arej'er: "Turki's herds were suddenly attacked by the Fẓûl, a kin of the Zefîr tribe. Responding to the alarm cries, the riders hastened to defend the herds but encountered superior numbers and were slowly beaten back to the camp. In order to raise the courage and perseverance of his warriors Turki had a fancy litter fastened to a she-camel, in which his daughter had to seat herself.

He may sip my lips till they be dry
Without concern for my husband's nose. (*ibid.*, 390)

Elsewhere Musil records this battle-song:

<i>Hellî-d-ḡwâjeb</i>	Loosen the plaits of thy hair,
<i>hellîhên</i>	Loosen them;
<i>w-eḡla'i nhûdeč</i>	And uncover thy breasts
<i>kellîhen</i>	Altogether.

Upon this he comments: "*ḡwâjeb* are a girl's hair plaits. She usually keeps them covered with her kerchief. *Hallat aḡ-ḡwâjeb* is said of a girl who has thrown the kerchief off her head and has unplaited and loosened her hair. This is done only by girls or young women accompanying the men into battle." (*Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, 565).

Elsewhere (*ibid.*, 562) he says: "*Towb al-rawa'* is a woman's dress unbuttoned below the throat. It hangs loosely over the shoulders, disclosing both the throat and the breast. Thus the girl, who in a perilous fight encourages the men to persevere, arranges her dress."

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 214 f.

A virgin sitting in fancy litters and inciting warriors to fight is called 'Aṭfa', the same name being also applied to the litters. Throwing aside her kerchief, loosening her hair, and unfastening the clasp which held the shirt below her throat, she placed herself in the litter. Her girl friends, likewise, mounted she-camels and rendering at the top of their voices the sounds called onomatopoeically *zaṣârât*, mingled in the thickest of the fray. For a while they succeeded in bracing up the courage of both their kin and friends, but the superiority of numbers soon told. Fighter after fighter began to disappear, some being killed, many wounded; of others, again, the tired mares refused to obey any longer.

"Finally the 'Aṭfa' and her female companions found themselves among the tents again. When it became certain that the enemy would capture the tents, the girls called to the 'Aṭfa' to hide, as it would be the greatest insult to the reigning family as well as to the whole tribe should the enemy capture the 'Aṭfa' too. Turki's daughter drove her animal in front of her father's tent, compelled it to kneel, jumped off and, unhooking the litter, tried to pull it inside; but the tent was already surrounded by the enemy, shouting: 'Seize the 'Aṭfa', seize the 'Aṭfa'.' Thoroughly frightened, the girl called on the 'Arej'er kin to help her, *tenḥa âl 'arej'er*, but their battle cry sounded only in a few places and at great distance.

"Seeing herself deserted by her own kin, the 'Aṭfa' caught sight of Fejşal and his son sitting in the men's compartment of the tent with their servants, and appealed for help to them." Fejşal and his men were strangers from a near-by village who chanced to be visiting the camp at the time of the attack. They responded immediately to the call of the 'Aṭfa' and drove off the enemy. The sequel of the incident, interesting though it be, has no import for our study and so need not be repeated here.

Elsewhere³⁵ Musil tells of a peculiar and seemingly portentous dream which the commander of a raiding troop of the Ka'âẓ'a had. He then continued: "Before long he attacked the Meşâlîḥ, drove out their defenders, and, entering the camp by force, found himself before the chief's tent where the 'Aṭfa' litter was

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 396 f.

standing, in which in times of danger the prettiest girl used to be seated in order to encourage the defenders to fight bravely and hold their ground. A cushion, *bedd*, such as is laid under the litter when fastened on the camel's back, was lying beside it, and also a long rope, *ġedi*, made of palm pith, hung down from it. Then at last did the commander understand the meaning of his dream. Laying the cushion, *bedd*, on the saddle of a strong she-camel, with the help of his comrades he placed the litter there, fastening it with some straps, making it tight with the *ġedi* rope, and rejoicing that he had taken from the Meşâlîḥ clan their most precious possession, for once the 'Aṭfa' litter is lost it must not be used again."

Again³⁶: "Râkân eben Meġlâd led out his Dahâmše to resist an attack of the 'Amârât. Recognizing, at last, their inability to oppose the superior strength of the enemy, Râkân's comrades chained themselves to the camel carrying the 'Aṭfa' litter. They fell to a man, the camel was also killed, and the 'Aṭfa' taken by Eben Haḡḡâl, the commander of the 'Amârât."

Later in his valuable book³⁷ Musil records the following poem or song:

*Nešmijjeten tarčah' lena
w-ḥelw ɾazzat 'ûdaha
malbûsah riš an-na'am
w-mdellelen ɾa'ûdaha
rašûšaha damm al-ḥamar
w-al-bizr ɾal' enhûdaha*

A beauty is leaning towards us,
And how prettily she stands up in her litter
In ostrich feathers dressed;
She rides on a camel with gay trappings.
Stained by red blood is she,
And her breasts appear like lead bullets.

To this Musil appends the comment: "A young girl, with her breasts bared, sits in a fancy litter and during the fiercest fighting

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 546.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 559 f.

encourages her countrymen to persevere."³⁸ The name, '*otfe*, is not used here, but that this litter was an '*otfe* is established with certainty by the picture of the beautiful maiden, standing erect, in the litter, borne by the gaily decorated camel, while she herself is adorned with ostrich feathers, in other words, is clothed as a bride,³⁹ and has her breasts bared; she is stained with blood, i. e., she has driven the camel into the midst of the battle.

These various accounts make clear that, contrary to the opinion which we have encountered frequently, the institution of the '*otfe* has by no means practically disappeared from among the present-day Bedouin, so that only the Ruwala still preserve it, but that quite a good many clans and tribes still employ it.⁴⁰ Basically the '*otfe* seems to be a clan, rather than a tribal, emblem, and to be generally regarded as belonging to or at least in the immediate custody of the ruling chieftain or house of the clan or tribe, since it is kept regularly either in or in immediate proximity to the tent of the prince or main chieftain. More-

³⁸ Cf. also Musil's account of Turkiyye, the daughter of the chief of the Fedan, when these were attacked by the Ruwala (*In the Arabian Desert*, 14 f.).

³⁹ So also Jaussen; above, p. 167.

⁴⁰ Thus Guarmani (*Northern Najd: A Journey from Jerusalem to Anaiza in Qasim*, 34 f.), writing in 1864, says, "I do not find *ootfe* any longer in use in the Neged. In Syria, only the Biscir of the Emir Heidal and the Ruola of Sceilan use it." To this Douglas Carruthers, editor of the 1932 edition of Guarmani's work, appends this note: "*Otfa*, like the *Markab*, a sort of battle-banner, consisting of a wooden cradle, ornamented with ostrich feathers, borne on camel-back. It leads the tribe in battle, and is then occupied by a Badawi maiden, "the living standard of her tribesmen in battle," who inspires the warriors to deeds of valour. According to Burckhardt this ancient custom was dying out, even in his day and is doubtless now extinct. The last one in use belonged to the Ruwalla." The evidence which we have gathered establishes firmly that, at least so far as the Ruwala are concerned, Carruthers was mistaken in his assumption that the use of the '*otfe* has completely died out; cf. especially Raswan's detailed account of the '*otfe* of the Ruwala, published in 1935, and therefore practically contemporaneous, given below. Probably more correctly Haefeli (*Die Beduinen von Beerseba*, 156 and note 229), whose account of the '*otfe* otherwise adds little to our knowledge, says: "This custom was practiced generally by the Bedouins in the days of marauding expeditions and enemy attacks. However, now with the gradual dying out of these practices it too is rapidly disappearing, and today in this section almost nothing is heard of it any more."

over; we have found the opinion expressed more than once that in very remote times all Bedouin tribes or clans possessed each its own 'otfe.

Likewise the following additional facts constantly present with the 'otfe have come to light;

1. It is a kind of camel-saddle or *howlag*, occasionally, if not usually, of tent-like shape, with a domed top, and is regularly adorned with ostrich feathers.

2. There are definite intimations that originally every clan or tribe had its own 'otfe, and that in some way the clan or tribal deity was associated with it; something of this original divine nature and power seems still to linger in the 'otfe.

3. The maiden within the 'otfe is always one of the most beautiful of the tribe and of noble lineage, frequently, if not customarily, the sister or daughter of the chieftain himself.

4. She is usually, if not invariably, a virgin, and is arrayed as a bride, adorned in her best finery and especially decorated with ostrich feathers, and is attended, as a rule, by other maidens, mounted each upon her own camel.

5. She is looked upon, for the moment at least, as a person or being of superhuman nature and authority, equalling at least, if not actually surpassing, that of the chieftain himself and occasionally, so it seems, even exercising the right to choose the military leader in the impending battle. Her person is inviolable, either by her own people or by the enemy, if she be captured.

6. When first mounted in the 'otfe she seats herself as if enthroned, as it were; but when actually going into the battle, she stands erect, with hair flying loose, straining to her full height, and bares her breasts⁴¹ in the sight of all the warriors of her tribe,

⁴¹ With this may be correlated the *ehda*-chant of the Tiyâha warriors when preparing for battle, cited above (note 33) (recorded by Musil also in *Arabia Petraea*, III, 375):

Let down thy hair, let it down,
And lay bare thy breasts completely.

Even though the Tiyâha today have neither 'otfe nor *markab*, there seems to lurk in this chant a definite reminiscence of former days when they did possess, such an object.

and by her appearance, her gestures, and above all her cries, excites and stimulates them to superhuman efforts and sacrifices, even to the point of the death of the very last warrior.

7. The authority, honor and independence of the princely house and also of the clan or tribe are bound up with the possession and retention of the *'otfe*; these are forfeited if the *'otfe* is captured, and can be regained only with the recapture of the *'otfe*.

8. When captured the *'otfe* is deposited at the tent of the chief of the victorious tribe. Probably to forestall as completely as possible the potential regaining of a captured *'otfe* the victorious tribe usually destroys the *'otfe* of its enemy promptly. In this procedure it is encouraged by the seemingly well attested principle, that it itself can make no use nor derive any advantage from the possession of its enemy's *'otfe*.

9. A new *'otfe* can be made to supplant an old one only by using as its nucleus a fragment of the old *'otfe*, in which, impliedly, as we have seen, something of the *mana* or supernatural or divine spirit of the old *'otfe* abides, and from which it may, of course, spread to the new structure.

10. The *'otfe* is employed only in major battles, where the very existence of the clan or tribe seems at stake, never in minor skirmishes nor on raids. It is also employed when the tribe is on the march from one camping-place to another or from one pasture-ground to another, and occasionally also in formal tribal processions and similar movements. It is always borne by a camel of fine appearance and great size and strength, usually white in color.⁴²

11. Inasmuch as both litter itself and maiden within it bear

⁴² Canaan, "Die 'Azazime-Beduinen und ihr Gebiet," *ZDPV*, 51(1928), 114. Among the Ruwala white camels, called *waz̤ha*, are the most prized. (Musil, *Manners and Customs of the Ruwala Bedouins*, 548). To meet white camels is a good augury (Guarmani, *op. cit.*, 10). We have seen (above, p. 158) that each year the Ruwala sacrifice a white camel to Abu-d-Dhûr. In a cuneiform text coming from the last quarter of the eighth century B.C. (published by Winckler in transcription and translation in *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, 465) we read that Šamši, one of the conquered Arab queens, gave one hundred and sixty-four white camels as tribute to the Assyrian conqueror. It would seem that, even in that relatively remote day white camels were thought by the Abar nomads to have an especial value or significance.

the same name, 'otfe, they seem in principle to be identified with each other and to partake of the same nature and powers.

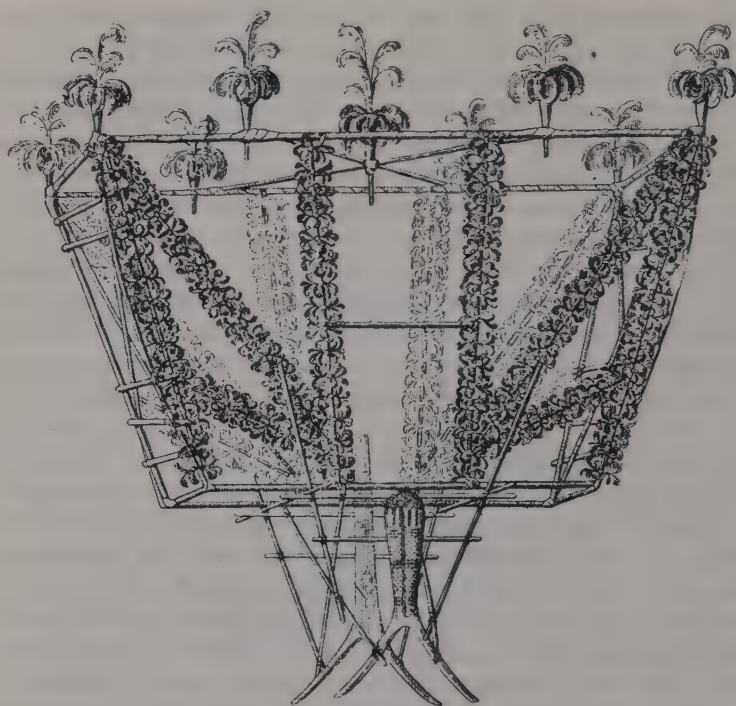
12. Very clear intimations exist that the 'otfe itself is regarded as possessing something of an innate, supernatural power to select the spot for the decisive battle or the road which the clan or tribe should take, and to drive the camel which bears it undeviatingly along this road, whether this lead into the heart of the battle or to the next nightly camping-place.

13. Closely related to these particular functions are certain powers of divination which the 'otfe seems to possess, and also the fact that, among some tribes at least, a sacrifice is offered annually to, or on behalf of, the 'otfe to the clan or tribal deity, or his modern equivalent, thought to dwell in, or to be associated with, it.

That the sacred litter of the Ruwala is merely one, outstanding and particularly notable example of the 'otfe, and not at all a peculiar object of altogether different character and category, despite its seemingly somewhat unusual shape and appearance, and its particular name, *Al-Markab*, is beyond all question. This conclusion is confirmed by Musil's most recent and fullest account thereof.⁴³ "The Rwala have no flag of their own. They go on raids without any special device; but when waging war, whether of aggression or defense, that endangers the whole tribe, they take with them a special kind of litter-called Abu-d-Dhûr or al-Markab. This is perhaps the old decorated litter, 'Aṭfa', destined originally for the prettiest girl, who used to lead the tribe to the decisive battle. But there is nobody now who can remember that a girl ever sat in it.⁴⁴ The Markab litter is constructed of stout poles, the frame being about 90 centimeters high, 270 centimeters long at the top, and 190 centimeters long and about 50 centimeters wide at the bottom. All the poles are wrapped round with ostrich feathers; to the upper poles are tied twelve short pegs, *zerânîž*, with plumes of bent ostrich feathers, *ṛalab*. To be loaded, the Markab is placed in the litter called *ḥarağ*, and this is tied to a camel with ropes, *mečârîb*

⁴³ *Manners and Customs of the Ruwala Bedouins*, 571-574.

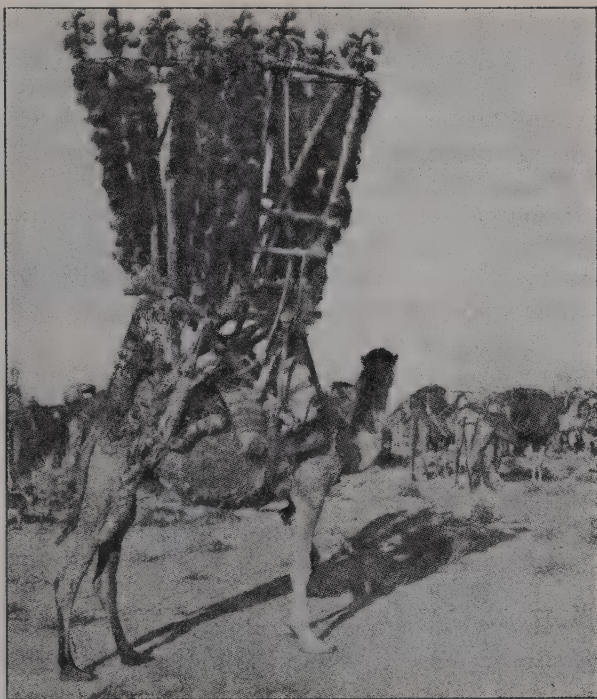
⁴⁴ For a refutation of this statement see below, pp. 183-186.



AL-MARKAB

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"The Rwala believe that the litter is called Abu-d-Dhûr, Father of Indefinite Periods of Time, because it is inherited from generation to generation, from age to age, *min ġilen ila ġil*, and that it will last forever. Al-Markab forms the visible token of princely power, and therefore this litter remains in the prince's tent all the time, in the part of the tent reserved for the women; here it is guarded, day and night, both by the prince himself and by his slaves, against everybody and especially against the prince's nearest kinsmen. For, if a revolt breaks out in the reigning kin against the prince, his opponents attempt first of all to snatch the Abu-d-Dhûr away from him, as he who has this emblem of the whole tribe in his possession must be recognized as



AL-MARKAB

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their prince. Should the enemy at war with the Rwala succeed in capturing the Abu-d-Dhûr, the respect for it would be entirely lost, and the Rwala would not use it again. To carry this litter, when the tribe migrates, an especially strong and docile camel, usually one of white color, is selected. The animal then, as a rule, walks between the laden camels and the herds, thus forming the center of all the migrating families.

"When attacked by an enemy in force on the march, the best fighters at once surround the Abu-d-Dhûr to protect it. If it seems that the enemy will push back the fighters resisting his attack and that he will break through to the pack camels, the commander of the chosen troop of fighters (called *şanam*) who defend

the Markab will take the camel carrying this symbol by the rein and lead her at the head of his troop against the enemy. The *sanam* are accompanied by girls seated on she-camels, who encourage the men to persevere, and behind them follow the women who threaten to beat to death any one who deserts the Abu-d-Dhûr and flees. So far no enemy has succeeded in defeating the Rwala sufficiently to take the Abu-d-Dhûr away from them. The prince, it must be said, is very prudent — the more dangerous the region through which the tribe has to pass when migrating, or where it encamps, the nearer together stand the tents of the various camps.

"When the Rwala engage in a war of *al-manâh*,⁴⁵ during which they move with all their herds and tents into an enemy's territory, the camel carrying the Abu-d-Dhûr walks at the head of the whole tribe, surrounded by warriors who follow every movement of the camel with closest attention. They believe that Allah gives signs by means of the Abu-d-Dhûr, from which the outcome of the fight can be foretold. Sometimes, in a dead calm, the ostrich feathers adorning the Abu-d-Dhûr begin to flutter. At other times the litter leans to the right or left, but suddenly straightens itself, remains quietly upright, and then rocks a few times from side to side. All this, the Rwala think, happens by the power of Allah, *ḡudrat min allâh*, who sends them help, '*enâje*, from al-Markab, where he is believed to seat himself for a while. The waving of the feathers and the straightening of the Abu-d-Dhûr are signs that Allah has touched it with his power.

"After each victory a camel is killed before the Abu-d-Dhûr in honor of Allah. This is also done every year, even if the Rwala have had no war to which the Abu-d-Dhûr had to be taken."

Later in his book⁴⁶ Musil gives an account of a bitter and critical war between the Ruwala and their arch enemies, the Benî Şaḥr, reenforced by the Ḥwêṭât and the Šarârât, in which the Ruwala with all their forces invaded the territory of their enemy. In this connection he speaks of the Abu-d-Dhûr "rocking on a camel ahead of their first column, the rest following in the

⁴⁵ I. e., a battle or war of major character, in which the very existence of the tribe is at stake; cf. *ibid.*, 540 f.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 604-606.

customary order." Again⁴⁷ he quotes a long poem describing the reactions of the poet to a decisive battle fought between the Ruwala and the Muntifež, in which the following stanza occurs;

ğawna šabâh wa-rčebow awlâd sa'lân
hammâjet al-Merkab 'an alli barâha

In the morning they came, and Ša'lân's youths mounted
 their horses

To protect the Markab from all who might desire it.

To this he has appended the following note: "Al-Markab is sacred to all the Ruwala. Should they lose it once only, should it be captured by the enemy, they would not be allowed to procure a new one, the emblem of their unity would be lost, and they would think that Allah had deserted them." Elsewhere⁴⁸ he cites a poem in which Al-Markab is used metonymically for Prince an-Nûri, the head of the Ruwala, and therefore the custodian of the sacred litter. He likewise cites a case where a member of another tribe "ran into the tent of Prince Saṭṭâm, grasped one of the poles of the *merkab* litter, and shouted: 'I stand under the protection of this pole, and nothing shall part me from it. By Allah's light and by Allah's right in this camp I put myself under thy protection, O Saṭṭâm.'"

The most recent account of the sacred litter of the Ruwala⁴⁹ records its existence in 1926, its nature, history and the manner of its use, by one who was privileged to observe it very closely and to acquaint himself with it authoritatively. Occasionally the author seems to distort matters slightly and even to draw somewhat upon his very fertile imagination in striving for romantic effect; but in the main his picture is unquestionably authentic. And inasmuch as in a number of details, and especially in two which are of extreme importance, he differs materially from data recorded by Musil, it is worth while to present his

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 623 ff.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 631 f.

⁴⁹ Raswan, *Black Tents of Arabia*, 75-78.

account in full. He recounts the migration of the entire Ruwala tribe, consisting of some thirty thousand persons with approximately three hundred thousand camels, from their own grazing territory into that of the remotely kindred but bitterly hostile Aneze tribe, the Fid'an. Their own country had been devastated by an extreme drought; pasturage and water had disappeared almost completely; the camels were dying by the hundreds and the people themselves were thirsting; the very existence of the entire tribe was hanging in the balance. No recourse remained for them but to force their way boldly into the rich grasslands of their enemies, bordering upon the upper Euphrates. At this particular moment this procedure was doubly dangerous, since the Fid'an were merely awaiting the opportune moment to inaugurate war upon the Ruwala. After describing the slow migration from day to day, the difficulties in maintaining the camels, the chief wealth of the Ruwala, and other experiences, mostly bitter, incidental to this great migration, Raswan continues:

"At the head of the advancing nation, in front of the center of the first line, strode one fawn-colored camel, bearing on its back a singular structure, adorned with hundreds of small tufts of black ostrich feathers and barbaric decorations. The large framework of acacia wood was balanced and secured on a saddle of special design. It was the *Markab*, the 'Ship', also called *Abu-Duhur*, 'Father of the Ages'— the Ark of Ishmael. It is the altar before which the Bedouins for centuries have made their votive and thank-offerings. There is only one such Ark in all Arabia. For ages past it has moved from tribe to tribe, as one conquered the other. The Ruwala had held it now for nearly one hundred and fifty years, and to them it has become the symbol of their unity and their emblem of war,— the tribal Great Banner, as it were. This ancient and hallowed standard, the Ruwala will tell you, has been moved by the spirit of Allah at critical periods in their history, especially in grave and decisive conflicts, to reveal to them when and where to face the enemy and join battle.

"This day, too, they expected to see God's presence and protection revealing themselves in mystic signs from the old frame on the camel's back.

"Tra'd ibn Sattam⁵⁰ hurried with me to the sacred Standard, which rose high above the travelling-litters. We made our way through an agitated throng. The buzz of women's and children's voices intermingled with the grunting and complaining of laden camels. On nearer approach I noticed a group of women afoot, threading their way to the standard; they waved their head-cloths and kept up a high-pitched chant. They were escorting a young woman, walking sedately in their midst. It was Tuëma. Her beautiful, serene face was radiant and aglow with health. Her eyes under their long lashes were grave and devout, but she had a bright glance for Tra'd Ibn Sattam, who had chosen her out of all the Ruala maidens for the signal honour of riding in the *Markab*, and on recognizing me her cheeks dimpled with a smile.

"When Tuëma and her train of women had come up with the camel which bore the tribal symbol, a tall powerful animal led by a slave, she ran by its side for a space. The trilling and waving of the women rose to a joyous frenzy. Suddenly Tuëma broke away from her retinue, and with a running start grasped the camel's shoulder-girth and climbed nimbly on to its back and into the Palladium. In the left fore-corner of the sacred structure was a seat with a footrest, and on this she composed herself, enthroned on high like a desert queen above her people. Thereupon, she untied her head-cloth and her glorious tresses fell over her shoulders. At a sign from her, the escorting women, who had continued to walk beside the camels, climbed up again to their several litters.

"From the midst of the migrating multitude now came the sounds of shots fired in jubilation, and soon tribesmen were galloping forward from all directions. They assembled and in a body raced toward the *Markab*, Faris⁵¹ at their head. Amidst the thunder of hoofs and the glint of carbines, there arose the wild chant of the young men as they pressed around their queen.

"Tuëma had risen and stood erect in the lofty frame. Her face became transfigured in an ecstasy of joy. Suddenly she put

⁵⁰ Acting as tribal chieftain in the temporary absence of the regular prince, Fuâz, the grandson of Prince An-Nûri ibn Ša'lân, of Musil's day.

⁵¹ The destined husband of Tuëma.

both her hands to her throat and tore open her dress and broke into jubilant song. With bared breast she rose, straining her supple body until she was poised high above the ark, holding aloft a bunch of snow-white ostrich plumes. She looked like a goddess — the bravest and most beautiful maiden of her great tribe. She cried to the youths words of passionate eloquence. She inflamed them with warlike ardour. She exhorted them to remember the heroes who once had chained themselves to this Standard by means of the iron shackles of their mares, so that they might not leave their queen, but defend her to the last breath

“Tra’d ibn Sattam took the leading rope of Tuëma’s camel from the slave and led her past the marching tribe. For all the dire distress, a festive spirit animated the whole people. It was a festive day, for the Ruala had a queen again — a virgin in the sacred ark; and under her symbolic leadership they pressed forward to their destiny.”

Elsewhere⁵² Raswan gives the following history of the *Markab*: “To the Bedouins of Arabia, the *Markab* has a significance such as the Palladium had to the Trojans. They all hold the belief that the possession of this symbol, much like the Israelitish ‘Ark of the Covenant,’ means safety and power to the tribe holding it, while its loss spells disaster to the tribe and its subsequent dispersion. The Ruala have held it uninterruptedly for nearly a century and a half, but even today the sight of ‘Ishmael’s camel-throne,’ with the chosen maiden sitting on it in times of war, will inspire them to greater heroism. The warriors composing its guard of honour are the picked troops of the tribe. They vouch for its safety with life and limb; they are, above all others, the heroes of Arabia.

“Before coming into the keeping of the Ruala, the *Markab* was held by the Amarat. More precisely, it was in the possession of the Ibn Hadhdhal family of that tribe until 1793. In that year the Wuld ‘Ali, a tribe in alliance with the Ruala, made war on the Amarat. Jidua ibn Mubadir, a Rueyli then visiting the Wuld ‘Ali, took part in the campaign. At the height of the decisive

⁵² *Op. cit.*, 110.

battle, so the tale is told, this Rueyli, with permission from the Wuld 'Ali chieftain, flung himself on the horsemen guarding the *Markab* (with the Amarat maiden enthroned in it), cut his way through single-handed, and with one blow of the sword cut off one of the legs of the camel bearing the emblem of the tribe, and brought it to the ground. With the sudden overthrow of the Holy Standard, the resistance of the Amarat also broke down and, terror-stricken, they suffered a crushing defeat . . .

"After the defeat of the Amarat, the *sheykh* of the Wuld 'Ali presented the *Markab*, and with it Jidua's sword, now famous,⁵³

⁵³ Of this famous sword another legend, accounting for its origin and unique character, is recorded by Raswan (*op. cit.*, 111 f.). "Of Jidua's sword — Thu'l-Hayyatu — "the-one-endowed-with-life" — there is also an older legend . . .

"In the fifth century of the Hegira . . . when the 'Anaza Bedouins were still grazing their camels south of Teyma at the Jabal Bird, it happened on the sacred pilgrim's road to Mecca from Damascus. Janda ibn Mubadir, an ancestor of Jidua, was travelling with his clan toward Khaybar . . . One still dark night . . . the air was suddenly filled with a terrific roaring. A mighty thunder-clap rent the sky, the ground trembled and swayed, and the whole world seemed to be tumbling . . . From the midst of the dark heavens above there broke forth a light that shone over the quaking earth with swiftly growing brilliance, until in a moment it had equalled the luminous power of the noonday sun and surpassed its heat. It blinded men and beasts. The earth split; a sound of hissing, tearing, and crashing beyond the power of description filled the air, and a sulphurous smoke hung over the scarred earth.

"When morning dawned it was found that many persons had been struck dead . . . A crater-like scar marked the place where an unusually large meteorite had buried itself. In addition, a number of men and camels had disappeared without trace into the bowels of the earth . . .

"Janda ibn Mubadir and his war-mare . . . lay dead before the wreck of his torn and partly burned tent . . .

"Some years afterwards some bolder spirits among the Bedouins nerved themselves to examine the hole torn in the earth. To their joy, these Bedouins discovered that the rift, widened and cleared by them, began to fill with water. Bir er-Ra'ad (the Thunder Fountain) they named the well. During the excavation, they found small fragments of the splintered 'messenger-from-the-sky.' A son of Ibn Mubadir took one such fragment from the meteor and fashioned from it a sword two and a half feet long. It gleams today as it did then, as if it were brand-new. It is of a bluish tint without one rust stain, and fine silvery wavy marks run down the precious blade, which is as light as a feather. A silver-

to the Ruala, since it was a Rueyli who had overthrown the *Markab* and thus brought about the victory of the Wuld 'Ali. Since then this sacred emblem has been in the hands of the Sha'lan family and has accompanied the Ruala in all their victorious wars, a symbol of their dominant position among all the Bedouin tribes of Arabia."

The language of this account seems somewhat figurative and extravagant, and due allowance must be made therefore. The designation of the *Markab* as an altar, as the "ark of Ishmael," likened to the ancient ark of Israel, and as "Ishmael's camel-throne," must, of course, not be taken too literally, although, as we shall see later, even these terms are by no means without import for our study. The same holds true of Raswan's designation of the maiden within the *Markab* as a goddess.

In two exceedingly important details Raswan's account of the *Markab* differs from those of Musil and of the other travellers presented earlier in this study. His statement that the *Markab* was held originally by the Amarat and was taken from them in battle in 1793, almost one hundred and fifty years ago, contradicts absolutely the testimony of all the other records that an '*otfe*, taken in battle, cannot be used in any way by its captors, but is regularly destroyed. It is difficult to believe that Raswan's statement can be entirely correct. He may have misunderstood his informant somewhat, or else he allowed his romantic urge to lead him a bit too far in spinning out his fascinating story of the capture of the *Markab*. Raswan gives not the slightest intimation that he knew aught of '*otfe*'s in general and of the seemingly invariable principles underlying their nature and use. The

smith of Damascus made a handsome hilt and an equally handsome scabbard for it, and another artist engraved the blade with Arabic runes in gold.

" 'The Sword-of-Janda-and-Jidua' is thus, in the truest sense, a gift of heaven, and that is why it is called also 'The Sword of God' and 'The Life-endowed One'."

Needless to say, this legend cannot possibly be historical. None the less it evidences the extreme reverence with which the Ruwala regarded this object. In the course of the ceremonies which celebrated the marriage of Faris and Tuëma this sword was held over the head of the bride during the wedding procession. We shall have occasion later (in the continuation of this study in *HUCA*, XVIII) to compare this legendary sword with the sword of Goliath.

Markab is the only object of its kind with which he manifests the slightest acquaintance. Therefore it need not be too surprising that he should record a tradition which contradicts one of the basic principles of the *'otfe*. Furthermore, it would be startling indeed if the occasion of the capture of the *Markab* by the Ruwala could be fixed at this comparatively remote date with such precision as Raswan offers.

Moreover, two bits of evidence, recorded by Musil and cited in the quotations already given from his writings, tend to refute Raswan's statement. Musil heard the tradition from his informants that the *Markab* had come to them from Ruweil, their traditional, eponymous ancestor. This implies, of course, that Musil's informants believed that the *Markab* had been in their possession from the very origin of their tribe, and that accordingly they knew naught of a tradition that it had once belonged to some other tribe and had only from that source passed into their possession. There is no reason whatever to question that Raswan records accurately enough all that which he actually saw with his own eyes. But in the recording of traditions and other information gathered by hearsay or by systematic investigation undoubtedly Musil, with his rich experience and thorough technique, is the more reliable and authoritative chronicler.

In addition, we have from Musil the account of the capture of the *'otfe* of the Dahâmše, with the implication that it was immediately destroyed, by the Eben Haḏḏâl clan of the 'Amârât, the very tribe and clan which, according to Raswan, had been the original possessors of the *Markab* up to 1793. It is hardly likely that within a period of less than one hundred and fifty years the established procedure of this tribe and of its immediate neighbors with regard to *'otfe*'s in general and of the *Markab* in particular, would have undergone such a radical change, viz., that less than one hundred and fifty years ago the principle would have obtained among them that a captured *'otfe* or *Markab* could be retained by its captors and regarded as a divine force among them working in their behalf, while today they hold that such a captured shrine must be destroyed by its captors. For these reasons Raswan's account of the passing of the *Markab* from the Amarat to the Ruwala, particularly with the obvious retention

of all its original powers and authority, seems exceedingly doubtful; and yet it may not be dismissed too completely, and that all the more so since we shall, in the course of this study, have a close, partial parallel to such a procedure with an '*otfe*'.

On the other hand, despite Musil's statement that no one can remember that a maiden had ever ridden in the *Markab*, there is not the slightest reason to doubt the accuracy of Raswan's thrilling account of the placing of Tuëma, his heroine, therein; for this was not something of which he had merely heard a rumor or a tradition, but something which he saw with his own eyes, in fact an episode in which he was a certain, even though a minor, actor. Even making due allowance for some slight exaggeration in the account in order to heighten the romantic interest of his narrative, there can be no question that on this most critical occasion, when the very existence of the entire Ruwala tribe was at stake, when it, in sheer desperation, was invading the grasslands of its arch-enemy, and the decisive battle seemed most imminent, recourse should be had to this tribal palladium. All the sources other than Raswan have agreed that the Ruwala actually took the *Markab* with them into battle only on the very rarest of occasions, although the evidence is likewise ample that this was done on one or two occasions of which record is preserved, when the situation was not altogether critical. Actually there is no positive evidence that it was not customary for a Ruwala maiden to occupy the *Markab* on these rare occasions. We have heard only from writers who preceded Raswan that no one seemed to remember any occasion when this had been done. But inasmuch as this was the regular practice when the '*otfe*' went into battle; inasmuch too as, as has been said, Raswan had apparently no knowledge whatever of '*otfe*'s in general and of the regular procedure with them, he could hardly have imagined the incident of Tuëma riding in the *Markab*; and finally, inasmuch as he was actually present at and a participant in the episode, there seems not the slightest ground for rejecting the evidence which he records.

From all this it is apparent, what the various accounts have, without exception, intimated, that the *Markab* of the Ruwala was an '*otfe*', possessing all the qualities and attributes of an '*otfe*'.

In the most literal sense therefore the statement, so oft repeated, that no tribe other than the Ruwala possesses an '*otfe*', is altogether incorrect. We have had ample evidence that within comparatively recent times, and no doubt still today, quite a good many clans and tribes do possess '*otfe*'s of their own, all with practically the same nature, purpose and power. Actually, however, the statement seems perfectly true that no tribe other than the Ruwala possesses such an '*otfe*'. So far as our evidence goes, although we must admit that this is after all none too extensive and decisive, this is the only '*otfe*' which has its own proper name, *Al-Markab*, or even more fully, *Abu Zhûr al-Markab*. It is likewise, so far as we can see at present, the one '*otfe*' with which a deity, or what seems to have been a deity originally, viz., Abu Zhûr, is definitely associated. It is regarded with reverence by all the *zana* Muslim, i. e., the two very large tribes of the Ruwala and the Wuld 'Ali, one of the two main divisions of the great tribal group, the 'Aneze;⁵⁴ in other words it enjoys respect from, and authority among, a far larger group than any other '*otfe*' of which we have record today. Moreover, it seems to be of utmost antiquity, a consideration which naturally enhances its reputation not a little. And the record of decisive victories in battle and attendant triumphs gained by the Ruwala is likewise a mighty factor in justifying the statement that none of the other present-day Bedouin tribes of Arabia Petraea possess such an object.

Moreover, there seems good reason to believe that the *Markab* differs in form and appearance quite decidedly from the ordinary '*otfe*'. Burckhardt has recorded the fact that there are two related objects, one called *merkab* and the other '*otfe*'. However, he seems to have confused the two, for his description of the '*otfe*' applies rather to the *merkab*, and, on the other hand, his description of the *merkab* applies rather to the '*otfe*'. Actually we have heard the name, *merkab*, applied only to the '*otfe*' of the Ruwala, and that always with the article, quite as if this were really, not a common, but a proper noun, *Al-Markab*, the name or specific designation of this one particular '*otfe*'. But if then this one particular '*otfe*' of the Ruwala be the only one which deviates from

⁵⁴ *The Manners and Customs of the Ruala Bedouins*, 46.

the customary tent-like form of the 'otfe, with the domed top, of which Canaan speaks, then in another, very decided and significant respect, viz., that of form and appearance, this 'otfe of the Ruwala is unique; and this too justifies the statement that no other tribe possesses anything quite like it. And yet it is an 'otfe none the less.

Moreover, in connection with this unique 'otfe of the Ruwala we note again, in summary, that it is associated with Abu Ṣhûr, either a deity himself, or else a traditional name which developed, either by direct transmission or perhaps by corruption of the original name, from some old, almost entirely forgotten tribal deity, that at times Allah himself is supposed to take his place within the *Markab*, that regularly every year and likewise after each victorious battle in which it participates, a white camel is sacrificed to the *Markab*, or better to Abu Ṣhûr, associated with it, and the blood of the sacrifice is smeared upon the framework of the *Markab*. We note too the various, supernatural, semi-divine, or even completely divine powers, which the *Markab* possesses; it gives the signal for starting upon a migration and likewise the signal, and indicates the spot, for camping; it also frequently selects the site for the impending battle; it imparts oracles; it gives victory in battle; oaths may be sworn by it; the possession of it by a family establishes their title to princely authority within the tribe. It participates in formal tribal processions, and, occasionally at least, a virgin, the most beautiful and high-born maiden of the tribe, arrayed as a bride, the 'Oife, as she too is called, occupies it, and for that moment sits enthroned in it, upon a seat on its left side, as if she were a queen or a goddess, leading her people either on the march or into battle or in formal, tribal processions. The capture of this 'otfe in particular would constitute an irreparable loss. It could never be replaced; and with it the honor and authority of the Ruwala, and within the tribe itself of the ruling family of Ibn Ša'alân, jealously preserved through many generations, would be gone forever. We might almost say that the very existence of the entire tribe, at least upon the plane of dignity, self-respect and authority so highly esteemed by them, is inseparably bound up with the possession and retention of this peculiar object. It is

indeed the palladium of the tribe. Finally we note the tradition, however none too well attested, that the maiden within the 'otfe or *Markab* selects the warrior who is to lead in battle against the enemy from among the defenders of the sacred shrine.

So much then for the 'otfe.^{54a} We may now proceed to a brief consideration of the *maḥmal*.

III

THE *Maḥmal*

That the *maḥmal* too was a kind of 'otfe playing a particular role, is beyond all question. This is apparent from every description of it. Maundrel⁵⁵ pictures the *maḥmal*, as he beheld it in 1699 at Damascus, about to set out for Mecca in the annual pilgrimage caravan, thus; "This is a large pavillion of black silk, borne by a huge camel; and on every side reaching to the ground it is adorned with gold fringes, and the camel ornamented with large ropes of beads, fish shells, fox tails, etc. Under this pavilion the Alcoran is placed with great solemnity, together with a new rich carpet, which the grand signior sends every year to Mecca, for the cover-

^{54a} The name, عَطْفَة or عُطْفَة seems to defy etymological explanation.

The basic meaning of the stem, عطف, is "to bend," then "to incline; to fold." (Lane, *op. cit.*, 2079-2082). May ("Ephod and Ariel," *AJSL*, LVI [1939], 49), quoting a personal communication from Sprengling, calls attention to the fact that "a derivative of the root from which 'utfa comes is used for one of the divining or gambling arrows (of the pre-islamic Arabs), said by authors to be that one of the three (in the ancient Arab game of Meisir) which neither wins nor loses"; cf. also Lane, *op. cit.*, 2081b to عطفوف. The connection of this idea with the 'otfe is anything but clear. Perhaps in this connection, however, attention may be called to Musil's statement (above, pp. 158, 182), that at times *Abu Zhâr* is believed to bow itself unceasingly to the right, and that this procedure is portentous. Actually عطفَة (Lane, *op. cit.*, 2081a) has the meaning, "an inclining," or even apparently, "that which inclines." But at the best this would be but a precarious etymological explanation of the term; yet none better suggests itself.

⁵⁵ *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, in *A Compendium of the Most Approved Modern Travels* (1757), I, 104.

ing of Mahomet's tomb; and the old one is brought back in return, which is esteemed of inestimable value. The beast which carries this sacred treasure, is exempted from bearing burdens for ever after."

Doughty writes as follows:⁵⁶ "I might sometimes see heaving and rolling above all heads of men and cattle in the midst of the journeying caravan, the naked frame and posts of the sacred *Mahmal* camel which resembles a bedstead, and is after the fashion of the Beduish woman's camel-litter.⁵⁷ It is clothed on high days with a glorious pall of green velvet, the prophet's colour, and the four posts are crowned with glancing knobs of silver. I understand from grave elders of the religion, that this litter is the standard of the Haj, in the antique guise of Arabia, and yet remaining among the Beduw; wherein, at any general battle of tribes, there is mounted some beautiful damsel of the sheykhs' daughters, whose generous loud *Alleluias* for her people, in presence of their enemies, inflame her young kinsmen's hearts to leap in that martial dance to a multitude of deaths." Upon this I have remarked in my earlier work that the comparison which Doughty makes here between the *mahmal* of the pilgrim-caravan to Mecca and the ancient Bedouin '*otfe* is suggestive indeed and leads to significant conclusions. It should be borne in mind that the *mahmal* of both these passages is that of Syria.

The Egyptian *mahmal* is described by Rutter⁵⁸ thus: "A mahmal (more correctly, mihmal) is literally a 'carrier'—a contrivance in which things are carried. The mahmal which is sent annually to Mekka from Cairo is a cubic box-like contrivance, measuring five feet in all three dimensions, constructed of a wooden framework covered with richly embroidered red brocade. This is surmounted by a conical tent-like top, of the same materials, which is some five feet high. At the apex of the conical top, and at each upper corner of the box, is a large gilded silver ornament, surmounted by a crescent. The bottom of the mahmal is so constructed as to allow of the contrivance being easily mounted on the saddle of the camel which bears it.

⁵⁶ *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, I, 61.

⁵⁷ I. e., a *howdah*.

⁵⁸ *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, I, 168 f.

"Mahmals similar to the Egyptian, but less magnificent, were formerly sent annually to Mekka by the Sultân of Turkey, with the Damascus caravan; and earlier, by the Caliphs of Bagdad; by the Imâms of the Yemen; by Ibn Rashîd, Prince of Hâil; by the Sultân of Darfur; and, upon occasion, by the Maharajah of Hyderabad."

Lane's description⁵⁹ of this same *mahmal* is more detailed and informing:

"It is a square skeleton-frame of wood, with a pyramidal top; and has a covering of black brocade, richly worked with inscriptions and ornamental embroidery in gold, in some parts upon a ground of green or red silk, and bordered with a fringe of silk, with tassels surmounted by silver balls. Its covering is not always made after the same pattern with regard to the decorations; but in every cover that I have seen, I have remarked, on the upper part of the front, a view of the Temple of Mekkeh, worked in gold; and, over it, the Sultân's cypher. It contains nothing; but has two mus-hafs (or copies of the Kur-ân), one on a scroll and the other in the usual form of a little book, and each enclosed in a case of gilt silver, attached, externally, at the top The Mahmal is borne by a fine tall camel, which is generally indulged with exemption from every kind of labour during the remainder of its life.

"It is related that the Sultân Ez-Zâhir Beybars, King of Egypt, was the first who sent a Mahmal with the caravan of pilgrims to Mekkeh, in the year of the flight 670 (A.D. 1272), or 675; but this custom, it is generally said, had its origin a few years before his accession to the throne. Sheger-ed-Durr (commonly called Shegeret-ed-Durr), a beautiful Turkish female slave, who became the favourite wife of the Sultân es-Sâleh Negm-ed-Deen, and on the death of his son (with whom terminated the dynasty of the house of Eiyoob) caused herself to be acknowledged as Queen of Egypt, performed the pilgrimage in a magnificent 'hódag' (or covered litter), borne by a camel; and for several successive years her empty hódag was sent with the caravan

⁵⁹ *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (3rd ed.), 404 f.

merely for the sake of state. Hence, succeeding princes of Egypt sent, with each year's caravan of pilgrims, a kind of *hódag* (which received the name of 'Mahmal' or 'Mahmil'), as an emblem of royalty; and the kings of other countries followed their example. The Wahhábees prohibited the Mahmal as an object of vain pomp; it afforded them one reason for intercepting the caravan."

Upon this I commented: This is the description of the Egyptian *mahmal*. It is clear that Lane has given here, and in authoritative manner, the traditional account of the origin of this peculiar institution current in Cairo in the 19th century. According to this tradition the institution of the *mahmal* is only approximately six hundred and fifty years old. The authenticity of this tradition is strongly questioned by Snouck Hurgronje,⁶⁰ who points out that in addition to this *mahmal* from Cairo, and likewise the one from Damascus, to which Maundrel and Doughty refer, there were in ancient times various other *mahmals*, representing the various parts and lands of the Moslem world and the princes who ruled over them. The *mahmal* from Irak played an important role in the history of Mecca in 1320, but forty-nine years after the traditional date of the origin of the Egyptian *mahmal*, and the *mahmal* from Yemen played a similar role in 1380; and, as Snouck Hurgronje remarks, this was certainly not the first *mahmal* which had come to Mecca from Yemen. In the light of these facts he asks very pertinently how it is possible that all the rival princes of Moslem states should have hit upon exactly the same method of representing themselves in the pilgrimage to Mecca, so very soon after the custom had been instituted by the Egyptian princess. He is therefore inclined to believe that the institution of the *mahmal* must have had some different and more ancient origin. He furthermore cites De Goeje,⁶¹ who suggests the possibility of some relation between the '*otfe*, the *mahmal* and the old Arabic custom of carrying portable shrines upon a journey or into battle Snouck Hurgronje likewise cites the custom still observed in Djiddah, the sea-port of Mecca, that in the celebration of their folk-festivals the people of the different

⁶⁰ *Mekka*, I, 83 f.

⁶¹ *Mémoires d'histoire et de géographie orientales*², No. 1, 180.

quarters of the city make *maḥmals*, each quarter having its own festival and each its own *maḥmal*, and each trying to outdo its rival quarters in the fabrication of its *maḥmal*. These facts are significant. They point to the conclusion that the folk-tradition of the origin of the *maḥmal*, cited by Lane, is altogether unauthentic, and evidences no more than that the institution is of such antiquity that its true origin is entirely unknown to the modern Muslim.⁶² Note should be taken too of the fact, repeatedly stated, that the *maḥmal* is the symbol of royalty.

Moreover, the facts cited by Lane, that, no matter how the details of the external adornment of the Egyptian *maḥmal* may vary from year to year, two details are constant, viz., the representation of the Ka'aba, or the Temple at Mecca, and the suspension of the two copies of the Koran upon the front side of the *maḥmal*-cover, coupled with the additional fact that, despite the Egyptian tradition that Sheger-ed-Durr occupied the first *maḥmal*, none the less all *maḥmals* are entirely empty, points to one significant conclusion, viz., that originally the *maḥmal*, whatever its earliest name among the Arabs may have been, was the litter in which the deity of the tribe or tribes to which it belonged was thought to ride upon the many wanderings of the nomad tribe. Nay more, since the *maḥmal* in the present day appears only in the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, a difficult and dangerous journey indeed, particularly in ancient, and in fact until quite recent, times, the thought suggests itself, that originally the *maḥmal* was believed to be the actual guide of the pilgrim-caravan through the difficult and dangerous desert; it was thought to be the divine power which selected the road which the caravan must take, in order to arrive in safety at its destination. The peculiar, sacred character of the camel which bears the *maḥmal* tends to confirm this hypothesis. And perhaps some slight additional confirmation thereof may even be found in the tradition that it was a woman, and a princess at that, who was the first occupant of the Egyptian *maḥmal*; for, as we have seen,

⁶² This too is the implication of the information gathered by Doughty from "grave elders of the religion," that the *maḥmal* is "in the antique guise of Arabia."

the regular occupant of the *'ofe* was a maiden, and always one of the noblest maidens of the tribe. Unquestionably there is much probability to De Goeje's correlation of *mahmal* and *'ofe*.

This conclusion is confirmed by certain additional considerations, all pointing to the original conception of the *mahmal* as being of divine character, or at least as possessing divine powers. This is evidenced by an interesting account by Lane of how upon the occasion of the return of the *mahmal* to Cairo, after having performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, during the procession of the sacred object through the streets of Cairo he ventured to draw near and not only touch, but actually lay hold of, the fringe of the *mahmal* and walk beside it in this position for some distance. He was eyed with suspicion by the guard but was not interfered with. Other pious Moslems were permitted only to touch it with their fingers, which they thereupon kissed. This privilege which Lane thus arrogated to himself was regarded by his Moslem friends, to whom he revealed the experience, as a manifestation of unusual divine favor to him. Just to touch the *mahmal* imparts *baraka* or divine blessing. This is likewise the implication of Doughty's statement:⁶³ "To rub and kiss the black stone built in the Kaaba wall is even now Mohammedan religion; in like wise you may see poor devout men in the northern Arab countries throng to kiss the *mahmal* camel, returned from Mecca; and how they fervently rub their clothing on him."

Burckhardt's account of the *mahmal*,⁶⁴ not cited in my previous study, supplements Lane's account in some important respects and in others even contradicts it. "The Mahmal . . . is a high, hollow, wooden frame, in the form of a cone, with a pyramidal top, covered with a fine silk brocade adorned with ostrich feathers, and having a small book of prayers and charms placed in the midst of it, wrapped up in a piece of silk. When on the road, it serves as a holy banner to the caravan; and on the return of the Egyptian caravan, the book of prayers is exposed in the mosque El Hassaneyn, at Cairo, where men and women of the lower classes go to kiss it, and obtain a blessing by rubbing

⁶³ *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, II, 511.

⁶⁴ *Travels in Arabia*, II, 49-51.

their foreheads upon it. No copy of the Koran, nor anything but the book of prayers, is placed in the Cairo Mahmal. The Wahábys declare this ceremony of the Hadj to be a vain pomp, of idolatrous origin, and contrary to the spirit of true religion; and its use was one of the principal reasons which they assigned for interdicting the caravans from returning to Mekka. In the first centuries of Islam, neither the Omeiades nor the Abassides ever had a Mahmal I believe the custom to have arisen in the battle-banner of the Bedouins, called Merkeb and Otfe, which I have mentioned in my remarks on the Bedouins, and which resemble the Mahmal, inasmuch as they are high wooden frames placed upon camels."

The first matter of significance in this account is the insistence that the book in the *mahmal* was not a copy of the Koran, but rather a book of prayers and charms. Inasmuch as the publication of Burckhardt's book preceded Lane's studies by a number of years, it is clear that Burckhardt is not seeking to refute Lane's statement that in the *mahmal* there were two copies of the Koran, one in book and one in scroll form, but rather that he was endeavoring to correct a tradition which must have been current in his day, and to which manifestly, a few years later, Lane gave full credence. Without questioning in the least the general accuracy of Burckhardt in recording the facts and data which he saw or heard, in a matter as specific as this undoubtedly preference must be given to the account of Lane, whose opportunities for ascertaining the facts with regard thereto were so much larger than those of Burckhardt.⁶⁵

Significant in Burckhardt's account of the *mahmal* is the fact that he found it decorated with ostrich feathers, obviously in much the same manner as, as we have learned, the *Markab* is decorated. Likewise his statement that on the road, i. e., of course, the road to Mecca, it serves as a holy banner to the caravan, agrees with our inference that we have here a reminiscence of the *mahmal* acting as the divine guide of the *hağ* through the desert and selecting the road which the caravan was to travel

⁶⁵ Maundrell too has attested that a copy of the Koran was placed in the *mahmal*. We will have another striking parallel to this procedure later (below, p. 222).

until in safety it would reach its appointed goal. Even more significant is the explicit statement that the Wahhabys suppressed the *mahmal* just because they regarded it as of idolatrous origin, i. e., undoubtedly as having its origin in the pre-islamic religious practice of the "Days of Ignorance"; this confirms our previously expressed inference.

Likewise of importance is Burckhardt's statement that neither the Omeiyades nor the Abbasides had a *mahmal*, and that it was introduced only by Beybars, Sultan of Egypt about A.H. 670. This last is, as we have seen, the popular tradition, likewise recorded by Lane, the historic authenticity of which we have seriously questioned. Furthermore, as we shall see, Burckhardt's statement that the Omeiyades did not employ a *mahmal* must be qualified to a slight degree. But if his general statement be correct, then we would be compelled to infer that in all likelihood the Wahhaby contention that the *mahmal* had its origin in the idolatrous practices of the pre-islamic Arabs is correct, that with the rise of Islam the use of the *mahmal* or its pre-islamic antecedent was quickly suppressed by the Omeiyade chalifs, in much the same manner and for precisely the same reasons as the Wahhabys suppressed it for a brief period near the beginning of the nineteenth century, and have suppressed it again in quite recent years,⁶⁶ but that the memory of it, and even its use in folk-custom also, persisted steadily, with the result that eventually its sanctioned and official use in approved Islamic rites was revived about 670 A. H. However, it is apparent that in so doing the *mahmal*, or its antecedent, whatever it may have been, was thoroughly Islamized, so far as this was possible, by the substitution of the copy or, more precisely, the two copies, of the Koran for the object or objects which may have occupied the pre-islamic antecedent of the *mahmal*, and by imposing a representation of the Ka'aba upon the outside, front portion of the covering. Otherwise, as we shall see, the institution has survived and persists in a form and manner of use which approximates very closely what must have been the form and manner of use of its pre-islamic antecedent in the "Days of Ignorance."

⁶⁶ Cf. Buhl, article *Mahmal*, in *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

Finally, of significance in Burckhardt's account is his direct and unqualified identification of the *maḥmal* with the 'otfe and *Markab* of the present-day Bedouin.

Rogers' description of the *maḥmal*,⁶⁷ quoted in full in my previous study, may be repeated here in part, for illuminating corroborative evidence. "It is a large frame of wood, capable of being carried by a strong camel. When in the procession it is covered with a green veil, richly embroidered with ornaments and inscriptions in gold thread, and with heavy fringes and tassels. It is surmounted by silver-gilt knobs at the top and four corners, and a copy of the Kurân in a silver-gilt case is suspended from the top. Lane states that in his time the covering was black; but certainly for many years past it has been green . . . The mahmil contains nothing."

This account confirms Lane's statement that the book suspended in the *maḥmal* is a copy of the Koran, although it seems to know of only one copy thereof suspended in the *maḥmal* instead of the two, of which Lane speaks. Its statement that the veil or covering of the *maḥmal* was green, instead of black, as Lane beheld it, corroborates the account of Doughty, cited above.⁶⁸ As Doughty remarks, green is the prophét's color; its use is still the peculiar prerogative of the traditional descendants of the prophet. Manifestly a certain implication of sanctity attaches to the use of this color for the covering of the *maḥmal* today. But this in turn raises the question, what may have been the color of the pre-islamic antecedent of the *maḥmal*.

Finally, Rogers says that "when in the procession it is covered with a green veil." Doughty too says, "it is clothed on high days with a glorious pall of green velvet." These two statements imply clearly that only on important, sacred occasions is the *maḥmal* covered with this green veil, that ordinarily it proceeds without this covering. This is corroborated fully by a statement of Burton,⁶⁹ "On the line of march the Mahmil, stripped of its

⁶⁷ In *The Academy* of March 31, 1883, 221 f.

⁶⁸ This veil or covering of the *maḥmal* is not at all the same as the covering for the *Kaaba*, likewise carried in the Egyptian *ḥaġ* caravan, with which it is frequently confused; cf. Buhl, *op. cit.*

⁶⁹ *Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah* (Memorial ed., 1893), II, 65, note 3.

embroidered cover, is carried on camel-back, a mere framework." This framework, as the accompanying illustration shows clearly, is somewhat box-like in appearance, with the four sides and the bottom necessarily present constantly, but with the top open. In fact elsewhere⁷⁰ Burton says, "The often described 'Mahmil' is nothing but a Syrian Shugduf, royally ornamented." In its bare form, without the veil covering, the *mahmal* seems to be box-like in the shape of its lower structure and also to have in



THE MAHMAL EN DÉSHABILLE

Reproduced from Burton, *A Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Mecca*, London, 1893.

general something of the form and appearance of the Ruwala *Markab*. This in turn suggests that the *Markab* may be naught but a form of the *mahmal*, or rather of its pre-islamic antecedent, with the upper portion, the covering veil, permanently omitted. And inasmuch as it is immediately apparent that the suspension of the veil over the frame or substructure of the *mahmal* is what gives to it a tent-like appearance, it is clear that, could we picture the *Markab* with a similar veil-covering, it too would have a tent-like shape and

thus would approximate very closely the customary form of the ordinary 'otfe, as Burckhardt has described this to us.⁷¹

In his valuable work, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*,⁷² Gaudetroy-Demombynes discusses the *mahmal*, its origin, history and import in considerable detail. He relies in the main upon Lane's account and also upon that of a modern Moslem writer, Batanouni. His description is primarily of the Egyptian *mahmal*. He records the

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 233 f., note 4.

⁷¹ Above, pp. 198 f.

⁷² Pp. 157-166.

fact that the *mahmal* is absolutely empty except for two little copies of the Koran, which may be in either book-form or else in the more archaic scroll-form. After discussing the authentic as well as the traditional history of the *mahmal* and of the various *mahmals* from different provinces of the Moslem world, of which the Meccan traditions make record, he concludes that the *mahmal* seems to have enjoyed more of a political than a religious significance, in that it was always the symbol of authority, even of the supreme authority of the king or sultan. He remarks that the *mahmal* has a marked resemblance to a richly equipped tent, and especially the tent of a tribal chieftain, and he follows Burckhardt in correlating it with the *ʿoife* and the *Markab* and also with the litter of Aisha at the Battle of the Camel, in 656 A.D. He notes too that the ceremonies attendant upon the return of the *mahmal* to Cairo at the end of the *ḥaġ* are of quite as much importance as those incidental to its setting out. He likewise describes the manner in which the *mahmal* formerly played an important role in the celebration of the local Egyptian festival of the Nile in Ragab of each year, and likewise the role played by "the mother of the cats," *umm el-qutât*, in the returning pilgrimage caravan. This was an old woman, clad only in a single garment, in other words nominally naked, who carried with her upon her camel five or six cats. Later the Egyptian government compelled the substitution of an old man for the old woman. This suggests inevitably the cult of the ancient Egyptian goddess, Bast, and indicates that into the traditional ceremonial of the Egyptian *mahmal*, local rites, growing out of the practices of ancient Egyptian religion, have forced their way. The fact that certain of these rites were apparently associated with the cult of an Egyptian goddess rather than of a male deity, may not be without significance for this study, and so also the fact that "the mother of the cats" in the *mahmal* procession was practically naked.

The latest description of the *mahmal*, by Arthur E. Robinson,⁷³ adds but little to our present knowledge of this object. He records that the Wahhabys forbade the *mahmal* entrance to the

⁷³ "The Mahmal of the Moslem Pilgrimage," *JRAS*, 1931, 117-127.

Hijaz in 1798–1814 and again from 1924 to the present day, and from this infers that the *maḥmal* must soon be completely discontinued and forgotten. He too holds that it as well as the *ʿotfe* are survivals of the precedent set by Aisha at the Battle of the Camel, but along with this he argues that it may have been originally a catafalque for the tomb of either Mohammed or Fāṭima at Medina, more probably of the latter. Perhaps the most valuable portion of his entire discussion is his quotation from a writer who, in his account of the *ḥaḡ* caravan, with the *maḥmal*, during the reign of Murad III (1574–1595), “described the Quran as carried from Cairo (and returned there) ‘in a little chest made of pure legmane wood in likeness of the ark of the old testament.’ ” This is a marked deviation from the later practice, as recorded by Lane, of suspending the Koran, in either one or two copies, from the apex of the *maḥmal*, either within or without. Not improbably this may have been the older practice. At any rate it suggests that the presence of the Koran within the *maḥmal* was from of old of primary, rather than of merely incidental, significance, that it was rather the purposed occupant of the *maḥmal*, and not merely a pious ornament thereof, and that it may well be the substitute which official Islam devised in the course of time to replace the woman, maiden, queen, goddess, sacred object or whatever else may have been the original occupant of the *maḥmal*, or, better, of its pre-islamic antecedent.

The following seem to be the essential facts which characterize the *maḥmal*:

1. It is a tent-like structure, with a rounded or dome-like top, erected over a box- or basket-shaped base. As we have seen, Gaudefroy-Demombynes has remarked that in appearance it resembles the tent of a Bedouin tribal chieftain. Not infrequently upon the march the covering of the tent-like upper structure is removed. At such times the *maḥmal*, with only its basket- or box-like base and its framework visible, resembles not a little the *Markab* of the Ruwala Bedouin. We have seen that the *Markab* is actually only a particularly distinguished specimen of the *ʿotfe*, which lacks the otherwise customary tent-like superstructure of the *ʿotfe*.

2. The *maḥmal* is regularly mounted upon a *howdaḡ*, or

woman's camel saddle, and seems actually to have some primary connection with this.

3. The *maḥmal* seems regularly to be without any human occupant, although the tradition of Sheger-ed-Durr does record the presence of a woman in it, at least upon one occasion.

4. However, regularly either one or two copies of the Koran are deposited, in one way or another, in the *maḥmal*, either in scroll or printed form, while tradition records the presence in the *maḥmal* of a manuscript copy of the Koran, deposited in a box of precious wood, and also, instead of the Koran, a book of charms or prayers.

5. The camel upon which the *maḥmal* is carried is of outstanding appearance and size, and, after the completion of his arduous task, enjoys certain privileges and is definitely regarded as possessing a measure of sanctity or holiness, which, of course, derives from its connection with the *maḥmal*.

6. Upon the pilgrimage procession to Mecca the *maḥmal* marches at or very near the head, and serves as a banner, as it were, and seems to manifest indications that at one time it was thought to select the road through the desert which the cortege should take.

7. A *baraḳa*, or condition of holiness and blessing, is acquired from touching the *maḥmal*, identical in every way with that acquired from touching the sacred black stone in the Kaaba at Mecca.

All these characteristics the *maḥmal* has in some degree in common with the *'otfe*. This establishes conclusively the hypothesis of De Goeje, that both *'otfe* and *maḥmal* are but variant forms of one and the same object, an object of manifestly sacred character.

Still other significant characteristics of the *maḥmal* must be recorded:

8. Tradition makes the *maḥmal* an institution approximately six hundred and fifty years old; but Snouck Hurgronje has questioned this and has established with reasonable certainty that the origin of the *maḥmal* must be sought in a much earlier time. In this connection Burckhardt's observation that during the period of the Omeyyade and Abbaside caliphs the *maḥmal* was

unknown, or at least unutilized, and so seemingly forbidden, and also Gaudefroy-Demombynes' correlation of the *mahmal* with the litter of Aisha at the Battle of the Camel acquire particular significance.

9. The Wahhabys have forcibly terminated the use of the *mahmal* because of a supposedly idolatrous, i. e., pre-islamic, origin or connection. De Goeje has suggested that there must be some basic relationship between the *mahmal* and the '*otfe*, on the one hand, and the old, pre-islamic, Arab custom of carrying portable shrines upon a journey or into battle. Burckhardt, Gaudefroy-Demombynes and Lammens⁷⁴ agree with this.

10. The *mahmal* appears constantly as the symbol of royalty.

Accordingly but little doubt can remain that '*otfe*, *Markab* and *mahmal* are all merely variant, surviving forms of some pre-islamic object of sacred character, which manifestly, in its original form and as employed in religious exercises, possessed a tent-like shape, was transported usually, if not invariably, upon a camel of outstanding size and appearance, was carried into battle or upon pilgrimages or in religious processions, and was thought able to give victory in important, critical battles and to select the site of battle or the road which the clan or tribe must take and the places where it must encamp upon its wanderings through the desert. The possession of this object established the authority of the clan or tribe, and within the tribe itself the authority of the clan or family which had the right of custody of this object. Within this tent-like structure, whatever it may actually have been originally, there must have been something of deep religious import, for which the copy of the Koran, or the two copies, within the *mahmal* are, as has just been suggested, the Islamic substitute. Presumably too, as the Bedouin procedures with the '*otfe* and the *Markab*, and likewise as the vague tradition of the connection of the sultanness, Sheger-ed-Durr, with the *mahmal* suggest, women were in some way associated with the original, ritual use of this pre-islamic, sacred object. This last inference is strengthened by the fact, recorded by Lammens,⁷⁵ that in the

⁷⁴ *Op. cit.*, 116.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 119, note 1.

cortege of the *maḥmal* at Mecca, two flute-players, *ṭabbāloūn*, play a role. This is all the more surprising and significant since, as Lammens likewise notes,⁷⁶ official Islam has rejected completely flute-playing as a religious rite. The presence of these flute-players may well have been one of the considerations which suggested to the Wahhabys that the entire ceremony of the *maḥmal* is of idolatrous origin and character and so prompted their abolition of it. Moreover, as Lammens has likewise pointed out, the playing of the flute as a religious rite among the Semites was usually performed by women. Manifestly we are herewith carried back to the period and practices of pre-islamic, ancient Semitic religion.

Here then is the place to ask what this early, pre-islamic antecedent of the '*otfe*, the *Markab* and the *maḥmal* may have been.

IV

THE *Kubbe*

At the time of the preparation and publication of my initial study of this interesting subject I was not acquainted with the monograph of Lammens,⁷⁷ and not until some years after the appearance of my study did this work come into my hands. Its importance, particularly as a supplement to, or even as, in many very important details, a correction of, Wellhausen's *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, cannot be exaggerated. In this work the learned author discusses, in great detail and with wide and penetrating erudition, the cult of betyls or sacred stones among the pre-islamic Arabs, and with this the role of the *kubbe*, the small, sacred tent of red leather, in which these betyls were regularly housed, and in which they were transported upon camel-back in religious processions, the pre-islamic antecedents of the *ḥaġ*, or rather of the '*umra*, or when the clan or tribe participated in a battle of extraordinary character. In more than one place

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁷⁷ Cf. above, note 7.

Lammens, manifestly agreeing with Burckhardt and De Goeje, identifies the *mahmal* and also the 'otfe with the *kubbe*. He calls attention likewise to the significant fact that *hamala*, the verb used to describe the action of Abu Sufyan, the leader of the Koraish at Mecca, in carrying the images of the two goddesses, Al-Lat and Al-Uzza, in their sacred tent or *kubbe*, into the critical Battle of Ohod, is the same word from which *mahmal* is derived. Here we may see definite indication of the close relationship of the *kubbe* with the *mahmal*, and, in consequence, also with the 'otfe and the *Markab*.

The *kubbe* was regularly a tent, made of leather, red in color, with a domed top, terminating in a point. It was, as a rule, somewhat smaller than the ordinary tent for dwelling, of a size suitable for mounting upon the back of a camel, either for carrying in a sacred procession or for being brought into a battle of critical character, decisive for the fortunes of the clan or tribe. The betyls or sacred images of the clan or tribe were regularly housed in the *kubbe*, and in it they were carried into battle or in the sacred procession. In other words, the *kubbe* was the housing of the clan or tribal deities, as these were represented by, or embodied in, the sacred stones. Normally the *kubbe* stood in immediate contiguity to the tent of the clan or tribal chieftain; or, more precisely, at least for pre-islamic times, the tent of the clan or tribal chieftain was set up regularly next to the *kubbe*. Undoubtedly this contiguity symbolized primarily the favor and protection of the chieftain, and through him of the clan, of which he was the proper symbol and representative, by the clan or tribal deities embodied in the sacred stones. Conversely, too, this proximity of the *kubbe* to the tent of the clan or tribal chieftain was, viewed in a practical light, the sign of his authority over the clan or tribe.⁷⁸

That the *kubbe* continued to be made of leather, and to be dyed red, even after the custom had become firmly established

⁷⁸ Cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*¹, 171. Accordingly the passing of the *kubbe* and of the betyl or betyls within it from one family or from one clan to another symbolized the passing of authority and of the privilege of leadership to the new possessors; cf. also Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 19, 21.

among the nomadic population of Arabia of dwelling in black tents made of goats' hair, is convincing evidence of the antiquity of the institution; for, as Lammens has shown,⁷⁹ in the early days the Arabs employed leather for their tents and for all the utensils and contents thereof, while metal was used to only a very limited degree. Accordingly the tents in which their betyls were deposited were made of leather also. Eventually Yemenite fabrics supplanted leather for all profane uses, but, in conformity with the wide-spread principle of conservatism and opposition to change in religious matters, the use of leather persisted for sacred purposes; therefore the continued employment of leather, and also, no doubt, of the red color, in these ritual tents.

The *kubbe* was never carried upon a *ǧizzu*, or marauding raid, nor into a battle of only minor significance. But into battles of major importance, especially when the fortunes, and even the destiny, of the clan or tribe were involved, the *kubbe* was brought and was carried into the thickest of the fighting. The purpose of this procedure was obvious. Thus the presence of the clan or tribal deities in the battle was assured, with a resultant promise of divine support and ultimate victory in battle.⁸⁰ The sight of the *kubbe* inspired the tribal warriors to superhuman deeds. Around it they would throng, especially when the tide of battle threatened to turn against them, and there put forth their most valiant efforts; for the *kubbe* must be safeguarded at all costs. Its capture by the enemy would constitute a major disaster.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Pp. 128-130.

⁸⁰ Wellhausen (*op. cit.*, 20 f.) gives an instance where the god, Jaghuth, went, i. e., was carried, into battle by his worshipers, the Madhig, but he makes no mention whatever of the *kubbe*, and seemingly, as Lammens claimed, failed altogether to appreciate the significance of this. Undoubtedly too, when Gaḏīmah, the Lahmite king at Hīrah, would carry his two idols, aḏ-Dārībān (literally "the two smiters" or, perhaps more exactly and significantly, "the two givers of victory"), into battle, they were housed in a *kubbe*.

⁸¹ A role quite comparable, and in fact practically identical, was played by the tribal banner or standard. At the battle of Ohod Abu Sufyān proclaimed, "The fate of the army depends upon the banner; if this sinks the army will be overcome. Therefore the bearer must be extraordinarily heroic" (Geyer, "Die arabische Frauen in der Schlacht," *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, XXXIX [1909], 150; Geyer cites Ibn Hishām for this). Cf. also

At the very least it would symbolize the impotence of the clan or tribal deities against the tribal deities of the enemy and their inability to protect their own tribe. The capture of the *kubbe* would mean also the capture of the tribal betyls and of the deities embodied in them by the enemy and their possible eventual use against their own original worshipers.

The presence of the *kubbe* in battle, symbolizing the presence of the clan or tribal deities there, also permitted prognostication or divination during the course of the battle, undoubtedly not only to indicate in advance the probable outcome, but also to suggest, through divine revelation, procedures and maneuvers by which victory might be achieved. But for this service a properly qualified diviner or oracular priest, in constant attendance upon the *kubbe* and in close communion with the deities resident therein, was indispensable. Not uncommonly this oracular priest or *kahin*⁸² was the tribal chieftain himself, who, as we have seen,

Tabari, *Chronicle*, III, 8 (translation from the Persian version by Zotenberg, III, 22): At the Battle of Bedr, a year earlier than the Battle of Ohod, the standard of the Koreish had been captured by the Muslims. In the interim between the two battles a new standard had been fashioned by the Koreish. This Abu Sufyân entrusted to the same warrior who had carried the standard at Bedr, with the injunction to guard this standard better than the last. That a new standard could be fashioned so readily, when the old one was lost, evidences that the standard possessed naught of the divine quality which characterized the *kubbe* and the *ʿotfe*, and that it was little, if anything, more than a profane symbol of tribal identity and a rallying-point for the tribe in battle. Note also the banners of the tribes of Israel referred to in Num. 2.1–17. This passage is from P, and is therefore quite late and has little real historic value. Yet it does indicate that even the P writers, about 400 B.C., preserved a distinct reminiscence of the desert, nomadic or semi-nomadic existence of the Israelite tribes and of their ancient customs and institutions. It is significant that in Num. 2.1–17 the tribal banners function as the rallying-points of the individual tribes, to indicate the precise order and place in the migratory caravan of Israel in which each would march and the precise place in the grand encampment where each would pitch its tents. For the tribal standard among present-day Bedouin tribes and its manifest relation to the *ʿotfe*, cf. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, III, 376 f.; *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, 571.

⁸² Albright (*From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 18 f.), following Nöldeke and G. B. Gray, holds that Arabic *kāhin* is a term borrowed, just as is the Hebrew, *kohen*, from an original Canaanite *kāhin*. I dare not say that this is

dwelt normally in immediate proximity to the sacred tent, and who might therefore function both as military leader and as oracular priest. But quite as frequently, so it would seem, in addition to the chieftain himself, the *kubbe* was ministered to by a special *kahin*, one who was presumably particularly expert in the techniques of divination, whatever these may have been.^{82a}

not correct. But even if this be so, the fact remains, as we will see, that the Hebrew *kohen* was originally identical in character and function with the Arabic *kahin*, was primarily a soothsayer or diviner or consulter of the oracle rather than a priest, in the conventional sense of the latter term. This last he became only in course of a long cultural development. Therefore, as Gray suggests (*Sacrifice in the Old Testament*, 181 ff.), the term, *kahin* or *kohen*, must have had its origin in the early, desert, nomadic period of the cultural evolution of the Canaanite and Israelite peoples, or even in that remote, proto-Semitic period before the division of the Semitic stock into different peoples had begun, and must have designated just the type of functionary which the pre-islamic *kahin* and, as we will see, the primitive Israelite *kohen* also actually were. And if the term be primarily Canaanite, then it would seem to indicate that the Canaanites too had gone through precisely the same religious, cultural evolution as we will trace among the Israelites, but, of course, at a considerably earlier age, an evolution from a desert, nomadic stage of life and of religious belief and practice to that of settled existence in a rich, agricultural country.

^{82a} And there seems to be no reason to believe that among the nomadic and semi-nomadic Arabs they were ever aught but relatively simple. Tabari (*Chronicle*, IV, 4; Zotenberg's translation from the Persian, III, 247-249) relates that during the Battle of Buzākha, fought in 11 A.H. (632 A.D.) Tolaiha, a *kahin*, sat at the door of his *kubbe* awaiting a revelation from Gabriel; but it did not come. Obviously the figure of Gabriel here represents an Islamization of the regular pre-islamic procedure of divination by means of the *kubbe* during a battle.

Musil (*Arabia Petraea*, III, 377) records the interesting and illuminating fact that still today when the people of Kerak go into battle they usually take with them a professional diviner. It is his task to pay expert attention to omens and portents, to ward off evil signs and effects, to give counsel to the military leader, and at times even to suggest the auspicious moment for attack. This he does not infrequently by an utterance couched in cryptic terms, quite after the manner of the ancient oracle. At times he will draw lines upon the ground with his staff, beyond which, presumably, the enemy will be unable to advance; in other words, in addition to his divinatory functions, he also practices magic on behalf of his people. That we have here a modern survival of the practice of the ancient *kahin*, persisting through the centuries despite the influence of Islam (cf. Lammens, *op. cit.*, 141), is self-evident. In this connection one cannot but be reminded of the role of Ahiyyah, the *kohen*, at the

Occasionally these functions were performed even by a *kahina*, a female oracular priest.

As has been said, normally the clan or tribal chieftain's tent was set up in immediate proximity to the *kubbe*, and thus a relationship of utmost intimacy was established between him and the tribal deities. Because of this proximity of his tent to the *kubbe* and the implied closeness of relationship between himself and the divine occupants of the *kubbe*, the title *rabb kubbe* or *rabb bait*,⁸³ "master of the *kubbe*" or "master of the dwelling," was applied to him. Lammens has identified this title, and no doubt correctly, with the corresponding title, found frequently upon Nabataean inscriptions, *mara' baita'*, "lord of the dwelling." But this identification carries the institution of the *kubbe* and its divine contents backward in Arab life to the beginning of the present era and even, with reasonable certainty, to the earliest appearance of the Nabataeans upon the stage of history in the sixth, or, at the latest, in the fifth century B.C. In this connection it is not without importance that, in conformity with traditional Arab usage, not only the tent of the chieftain, the *rabb kubbe*, but also the *kubbe* itself, might serve as a place of asylum.⁸⁴ Impliedly the refugee thus placed himself under the protection of not only the chieftain and the tribe, but also of the tribal deities.^{84a}

In addition to the *rabb kubbe* and the *kahin*,⁸⁵ the *kubbe* regularly had other attendants, particularly in times of action, i. e., in processions and in battles. These secondary ministrants were women. In processions the *kubbe* was usually attended by two women, likewise mounted upon camels and following the *kubbe* in the procession and playing the flute or tambourine.⁸⁶ And into battle the *kubbe* would be followed by women, again usually

battle with the Philistines (I Sam. 14.18-19), and that of Elisha in the war with Moab (I Ki. 3.10-20).

⁸³ Obviously *kubbe* and *bait* are synonyms here. The full title was *rabbu l-kubbati 'l-ḥamra'i*, "the master of the red *kubbe* (Lammens, *op. cit.*, 152).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 158, note 3.

^{84a} Cf. above, p. 183.

⁸⁵ And, as has been said, the functions of these two personages were frequently combined in one individual.

⁸⁶ Cf. Lammens, *op. cit.*, 118 f. and above, p. 207.

mounted upon camels, just as was the *kubbe* itself. They would function as the particular attendants and custodians of the *kubbe* during the battle and, when the struggle became hottest or the danger of defeat and capture of the *kubbe* greatest, these women would let their hair fly loose,⁸⁷ bare their bosoms, or even occasionally strip themselves stark naked, and, by their words and gestures and by the implied suggestion of the privilege of eventual marriage and sexual intercourse with them⁸⁸ would spur the warriors on to deeds of extreme heroism. These women were invariably of the noblest families within the tribe, usually the daughters of the chieftain himself. Marriage relations with them would therefore have been a privilege indeed, the mere prospect of which might well stimulate any warrior within the tribe to deeds of extraordinary daring. Usually too, though not invariably, so it would seem, these women were virgins. Their conduct during the course of the battle, and particularly at its height, when, as it were, the fortunes of their clan or tribe hung in the balance, bordered upon a state of frenzy. They must have seemed possessed, so we may say, by the spirit of the deity or deities of the *kubbe*, whose devotees, for the moment at least, they were completely. They were inspired battle-maidens in the most literal sense of the term.

Of unusual significance is the fact that customarily the deities of the *kubbe* were, not one, but two.⁸⁹ Usually two betyls or sacred

⁸⁷ For letting the hair fly loose as a symbol of actual nakedness on the part of women, cf. Lammens, *op. cit.*, 115 f.

⁸⁸ Cf. Geyer, *op. cit.*; also Lichtenstaedter, *Women in the Aiyâm al-'Arab*; also Musil, *Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, 104, 147, 527, 557, 560, 565. In this connection the words of the beautiful girl of noble birth in the 'otfe, with hair flying loose and naked breasts, addressed to the warriors in battle, "Whoever runs away today may nevermore receive aught from us" (above, p. 172 and Haefeli, *Die Beduinen von Beerseba*, 223, note 229), have more than passing significance. This was the practice within quite recent times; cf. above, note 33.

⁸⁹ Cf. Lammens, *op. cit.*, 103, 117-121, 143-147; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 43, note 2; 68; 77, note 1; 244, note to page 43. It would seem that, from the quite incidental manner in which Wellhausen refers to the so oft recurring phenomenon of pairs of deities and betyls in the cults of the pre-islamic Arabs, he failed completely, just as Lammens contends, to appreciate the basic significance thereof. An interesting, and for this study illumi-

stones were deposited in the *kubbe*; and usually too they represented or embodied, not male, but female, deities, especially Al-Lat and Al-Uzza.⁹⁰ Just why there should have been this duality of deities and of sacred stones is still an unsolved problem; but the fact itself cannot be gainsaid. That female deities should have played a more significant role in connection with the *kubbe* than male deities was due in all likelihood to the preponderant role of female deities in the religious concepts and practice of the ancient Arabs. In other words this would seem to be an incident of the institution of the *kubbe*, rather than a basic principle. And it must be borne constantly in mind that the connection of male deities with the *kubbe* was by no means unknown.

One other important function, significant for this study, was performed by or through the *kubbe*. In moments of crisis, when the existence of the clan or tribe seemed at stake, such as, for example, when an unduly severe drought made the pasturage inadequate for the subsistence of the camels, and it became necessary for the clan or tribe to seek new pasturing grounds, especially when such a migration was fraught with unusual danger or gave promise of becoming more or less permanent, then it was the *kubbe* which indicated that such procedure was expedient and even designated the auspicious moment for setting forth upon this migration. The *rabb kubbe* consulted the oracle of the *kubbe*, of which he was the custodian, and communicated

nating, instance of two deities or betyls constituting a single cult-unit or object of worship and religious functioning is recorded by Tabari (Chronicles, I, 752; in Zotenberg's translation of the Persian version, II, 11 f.) to this effect: Djadsîma had two idols of gold, which he called *Dhaizân*, and which he worshipped. When he undertook a war, he carried them with him, in the thought that they would bring him victory. With them he likewise practiced magic and divination. He once, with his large army, drew near to the Iyâdites and set up his camp. He had a tent of brocade pitched for his idols and had it guarded by ten men. When he marched he would have each idol mounted upon a camel and the ten men surrounded them . . . During the night the Iyâdites sent ten men who made the guardians of the idols drunk and then carried the idols off and brought them to their tribe . . . Djadsîma thereupon made peace with the Iyâdites and received his idols back.

⁹⁰ Cf. Winnett, "The Daughters of Allah," in *The Moslem World*, April, 1940, 1-18; also Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 38, note 3.

to the clan or tribe the decision of the deity or deities housed therein. Thereupon the *kubbe* was loaded upon the back of the sacred camel. This act marked the precise moment when the tribal caravan would set itself in motion. Manifestly it was the clan or tribal deities, symbolized by the *kubbe* which housed them, which determined all this for the people. And, impliedly, it was these deities, lodged within the *kubbe*, mounted upon the sacred camel, which determined, not only the necessity of the migration and the moment of departure, but also the course which the journey should take, its duration and the precise place where the migration should end and the clan or tribe should take up its new settlement, whether temporary or permanent. Lammens even records one instance where, apparently, the sacred camel, bearing the *kubbe*, was allowed to wander freely, with the tribe following eagerly behind, to note where the camel would finally halt and where, accordingly, the new settlement would be located. The obvious implication here is that it was the deities within the *kubbe* which drove the camel irresistibly along the road which they selected and at the proper moment caused it to halt at the spot which they had chosen for the new abode of the tribe.⁹¹ In

⁹¹ *Op. cit.*, 117 f. The Banou Yād possessed a camel endowed with supernatural powers. In times of public calamity the entire tribe would abandon itself blindly to its guidance (*Kitāb el-Aghāni*, XV, 97). With this may be compared the legend recorded by Tabari (Persian translation, Zotenberg, II, 464), that when, at the end of the Flight, Mohammed entered Medina, each of the inhabitants wanted the Prophet to lodge with him. But Mohammed bade them leave him alone, for his camel would know where it should halt. The camel marched to the spot where the mosque stands today. There it knelt down of its own accord, and the prophet dismounted. Jewish tradition has a similar legend with regard to the corpse of the prophet Hosea. Before his death, in Babylon, he expressed the wish to be buried in Palestine. His corpse was accordingly loaded upon a camel, which was left free to wander as it would, with the understanding that wherever the camel would halt, there the prophet was to be buried. The camel halted at Safed, in Galilee (Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, IV, 261). Precisely the same legend is recorded of the corpse of Maïmonides. Obviously the implication is that in every case here cited some higher, divine power drives the camel in the right direction and makes it halt at just the proper spot. For the Jewish tradition that the ark too had the power to carry or drive its bearers whithersoever it wished, cf. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, IV, 6; VI, 172. note 15.

this connection the *rabb kubbe* functioned merely as the *kahin*, the oracular priest, of the deities within the *kubbe*, the proper intermediary between them and the tribe. But also, still in his role as intermediary, he could, on behalf of the tribe, address to the gods within the *kubbe* a plea or a summons, in the moment of the tribe's dire need, to function in its behalf, to bestir themselves, to consent to mount the sacred camel, of course, as always, within the housing of the *kubbe*, and lead the people on to safety and triumph, either in battle or upon a forced migration. Such a summons, as Lammens has remarked, must have paralleled closely the words regularly addressed to the ark by Moses, when setting out upon each successive stage of Israel's migration through the desert in search of its divinely promised new home, recorded in Num. 10.35-36.

Manifestly the religious significance of the *kubbe* was not inherent in itself, but was derived entirely from the presence within it of the deities embodied in the betyls. It was they, and not the *kubbe* alone, which imparted oracles, led the tribe upon its migrations, determined the moment of setting out and the place of encampment, gave victory in battle and bestowed strength and blessing in general. The *kubbe* was but the housing or receptacle of these betyls and of the deities resident in them. But as such the *kubbe* became the natural symbol of these deities, and especially of their actual presence in moments of need, and thus, in its turn, acquired a large measure of sanctity, a sanctity which was secondary, it is true, but which was none the less real, absolute and effective. Thus the *kubbe* became itself an object of holiness and reverence but little less objective and compelling than the holiness and reverence of the betyls themselves.

Quite as significant for this study as the role which the *kubbe* played in the religion of the pre-islamic Arabs is the eventual procedure of Islam in dealing with it. In principle Islam sought, of course, to do away completely with the *kubbe* and everything connected with it, to obliterate it and its attendant rites and institutions from the practice of Islam and the memory of its adherents. But, as always, an institution as basic, as ancient and as deeply rooted as the *kubbe* was in the religious life of the early Arabs can never be eradicated completely. Some memories sur-

vive, and some details of ritual and tradition persist for ages. Usually these are reinterpreted in time in accordance with the new orthodoxy, and a new meaning and symbolism come to be attached to them. But the trained and discerning mind can easily detect what lies behind the new procedures and determine the real antecedents of the new institutions. Just so with the *kubbe*.

Mohammed himself continued to employ the *kubbe* of red leather,⁹² as did likewise his adversary, Mosailima, both in battle and on the march, as a sign of supreme authority. The ancient betyls were, of course, expelled from the *kubbe* and, so far as possible, were done away with. The title, *rabb kubbe* or *rabb bait*, was abbreviated to *rabb* alone and applied only to the Deity. Similarly the term, *kahin*, fell into complete disuse, and the attendant practice of divination was terminated in all except a few isolated connections. But the *kubbe* itself survived, to indicate that all the former symbolisms, powers and prerogatives of the pre-islamic *kubbe* and of the deities housed therein were now summed up and embodied in the single person of the Prophet of Allah. Thus interpreted the *kubbe* even came to be designated as *kubbatu 'l-'islam*, "the *kubbe* of Islam," in order to distinguish it clearly from the former *kubbe* of the "Days of Ignorance." The *kubbe*, thus reinterpreted, continued for a brief period to be employed by the successors of Mohammed, the chalifs. Especially significant is the procedure of Moawiyya, the founder of the Omayyade dynasty, at the Battle of Siffin. In precisely the same manner as his father, Abu Sufyan, leader of the Koreish of Mecca against Mohammed at the Battle of Ohod, had set up the *kubbe* containing the betyls which symbolized Al-Lat and Al-Uzza, so once again Moawiyya set up a *kubbe* alongside of his tent. But whereas the *kubbe* of Abu Sufyan contained the betyls of the two goddesses and symbolized their presence in battle, the *kubbe* of Moawiyya was entirely empty and, so Lammens maintains, symbolized merely the supreme authority of the chalif.⁹³ This was a veritable "*kubbe* of Islam."

⁹² Cf. May, "The Ark — A Miniature Temple," *AJSL*, LII (1936), 230.

⁹³ Still the consideration suggests itself, the validity of which, however, Lammens seems unwilling to admit, that the *kubbe* of Moawiyya at the Battle of Siffin may have symbolized the presence of Allah in the battle, in quite the

Equally significant was the procedure of Aisha at the Battle of the Camel. She took her place in a litter, a *howdağ*, mounted upon a sturdy camel. The litter was closed upon all sides and was protected with armor, as was the camel likewise. Within the litter Aisha had bared her breasts, and not impossibly had disrobed even further. With her in the litter she carried a copy of the Koran. In purposed and significant contrast to the procedure of pre-islamic days, she was attended by no maidens whatsoever. With the bridle of the camel held by one doughty warrior after another, as each was successively wounded or killed in the attempts of the enemy to capture the camel and its precious burden, Aisha was borne into the thickest of the melee. Particularly at the crisis of the battle, when it seemed as if her warriors were on the point of flight, Aisha bade the leader of the camel conduct it to where the danger was greatest. There her warriors rallied about the sacred litter; but all to no avail. Failing in repeated attempts to capture the camel and its burden, or at least to divert it from the field of battle, Ali finally commanded his warriors to hamstring the animal. This was done. As the animal sank to the ground, carrying the litter, with Aisha in it, with him, the battle was ended. Ali was the victor. Inasmuch as the person of Aisha was inviolable, Ali gave her, still in the closed litter, into the custody of her brother, Mohammed, son of Abu Bekr. As he inserted his arm between the curtains of the litter, his hand touched the naked breast of his sister, to her extreme consternation.⁹⁴

same way as the *kubbe* of his father, Abu Sufyan, at Ohod symbolized the presence of Al-Lat and Al-Uzza in that battle. Naturally, however, in accordance with the basic principle of Islam with regard to the incorporeality of Allah, Moawiyya's *kubbe* would necessarily be empty. The very absence of a betyl or sacred stone of any kind and the consequent presence of an empty *kubbe* would be for Islam the most appropriate and effective symbolization of the presence of Allah in this critical battle.

⁹⁴ This incident is not recorded in the Arabic text of Tabari, and has probably been suppressed there for obvious theological considerations. But the Persian version of Tabari (translation by Zotenberg, III, 661) does record it. The Arabic text does tell, however, that the *howdağ* of Aisha was kept-fast closed and the covering drawn during the entire battle. In other words, though present in the *howdağ* and in the very midst of the battle in order to encourage

The procedure of Aisha in this battle is illuminating indeed. The litter was obviously the *kubbe* of the "Days of Ignorance."⁹⁵ It went into this critical battle in the same manner and for precisely the same purpose as did the ancient *kubbe*, to rally the hesitant forces at the moment of crisis and give assurance of victory. The significant difference was that now, under the influence of orthodox Islam, the betyls or images of the old gods were obviated completely, and Aisha took their place in the sacred litter. Moreover, the Arabic text of Tabari tells that the litter of Aisha was red in color, just as was the pre-islamic *kubbe*,⁹⁶ and this despite the fact that Mohammed himself had denounced red as the color of Satan.⁹⁷ Therefore that it was still the ancient *kubbe*, or rather an adaptation thereof to the principles of Islam, is beyond all question.

But it is equally apparent that Aisha not only substituted for the pre-islamic betyls in the *kubbe*, but also that, as the evidence of her bared breasts indicates, she combined with this in her single person the role of the ancient, pre-islamic battle-maiden. The role was now formal, rather than active; for, inasmuch as the litter of Aisha was kept closed and was even protected somewhat by armor during the entire course of the battle, it follows that she did not actually display her person to the gaze of her warriors. Therefore it must have been the consciousness of her presence rather than the manifestation of her physical charms, which was designed to spur her followers to

her warriors, contrary to established pre-islamic practice Aisha did not expose her person to their gaze. This was undoubtedly in conformity with the newly defined attitude of Islam with regard to women. But with the evidence of the Persian version of Tabari to support it, the presumption is reasonable that within the closed *howdag*, in conventional conformity with pre-islamic practice, Aisha had bared her breasts, and not impossibly had disrobed to an even greater extent; all the more reason therefore for keeping the covering of the *howdag* closely drawn.

⁹⁵ Transformed, however, in reality, into a *howdag*, or woman's camel-saddle, with the litter mounted upon it. As Professor Torrey has kindly informed me, the Arabic text of Tabari actually calls it "the *howdag*."

⁹⁶ My colleague, Dr. Franz Rosenthal, has very kindly checked the Arabic text of Tabari for me.

⁹⁷ Lammens, *op. cit.*, 141.

acts of extreme heroism. All the more indicative then of the traditional role which she was playing is the fact that even within the privacy of the veiled litter she felt that it was still incumbent upon her to follow the old convention and bare her breasts. This is convincing evidence that, unable or unwilling as yet to dispense completely with the traditional *ḵubbe*, Islam had managed very early in its career to dispose of at least three of the to it most objectionable features of the cult of the *ḵubbe*, viz., the use of betyls, the presence of female attendants, and the practice of these women of exposing their bodies to the gaze of the warriors.⁹⁸ That by the time of the Battle of Siffin, but a few years

⁹⁸ Actually this is not the first instance where, under Islam, a woman took the place of the betyls in the *ḵubbe*. Tabari (Persian text, III, 6; translation of Zotenberg, III, 252-254) tells that Selma, the daughter of Malik, of the Banu Ghatafân, had been taken captive in a raid, which Mohammed had sent against her people, and had been brought to Medina. The Prophet gave her to Aisha, who, in turn, gave her her freedom and converted her to Islam. Finally she was permitted to return to her people, in order to convert her parents to Islam. After the death of the Prophet and during the caliphate of Abu Bekr, in order to exact blood-revenge for her brother, who had been killed some years previously in a marauding raid against the Prophet's camels at Medina, Selma and her Bedouins started an insurrection. Khalid ibn Walid marched against her. Selma, who obviously, despite her rebellion, adhered none the less to Islam and its tenets, took a leading part in the ensuing battle. She was seated in a litter, mounted upon a camel in the midst of her followers. Khalid, beholding this cried out, "Unless this camel is overthrown and the woman killed, we cannot conquer." Despite the offer of a reward of one hundred camels, no warrior dared undertake this task. Finally Khalid himself, supported by a few warriors, advanced towards Selma. After slaying one hundred of the warriors who guarded her, he hamstrung the camel. When it fell, Selma was thrown from her litter. Khalid slew her with his own hands.

It is clear that in this battle Selma played exactly the same role as did Aisha some years later at the Battle of the Camel, however, with this slight but significant difference, that apparently the curtains of her litter were open, so that she was visible to her warriors, and that the sight of her and the consciousness of her presence in the battle might spur them on to deeds of heroism. Whether or not her breasts were bared, is nowhere stated, but it is altogether probable. Obviously in this battle Selma in her litter played precisely the same role as did Tuëma, the Ruwala maiden in the *Markab*, or Turkiyye or the other Bedouin maidens, as recorded above. Equally obvious is the fact that already but a short time after the death of Mohammed the practice had become current in Islam of having a maiden of the highest birth and authority within

later, the *kubbe* was entirely empty, containing neither betyl nor woman, and that it was no longer actually carried into battle, but remained firmly planted beside the tent of the chalif, is manifestly but a further stage in the program of Islam of eradicating entirely the institution of the *kubbe*. That under the subsequent Omeiyade and Abbaside chalifs it should have disappeared entirely and, officially at least, would seem to have been completely forgotten, is not at all surprising.

But institutions as basic and deeply rooted, as the *kubbe* certainly was in pre-islamic times, do not ever disappear readily or quite completely. Therefore we may well believe that the memory of the ancient *kubbe* persisted in certain circles, though what they may have been it is difficult to say. Accordingly it is not at all surprising that some six hundred or more years after the Battle of Siffin, when what would seem to be a, in some respects, rather heterodox dynasty occupied the throne of Egypt, the institution should have been revived, naturally in a somewhat modified form, in the *mahmal* of Sheger-ed-Durr. Again we have the sacred tent, domed and with a pointed pinnacle, mounted upon a camel, participating, and perhaps, as has been suggested, even leading the way, in the sacred pilgrimage to Mecca. Here Sheger-ed-Durr manifestly plays much the same role as did Aisha at the Battle of the Camel, except for the fact that, naturally, during the entire course of the pilgrimage she remained presumably fully clad, and did not bare her breasts. Even more strikingly similar to the ancient *kubbe* is the traditional *mahmal*; for, obviously, the two copies of the Koran, which

the tribe take the place in the *kubbe* or *howdag* when going into battle, which in pre-islamic times had been filled by the betyls.

It may be remarked in passing that the pre-islamic term, *kubbe* seems to have speedily become distasteful to Islam, no doubt because of its intimate and inseparable association with the cult of the betyls, and to have been supplanted by the more general term, *howdag*. The practical identity of the *kubbe* and the *howdag* is apparent from Lane's definitions of both terms. *Howdag* he defines (*Arabic-English Lexicon*, I, 2885) as a kind of camel-vehicle for women, having a dome-like top (*muḳabbab*); or a camel-vehicle (*mahmil*) having a dome-like top (*kubbe*), covered with pieces of cloth, in which women ride. *Kubbe*, in turn, he defines (*ibid.*, 2478) as a dome-like or tent-like covering of a woman's camel-vehicle of the kind called *howdag*.

are suspended in it, are the very natural and proper Islamic substitutes for the two betyls, which, as we have learned, were regularly present in the pre-islamic *kubbe*.⁹⁹ And, as we have just been told, already at the Battle of the Camel Aisha carried a copy of the Koran with her in her litter or *kubbe*. That the *mahmal* is but a survival of the ancient *kubbe*, but superficially Islamized, is beyond question.

But that this same conclusion applies to the '*otfe* is equally certain. For, as we have seen, the normal form of the '*otfe* must have approximated closely that of the traditional *kubbe*. It too was shaped ordinarily very much like a small tent, mounted upon a woman's camel-saddle, or *howdağ*, and terminated in a point. Ordinarily, so it seems, there was nothing at all in the tent; but it too, like the ancient *kubbe*, was attended by maidens, the noblest born of the tribe, who went with it into battle, and by their presence there and their cries and gestures, incited the warriors to extreme efforts. The *Markab* of the Ruwala Bedouin, as we have seen, seems to be but a special type of '*otfe*, differing from the customary form of the latter only in the omission of the upper structure and the covering of the tent, but retaining the box-like lower structure, decorated with ostrich feathers. It was thus a kind of permanent combination of tent and woman's camel-saddle; in consequence as we have seen, it was not without the suggestion of a throne. And that the battle-maiden, with bared breasts, within the '*otfe* played precisely the same role as Aisha at the Battle of the Camel, with the two exceptions that, unlike Aisha, but quite like the pre-islamic battle-maidens, she was attended by other maidens of the tribe, each mounted upon a camel, and also that she exposed her breasts unhesitatingly and without embarrassment or shame to the gaze of the warriors

⁹⁹ Quite similar was the practice of the Sultan of Morocco who, we are told (cf. Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, cited from Lammens, *op. cit.*, 125), when he set out upon an important expedition at the head of his black troops, carried in solemn procession and amidst the most lively demonstrations of reverence, a copy of the *Ṣaḥiḥ* of Boḥārī. The volume, enclosed in a precious casket, had its own special tent, which was invariably set up beside the tent of the sultan. This is, of course, but another and a particularly illuminating instance of an Islamized *kubbe*.

of her tribe, is self-evident. The role of the *'otfe* in battle or upon the migrations of the tribe in critical times is identical with that of the *kubbe* of the "Days of Ignorance." That therefore *'otfe* as well as *makmal* are naught but comparatively recent, semi-islamized forms of the ancient *kubbe*, can no longer be doubted.

V

HISTORICAL FORERUNNERS OF THE *Kubbe*

In his treatment of the pre-islamic betyls and *kubbe* Lammens calls attention to two terracotta images, at present in the Louvre, described in detail by Cumont in his *Études syriennes*.¹⁰⁰ Both images come from Syria and, in all likelihood, date from near the beginning of the common era. The first image, in size 16 centimeters long and 12½ centimeters high, represents two female figures mounted upon a camel. The two figures are identical in every respect. They are elaborately gowned. Their hair falls in thick tresses over their shoulders and is surmounted by crowns. Their right hands are raised to the level of their shoulders with the palms outward, as if in blessing. Manifestly they represent two goddesses. They sit upon what is obviously a camel-saddle, a *howdağ*, which rests upon the back of the camel. The observer views the image as if from the camel's left side. But in order that both female figures may be completely visible, the artist has distorted his perspective and represented them as seated, so it seems, sideways along the ridge of the camel's back, so that both figures face towards the left side of the camel; in other words, he has conformed to the principle of frontality.¹⁰¹ We must understand, however, that he certainly meant to represent the two goddesses as in reality facing forwards, seated one on each side of the camel, and so maintaining a proper balance

¹⁰⁰ In the article, "La double Fortune des Sémites et les processions à dos de chameau," pp. 273-276.

¹⁰¹ Cf. also Ingholt, "Inscriptions and Sculptures from Palmyra, I" (*Berytus*, III [1936], 86, note 32).

in the camel's load, and with the *howdağ* extending across the camel's back, instead of along its length, as it seems at first glance.¹⁰² Projecting above the right shoulder of the one figure and the left shoulder of the other figure a portion of what was unquestionably a tent or canopy may be discerned. The upper portion of the image is missing; but it is clear that this tent or canopy must originally have covered both figures. This tent rested, of course, upon the camel-saddle or *howdağ*. There is reason to believe that originally this tent or canopy was painted red.¹⁰³

Cumont has assumed, though with a decided paucity of evidence, that these two female figures represent the Syrian Double-Fortune goddess, and that therefore we have two female figures exactly alike. Lammens, however, has questioned this conclusion and, with a far more convincing array of evidence, has identified these two divine figures with the Arab goddesses, Al-Lat and Al-Uzza. But, if this identification be correct, then it follows that the tent, which extends from the camel-saddle and covers them, is the pre-islamic *kubbe*. The two goddesses are then represented in a manner which conforms to practically all the details of the *kubbe*, as we, following Lammens, have formulated them. They are seated in a *kubbe*, which rests upon a camel-saddle or *howdağ*, mounted upon a camel, which, as the position of its legs indicates, is actually marching. It follows therefore that this image represents these two goddesses as either being carried into battle in the customary manner, or participating in a migration or, as Cumont maintains and Lammens endorses, in a sacred procession. In only one respect do they differ from the picture of the *kubbe* and its contents, which we have reconstructed, viz., in that instead of being betyls, or shapeless, unmodeled sacred stones, they are carefully carved and decorated figures. However, with their Syrian provenience this is precisely what we would

¹⁰² For a more effective representation of the correct mounting of the *howdağ* upon the camel's back, cf. the relief depicting a sacred procession of a horse and a camel from the temple of Bêl at Palmyra, reproduced by Seyrig, "Antiquités syriennes," *Syria*, XV (1934), plate XIX, discussed in greater detail below (pp. 226 f.).

¹⁰³ Cf. Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 86.

expect; for, as Wellhausen has observed,¹⁰⁴ all carved images of Arab deities in the "days of ignorance" were imported from Syria.

This identification of Lammens finds strong confirmation in the second terracotta image.¹⁰⁵ Here again we have two female figures mounted upon a camel-saddle, which rests upon the back of a marching camel. Again the two figures and the camel-saddle are represented in distorted frontal perspective, as if mounted on the ridge of the camel's back and facing his left side, when, again, we must understand that the artist meant to suggest that the saddle extended across the camel's back and that the two figures were seated one on each side of the camel. Again protruding from the two ends of the camel-saddle and rising above the heads of the two figures is a tent or canopy. The two figures are fully clothed, but the necks of the garments of both seem to be wide open, almost, or even quite, as if their breasts, or at least the upper portions of their bosoms, were bared. A part of their hair seems to be arranged in a heavy braid, coiled tightly about the top of the head, but the remainder, unbound, falls loosely upon their shoulders. The one figure is playing the double-flute; the other is tapping upon a square drum.¹⁰⁶ It is impossible not to identify these two figures, precisely as Lammens has done, with the *ṭabbaloun*, the two flute- and tambourine-playing women in

¹⁰⁴ *Op. cit.*, 72, 102. In this connection attention must be called to the golden bracelet worn by Nazih, in the *Sirat Antar* (translation of Terrick Hamilton, III, 279 f.), upon which were represented the two goddesses, Al-Lat and Al-Uzza, and upon which was inscribed likewise the name of the Lord of heaven and earth, i. e., undoubtedly Ba'alšamēm (cf. Eissfeldt, "Ba'alšamēm und Jahwe," *ZAW*, XVI [n. F.] [1939], 1-31). This inscription indicates unmistakably a Syrian origin for this golden bracelet. In just what form the two goddesses were represented upon it is not indicated in any way; but it would not be too far-fetched to assume that it was in much the same manner as in this terra-cotta image.

¹⁰⁵ Published also by Rostovtzeff, "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art," *Yale Classical Studies*, V (1935), figure 16; cf. also p. 183.

¹⁰⁶ Ingholt (*op. cit.*, 86) tells of another terra-cotta in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, which likewise shows a camel bearing a palanquin, also with traces of red paint, in the tent of which two women may be seen beating the tambourine. This is obviously, as Ingholt maintains, a representation almost identical with that just described.

the train of the *kubbe*, and, still later, of the *mahmal*, at Mecca. Certainly these two figures do not represent goddesses; for, unlike the two figures of the first image, they are uncrowned, and the acts, which they are represented as performing, are obviously of a ritual, worshipping character. If it be correct that they are depicted with bared, or half-bared, breasts, then, beyond all question, they represent the attendants upon the *kubbe* and the sacred images within it, as these went into battle or, as in this case, participated in a sacred procession.¹⁰⁷

Still another representation of the *kubbe*, upon a bas-relief from the temple of Bêl at Palmyra,¹⁰⁸ is significant for this study. Here the *kubbe* is a low, tent-like structure, which rests upon what seems to be a decorated rug, laid crosswise upon the back of a camel. This *kubbe* still shows traces of having been painted a bright red. The camel is led in what is obviously a ritual procession. The camel's bridle is held by a man, with the hand which grasps the bridle raised above his head, who strides along in the procession in front of the camel. From the camel's neck is suspended a small, round ornament or ritual object, which De Vaux compares,¹⁰⁹ very properly, with the Midianite camel-ornaments of Jud. 8.26. Immediately behind the camel, and seemingly participating in the procession, quite as if they were the customary attendants of the *kubbe*, are three female figures, each

¹⁰⁷ In *op. cit.*, figure 17, Rostovtzeff has published another closely related terra-cotta image, which likewise comes from Syria and dates from the same period and has the same background, and which is likewise at present in the Louvre. It too represents two female figures, apparently kneeling, rather than seated, in exactly the same tent-like structure as in the other image. However, this tent-like structure, despite the fact that its base is identical with the tent-base of the first image, does not rest upon the back of a camel. Instead it has a perfectly flat bottom, intended obviously to permit the image to stand firmly upon a flat surface. This image might therefore very well represent a *kubbe* resting on the ground, as, as we have learned, was its normal state when not in action. These two female figures are clothed exactly like those in the first image, and again with necks and upper portions of their bosoms bared. Their hair too seems to be arranged in a manner closely similar to that of the two figures in the other image. Here both women are playing on tambourines.

¹⁰⁸ Published by Seyrig; cf. above, note 102.

¹⁰⁹ "Sur le voile des femmes dans l'orient ancien," in *RB*, 44 (1935), 405, note 2.

heavily veiled.¹¹⁰ Seyrig claims to see within the *kubbe* traces of a recumbent figure, presumably a sacred image. This is, however, by no means certain, although it is difficult to conceive of a *kubbe* being represented in pre-islamic times as empty. What seem to be spectators hail the procession, and especially the *kubbe* and whatever its contents may have been, certainly the chief cult-object in the procession, with arms upraised in somewhat the same gesture as is made by the man leading the camel. Obviously it is a gesture of homage to the *kubbe* and its contents.

As the invariable mounting upon camel-back indicates, these are all unquestionably representations of the *kubbe* of the pre-islamic Arabs. All come from the Roman period, and, in all likelihood, from the second or third centuries A.D. All come from Syria or the region of Palmyra, in which districts, because of extensive caravan traffic, Arab cultural influence was strong at this time.¹¹¹ This evidence establishes then that during this period, antedating the rise of Islam by three or four centuries at the very least, the cult of Al-Lat and Al-Uzza and of the *kubbe*, with all the customary attendant paraphernalia, rites and institutions, must have flourished in Syria, no doubt chiefly among the nomads of the northern desert and those peoples and communities which participated in the far-reaching caravan traffic of that day.¹¹²

This conclusion is corroborated by the term, *mara' baita'*, recurring oft in Nabataean inscriptions and designating the pos-

¹¹⁰ Seyrig (*op. cit.*, 160) holds that these three women were only spectators, and not participants in the procession. De Vaux (*op. cit.*) supports the opposite hypothesis. He establishes that already in the pre-islamic period Arab women, especially of the upper class, were regularly veiled in public. He contends that, notwithstanding its provenience from the temple of Bél at Palmyra, the scene here depicted is peculiarly Arabic, and that the three veiled female figures conform fully to contemporary Arabic custom. That these women participate in this procession heavily veiled, instead of with bared bosoms, is not surprising, since here they follow the *kubbe* on foot in the procession, i. e., they have only a semi-active part in the ritual, instead of riding in a *kubbe* itself in the role of active attendants upon the cult-object.

¹¹¹ Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, 91-119.

¹¹² Cf. Winnett, "The Daughters of Allah," *The Moslem World*, April, 1940; also Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, 209.

essor or guardian of a sacred tabernacle.¹¹³ This Nabataean *bait* must have been identical with the pre-islamic *bait* or *kubbe*, while the full title, *mara' baita'*, was, of course, the Nabataean equivalent of the Arabic *rabb kubbe* or *rabb bait*. But this title and the institution which it evidences must have been current among the Nabataeans already in their nomadic and semi-nomadic days, preceding their eventual settlement in Transjordan and the development by them of a sedentary life there.¹¹⁴ This carries the *kubbe* and all its religious associations back to at least the fourth or fifth centuries B.C. and, quite probably even earlier.

From a statement of Diodorus¹¹⁵ we may infer that the Carthaginians too employed the sacred tent, at least when they went into battle, no doubt battles of a critical nature. He records an instance of a fire breaking out in the sacred tent and from there spreading to and destroying the tent of the chief military commander, which must therefore have been pitched immediately adjacent to the sacred tent. This caused great consternation in the camp, quite as if it was an augury of evil. This institution the Carthaginians must, of course, have derived from their Phoenician ancestry.

What seems to be a still older instance of the *kubbe* and its sacred image is recorded by Sanchuniathon.¹¹⁶ He tells that in the early period, following shortly upon creation and the birth of both gods and men, a certain Agroueros or Agrotos had a wooden statue, which was highly venerated, and a shrine or portable temple, drawn about in Phoenicia by yokes of oxen.

¹¹³ Cf. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, 52 f. Ingholt (*op. cit.*, 83-88) has published an inscription coming from Palmyra, and not improbably from the temple of Bêl there, which records the erection of a *kubbe* in honor of the deity, "Blessed is his name forever." This may well have stamped the person who erected the *kubbe* as a *mara' baita'* and as one of high rank and authority among his people. Ingholt makes no attempt to date the inscription, but unquestionably it may be assigned with reasonable certainty to the second or third centuries A.D. (cf. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, 91-119).

¹¹⁴ Dalman (*Petra*, I, 72; II, 53) records another significant detail of the *kubbe*-cult among the Nabataeans, viz., that they had a predilection for the worship of betyls in pairs.

¹¹⁵ XX, 65, 1 (ed. Dindorf); quoted from Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit*, 242.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, 9.

This shrine or portable temple must have been, of course, the housing of this wooden statue or idol. When it travelled in this manner, it must have been placed upon a cart or wagon. Moreover, it is a reasonable inference from the specific wording of this narrative that the oxen were supposed to draw the portable shrine, with the idol in it, not upon a regular, pre-arranged itinerary, but rather that they went in whatever direction and halted at whatever place the deity within the shrine would compel them. In other words, the procedure with this portable shrine, mounted upon a wagon or cart and drawn by oxen, driven by the deity within the shrine, parallels exactly the procedure with the ark, after the discomfiture of the Philistines, recorded in I Sam. 6. But it also parallels sufficiently closely the procedure with the pre-islamic *kubbe* and the later *mahmal* and 'otfe to establish the identity of these various sacred objects.

But with these evidences of antiquity for the *kubbe* and all that was associated with it, it is but a relatively short step from the fifth century B.C., or even somewhat earlier, back to the twelfth or thirteenth century B.C. and to the consideration of the corresponding institution or institutions in ancient Israel. And first the ark.¹¹⁷

VI

THE ARK

In the previously oft-cited article I endeavored to show that the history of the ark falls into three distinct periods. The first period was that of the pre-Palestinian desert life and migrations of the tribe or tribes, with which the ark was originally associated, and of the early settlement of these tribes in Palestine. This period extended through the reign of David and actually to the erection of the Temple at Jerusalem by Solomon.

The second period in the history of the ark was coincident with the existence of the first Temple, and ended with the destruc-

¹¹⁷ Lammens (op. cit., 159) correlates the ark with the pre-islamic *kubbe* and suggests that it was in his role as *rabb el-bait* that Moses would recite the summons to the ark recorded in Num. 10.35 f.

tion of the Temple by the Babylonians in 586 B.C. and the resultant disappearance of the ark. It was during this period, and beginning quite early in the period, that the ark came to be transformed, in tradition at least, if not in actual fact, from what it had been originally, whatever that may have been, to the box-like container of the two tablets of the decalogue¹¹⁸ and likewise, as the result of the religious reformation in 899 B.C., during the reign of Asa, took the place within the *d'ebir* of the Temple, and as the most sacred object of the cult thereof, of the golden image of Yahweh, seated upon a throne, which had stood there originally.¹¹⁹

The third period in the history of the ark was associated with the post-exilic Temple at Jerusalem, particularly from the period about 400 B.C., or perhaps a decade or so earlier, when the Priestly Code was formulated and made authoritative, and when, in connection with the official promulgation of this code for the Jewish community of Judaea, it seems that the Temple was rebuilt extensively, in conformity with the somewhat new pattern of the sanctuary which the Priestly Code set forth.¹²⁰ Once again the nature of the ark was reinterpreted, at least partially. It continued to be regarded as the box-like container of the two tablets of the decalogue, now called the "tablets of testimony"; but in addition thereto it recaptured something of the character of the sacred object which it had supplanted in the Temple of Solomon, and so was regarded likewise as the throne of the Deity. This was, in fact, its major role in the Temple scheme of the Priestly Code, while its role as container of the sacred stone tablets became secondary.

The Priestly Code represented the ark as standing in the holy of holies, beneath the overshadowing wings of the two cherubim. Upon the top of the ark was the golden cover, the *kapporet*, the so-called "mercy-seat." It was upon this that the Deity was con-

¹¹⁸ So also, in part at least, Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 214.

¹¹⁹ For a detailed account of this reformation and of the role of the ark therein, cf. "Amos Studies, III," 100-134.

¹²⁰ Cf. "Supplementary Studies in the Calendars of Ancient Israel," 72-146.

ceived as seated, enthroned in solitary majesty, invisible to human eye.^{120a} Into the holy of holies and into the presence of the Deity, and therefore into close proximity to the ark, only one human being was permitted to enter, the high-priest, and that only once each year, upon the recurrent Day of Atonement;¹²¹ and that too only enveloped in a cloud of incense, to the end that he might not behold too closely that which was assumed to be within the holy of holies, and as a result of such temerity perhaps lose his life.¹²²

Actually therefore, despite the provisions of the Priestly Code, whether there was really an ark within the holy of holies of the post-exilic Temple is none too well attested. And if there was an ark there, we have only the vaguest idea of what it was like. But of this we may be sure, that in any case it was not the ark of the pre-exilic period, of the sanctuary of David and of the Temple of Solomon. That original ark had certainly disappeared, if not sooner, then, at the very latest and beyond all doubt, in the destruction of the first Temple in 586 B.C. A full century and three quarters had elapsed between the disappearance of the true ark and the formulation of the Priestly Code's half-imaginary reconstruction thereof. Not improbably the authors of the Priestly Code had only a vague tradition of what the ark had really been. Not improbably also even this vague and unreliable tradition they did not hesitate to modify more or less to meet their own peculiar purposes. Too much importance may therefore not be attached to the account of the ark in the Priestly Code in the endeavor to determine what the original ark really was. This last is our present task. Our primary concern in this study

^{120a} Not at all improbably a like concept obtained with the empty *kubbe* which Moawiyya set up in immediate proximity to his own tent at the Battle of Siffin. While physically empty, Allah may well have been thought to be present invisibly in the *kubbe* in order to give victory to the cause of his worshippers (cf. above, note 93).

¹²¹ Originally the New Year's Day; cf. "The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel," 22-58.

¹²² Cf. Lauterbach, "A Significant Controversy between the Saducees and the Pharisees," *HUCA*, IV (1927), 173-205, and my "A Chapter in the History of the High-Priesthood," 13-24.

is with the nature and role of the ark during the first period of its history.

During the early period of the sojourn of the tribes of Israel in Palestine the ark stood at Shiloh, in the territory of the tribe of Ephraim. It was obviously the principal cult-object of the important sanctuary there and was ministered to by a levitical priestly family,¹²³ the names of three members of which are preserved in the biblical records, Eli and his two sons, Hofni and Phineas. It is reasonable to infer, from the fact of its location at Shiloh, that the ark had been originally the cult-object of Ephraim alone, or, in the pre-Palestinian, desert period, of the antecedents of this tribe, whatever they may have been. However, it seems that during the period of Ephraimite hegemony over the tribes of Israel, or at least over the tribes of Central Palestine, during the decades immediately preceding the Philistine conquest, the ark acquired somewhat more than merely local or tribal significance. It came apparently to be regarded as the major cult-object, and its sanctuary at Shiloh as the central sanctuary and source of oracular revelation, of all the tribes which constituted the then federation of the tribes of Israel.¹²⁴

¹²³ Descended from Moses, as at least early post-exilic tradition had it, presumably through the young Levite whose story is recorded in Jud. 19. The evidence for this positive statement I hope to present upon some other occasion; meanwhile cf. below, note 228 (to appear in *HUCA*, XVIII).

¹²⁴ At the time of the Philistine wars this federation consisted of at least Ephraim and Manasseh. Benjamin had certainly been a member of this federation earlier, but had completely severed its connections therewith, at the most but a few decades previously, as the result of the intertribal war recorded in the earliest literary stratum of Jud. 19–21. Therefore in the early Philistine wars Benjamin did not participate at all. It held severely aloof; and this, together with its topographical situation, caused the Philistines to pass it by when they conquered the territory of Ephraim and Manasseh and subjected it to their rule. This enabled Benjamin to maintain its tribal strength unimpaired and so to carry on its own war with the Philistines under Saul some fifty years later. (cf. below, note 137. This chronology is based upon considerations of Samuel's apparent age at the time of each of these two wars. During the former he was still a mere lad, while during the latter he was well advanced in years and even approaching his death. There is a rabbinic tradition that at the time of his death Samuel was fifty-two years old [Num. Rab. (ed. Wilna), III, 7]. Albright [*Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 103 f., 210 f.] would date the Battles of Ebenezer and the resultant destruction of Shiloh at *circ.*

1050 B.C., or a little earlier. I would date them some fifteen years earlier than this [cf. below, notes 143 and 174]. Albright likewise regards Shiloh as the central sanctuary of all Israel. I regard it as the central sanctuary of only the tribes of Central Palestine, i. e., of Israel proper, or, at the very most, of Central and Northern Palestine. This would also account adequately for the manifest reluctance and eventual failure of the northern tribes to rally strongly to Saul's standard after his initial victory over the Philistines, as, quite obviously, both he and Samuel had confidently expected [despite the statement of I Sam. 14.21-22]).

Whether the tribes north of the Valley of Jezreel were actually linked in any degree with this federation at the time of the Philistine wars cannot be determined with certainty. That at the time of the Battle of Ta'anach Issachar, Zebulun and Naphtali, north of the Valley, had joined with Machir, Ephraim and Benjamin, south of the Valley, in united resistance to the common Canaanite enemy, is convincingly evidenced by Jud. 5. But how long this early and quite extensive coalition of Israelite tribes persisted after the battle, is not certain. It endured probably long enough to ensure the breakdown of the power of the Canaanite city-states in the Valley and the immediately adjacent sections of Palestine and the termination of all danger from that direction. Apparently by the time of Gideon and the Midianite inroads it had dissolved completely, or at least almost so.

Seemingly too after the dissolution of the premature and short-lived political organization which, following upon Gideon, Abimelech effected, the leadership in the affairs of the tribes of Central Palestine passed to Ephraim. In fact Jud. 8.1-3 evidences that even before Gideon the Ephraimites had exercised a definite intertribal hegemony, of which they were intensely jealous, and that the Gideon regime represented merely a brief interlude therein. Jud. 12.1-7 illustrates clearly the arrogant manner in which the Ephraimites exercised this hegemony, at least in Central Palestine, west of the Jordan, and even to an extent to the east of the Jordan. This Ephraimite intertribal hegemony, which had begun even before Gideon, continued until the Philistine triumph.

All the evidence indicates that it was primarily this federation of tribes of Central Palestine which was subsumed under the name, Israel, and that too as far back as the time of Merneptah. The name itself seems to have been somewhat elastic in application, to have designated primarily the federation as such, and to have had a broader or narrower connotation with the expansion or contraction of tribal membership therein and resultant cooperative action.

At the time of the Battle of Ta'anach, as Jud. 5 indicates, the term, Israel, embraced not only Ephraim, Machir and Benjamin, but also Issachar, Zebulun and Naphtali. As we have seen, the common Canaanite danger drew these six tribes into the federation. But at the time of the later, intertribal war, of which we read in Jud. 19-21, the connotation of the term, Israel, seems to have narrowed again and to have covered little more than Ephraim and Manasseh and to have definitely excluded Benjamin. So it was still at the time of the Philistine wars.

This sanctuary, so it would seem, was not at all a *kubbe*, a tent,¹²⁵ but a much more pretentious structure, a *bait* or a *hekal*.¹²⁶ It had its doors and doorposts.¹²⁷ The doors were closed regularly at night and opened again in the morning. The ark stood apparently in the sanctuary proper, which was illumined during the night by a lamp of sacred character.¹²⁸ Within this sanctuary and seemingly in immediate proximity to the ark, in order that he might be in constant attendance upon it, should a revelation from the Deity come at some unforeseen moment, when Eli, the chief priest, was not present, slept the young Samuel, in discharge of his duties of priestly apprenticeship.¹²⁹ The abode of Eli, house or tent, whichever it may have been, was immediately adjacent.¹³⁰ In other words, Eli dwelt in the same close proximity to the ark as did the pre-islamic Arab tribal head to the *kubbe* or as the Ruwala tribal chieftain to the *Markab*. This proximity must have

¹²⁵ Despite the application to it in I Sam. 2.22b, unquestionably by editorial hands, of the term, *'ohel mo'ed*.

¹²⁶ I Sam. 1.7, 9, 24; 3.3; cf. Jud. 18.31; so also Luther, in Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 135; Sellin, "Das Zelt Jahwes," in *Kittel Festschrift*, BWAT, 13 (1913), 174; Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit*, 88 f.

¹²⁷ I Sam. 1.9; 3.15.

¹²⁸ I Sam. 3.3.

¹²⁹ For the same practice, of the priest sleeping in the sanctuary of Al-Galsad in Hadrāmut, in close proximity to the idol, in order to be prepared to receive an oracle at any moment, day or night, whenever the deity would choose to speak, cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 55. Actually the role of Samuel as the youthful priest and apprentice to Eli is altogether secondary and probably in some measure unhistorical. Unquestionably it is patterned after the role of Moses as the oracular priest of the "tent of meeting" (cf. below, in *HUCA*, XVIII), with his apprentice too never departing from the sanctuary (Ex. 33.11). So here Samuel plays the role of priestly apprentice to Eli, while the sanctuary, in turn, is represented as, and is even called specifically, *'ohel mo'ed* (cf. also Josh. 18.1, 8-10; Ps. 78.60, and above, note 125). Actually in relation to the ark Samuel played no priestly role whatsoever. Its priests were Eli and his two sons, Hofni and Phineas (cf. I Sam. 1.3b). Within the original ark-pericope of I Sam. (for the analysis cf. the commentaries, and also Press, "Der Prophet Samuel," *ZAW*, XV[n. F.] [1938], 177-225) Samuel does not appear at all. None the less even in the secondary sections of I Sam. 1-6, in which the youthful Samuel functions as priestly apprentice, there are here and there some reminiscences of the ark and of the ancient sanctuary at Shiloh which seem to have positive historic value, although they must be used with discrimination.

¹³⁰ I Sam. 3.2-5.

been due primarily, of course, to Eli's role as the oracular priest of the ark. But when we remember that as a rule the pre-islamic Arab tribal chieftain was also the *kahin* or oracular priest of the deity or deities of the *kubbe*, we may see some indication of close relationship between the role of Eli as the priest of the ark and that of the pre-islamic *kahin* as the oracular priest of the *kubbe*, and see likewise in the proximity of Eli's abode to the ark a token of the very high authority which he exercised within his community and tribe, and even, no doubt, within the federation of Israelite tribes of Central Palestine. But this suggests, in turn, that, not the actual sanctuary at Shiloh, but only the ark within it, played for the tribe of Ephraim, and perhaps even for the tribal federation likewise, somewhat of the role of the *kubbe* for the pre-islamic Arab tribes.

This suggestion is confirmed by abundant evidence. From its normal place in the sanctuary at Shiloh the ark was carried into battle in order to give the hosts of Israel victory over their enemies. But it was not carried into ordinary battles.¹³¹ In the first

¹³¹ In this connection it may be asked very properly, why there is no record of the presence of the ark at the Battle of Ta'anach in either Jud. 4 or 5. The answer to this question is suggested by Täubler, "Die Spruch-Verse über Sebulon," *MGWJ*, 1940-41, 1-37. Täubler establishes that in this battle it was the tribes of Zebulun, Issachar and Naphtali which were most immediately threatened by Sisera, ruler of Haroshet Haggaim, and were therefore the leading participants in the battle (cf. above, note 124). Ephraim, Machir and Benjamin played only a secondary role therein, that of sympathetic allies. They themselves were in no immediate danger, since their territory lay to the south of the Valley of Jezreel, at some distance from the center of the coalition of Canaanite city-states which Sisera had effected, and so for them this was not, strictly speaking, a decisive battle. Therefore there was no reason for the presence of the ark there. Despite the gloss, Jud. 4.4b-5a, Deborah was probably from Issachar (cf. 5.15a α) and not from Ephraim, while Barak was certainly from Naphtali (cf. 4.6, and for וישכר in 5.15a β read וכוּנַפְתָּלִי). Barak, who probably cherished ancient, nomadic custom, made his acceptance of leadership, to which he was summoned by Deborah, conditional upon Deborah's accompanying him and his men into battle (4.8). This she did, and, in the role of battle-maiden and at the critical moment in the battle, she chanted a song in order to stimulate the Israelite warriors to deeds of extraordinary heroism (5.12). That even previous to this battle Deborah was recognized as a *nēbi'ah*, i. e., a female diviner, undoubtedly equivalent to the pre-islamic *kahina*, is attested by Jud. 4.4-5.

Battle of Eben Haezer, when manifestly the Israelites confidently anticipated a complete and easy victory over the Philistine enemy, the ark remained in Shiloh. Only after this initial defeat and after they had thus been made to realize the power of the Philistines and the magnitude of the danger which now confronted them, did the federated tribes have recourse to the ark, and bring it from the sanctuary at Shiloh to the field of battle, in the custody of its two regularly attendant priests, Hofni and Phineas, the sons of Eli.¹³² But it is plain that with the advent of the ark on the field of battle the Israelites were still fully confident of victory,¹³³ while, on the other hand, the Philistines are represented as being dismayed and losing confidence, for, as they exclaim, "Their god¹³⁴ has come unto them to the camp."¹³⁵ Obviously the Philistines are here represented as seeing in the ark either the deity of Israel or else, what seems far more likely, and, as we will see, is the correct explanation, the container of the god or gods of Israel.

None the less the Philistines persist, and in the second Battle of Eben Haezer they gain a complete and decisive victory over Israel. The ark is captured and its two attendant priests are killed. The capture of the ark marks the end of the struggle and the complete conquest of the Israelite tribes of Central Palestine¹³⁶ and the subjection of their entire territory, at least as far as the northern border of the Valley of Jezreel on the north and Beth Shean to the northeast, to Philistine domination, a domination so thorough and rigid that it endured for almost three quarters of a century, until finally the tables were turned upon the Philistines by David. It must have seemed to the Israelites of Central Palestine that in the two battles their god had proved no match for the gods of the Philistines, and that also, with the capture of the ark and its removal to Philistine territory, their god had been forcibly carried away from their land and from their midst, so that they were now left a people without any god to protect and

¹³² I Sam. 4.1 ff.

¹³³ V. 5.

¹³⁴ Or perhaps "their gods," with *G*^B.

¹³⁵ Vv. 6-9.

¹³⁶ Of course not including Benjamin; cf. above, note 124.

prosper them, weak, helpless, impotent. How completely their spirits were crushed and their faith shattered is proved conclusively by their failure to rally to Saul's banner, as unquestionably he had anticipated they would do, after his initial victory over the Philistines.¹³⁷ The ark was the visible symbol of the presence

¹³⁷ Despite the statement of I Sam. 14.21-22. If these two vv. have any historical value at all, they indicate only that the exhilaration of these northern tribesmen, resulting from Saul's victory over the Philistines, which impelled them to flock to Saul's standard, was but momentary and subsided almost instantaneously, so that they deserted him quite as quickly as they had joined him. It must have been this fact more than aught else, which, almost from the start, spelled the doom of Saul's warfare against the Philistines. He must have realized from the outset that his own little tribe of Benjamin, which could as yet hardly have regained its normal strength after the disastrous intertribal war of a few generations earlier (cf. above, note 124), was too weak alone and unaided to cope successfully with the Philistines. He must have counted from the very beginning upon a significant initial victory over the Philistines to revive the spirit of the conquered Ephraimites and Manassites and draw them to his standard. Only in this way could he hope to gather a force strong enough to wage an aggressive offensive war against the Philistines. The defection of these northern tribesmen and the hopelessly low state of their spirit and courage disappointed all his expectations and upset his plans completely. With only his own tribe of Benjamin to support him, he was compelled to wage a defensive war, one largely of guerrilla character, against the Philistines. Not once did he dare invade the Philistine lowlands and engage there in pitched and decisive battle with them.

Only at the very end of his life, realizing no doubt how rapidly his malady was growing upon him, and appreciating apparently that not one of his sons was worthy to succeed him and carry on the war with any promise of eventual success, he resolved, in sheer desperation, to stake everything upon one pitched battle in the enemy's own territory, which it had conquered, in the Valley of Jezreel, near Mt. Gilboa. Victory in this battle would have given him control of the Philistine avenue of communication with their great fortress at Beth Shean, from which largely, so it seems, the Philistines maintained dominion over the tribes of Central Palestine. Had he succeeded in this battle, and in the ultimate capture of Beth Shean, these tribes might have been sufficiently enheartened to rally once again, and this time permanently, to his banner. But the odds against him were far too great and the battle went against him. He lost his life, and the army was decimated by the Philistines. But a remnant thereof escaped into Trans-Jordan. The territory of Benjamin too, for the most part, now came under Philistine control.

But had at the very outset the spirit of the Northern tribesmen been different, Saul's campaign, certainly not unreasonably conceived, might well have succeeded. It was the dispiritedness and lack of faith of these Northerners,

of their god in their midst and the guarantee of their continued political independence and power under his protection. Its capture meant not only the conquest and departure of their god from among them, but also their loss of independence and subjection to a foreign people. Obviously the ark played in this respect too precisely the same role for Israel as did the *kubbe* for the pre-islamic Arab tribes.¹³⁸

But what must have been contrary to all normal procedure on the part of both Israelites and Philistines, the capture of the ark and its carrying off as a trophy of victory to the Philistine cities did not by any means terminate its divine power and functioning. Even in the midst of a foreign land the deity or deities of the ark were able to affirm their potency and authority, and that too over the very people which had captured their cult-object and likewise over their gods. No doubt the tradition of the events

convinced no doubt by the loss of the ark that Yahweh had forsaken them, which doomed in advance Saul's war for freedom.

Still further evidence of the completely crushed spirits of these Northern tribesmen may be seen in their total failure to respond to the appeal for help of the people of Jabesh Gilead (I Sam. 12.3). It is apparent that the messengers of Jabesh Gilead came to Saul's town only towards the end of the seven days respite granted them by the Ammonite king, and only after they had vainly appealed for support among the communities of Ephraim and Manasseh, the true Israel at this moment (cf. v. 3 and above, note 124), and also in the procedure imposed upon these Northern tribes by their Philistine masters recorded in I Sam. 13.19-21.

¹³⁸ This is unquestionably also the implication of the statement in II Sam. 5.21, that after the Battle of Baal Perazim the Philistines left their idols upon the battlefield, so that they were captured and carried away by David and his men. This indicates that this battle must have been regarded, by the Philistines at least, as decisive. The capture of the Philistine idols by David was the complement of the previous capture of the ark by the Philistines, and evidenced to Israel how completely David had turned the tables upon the Philistines. Quite properly therefore the narrative of the bringing up of the ark to Jerusalem follows, in II Sam. 6, almost immediately upon the record of David's capture of the Philistine idols. The capture of these idols and the presence of the ark in the new national sanctuary at Jerusalem must have symbolized concretely to Israel, and especially to the tribal federation of Central Palestine, whose allegiance was a matter of constant concern to David throughout his entire reign, how absolute was David's triumph over the Philistines, what a mighty warrior and able king he was, and the magnitude of their debt to him for his deliverance of them from Philistine dominion.

attendant upon the sojourn of the ark in the various Philistine cities, recorded in I Sam. 6, is the result of certain expansion and embellishment; but beyond all question basic to it is the broad outline of fact formulated above. The actual events, whatever their specific nature may have been, served to establish indubitably for both Philistines and Israelites, and perhaps even more for the former than the latter, that the deity or deities of the ark were indeed potent at all times and places, and this too with a power which transcended that of the Philistine deities.¹³⁹

¹³⁹ Not at all improbably, this was one of the most cogent considerations in David's bringing the ark from Kiryat Yearim to Jerusalem. For he recognized fully that his first major task as king of united Israel was the conquest of the Philistines and the reversal of the relations which had obtained between them and Northern Israel for approximately a half-century. And what could he do better to reassure his own people of ultimate victory, and likewise to dismay and dishearten the Philistines, than to bring up to Jerusalem, into the national sanctuary which he had just established there, the very palladium of those same Northern tribes, which fifty years or so earlier had so completely discomfited the Philistines, and this too within their own territory, and thus to identify the original Yahweh of the ark with the national Yahweh of the new sanctuary at Jerusalem? Mindful of their inability a half-century earlier to withstand the power of the deity of the ark, the confidence of the Philistines in their ability to successfully resist David, particularly if the present consecution of narratives in II Sam. 5-8 is significant and David had already gained several important victories over them (II Sam. 5.16-25), must have been greatly diminished, if not broken completely. Just this is the implication of II Sam. 8.1, "And after these things David smote the Philistines and conquered them." Recognizing that II Sam. 7 is a post-exilic interpolation (I hope to establish this thesis conclusively in a different connection), and that accordingly 8.1 was originally the immediate continuation of 6.23, and that therefore "after these things" refers to the various incidents attendant upon the bringing of the ark up to Jerusalem, recorded in II Sam. 6, the full import of II Sam. 8.1 becomes clear. Undoubtedly in thus bringing the ark up to Jerusalem and depositing it in the new national sanctuary there David was influenced by various considerations. But among them this of the effect of this procedure upon both the Northern Israelites and the Philistines, must have been of major importance. It was a master-stroke of military strategy and political statesmanship. Also in no small degree the possession of their ancient cult-object and its constant presence in the national sanctuary, in immediate proximity to his own palace, must have strengthened immeasurably David's claim to sovereignty over the none too submissive and loyal Northern tribes; for in such proximity to the residence of the chief or ruler the ark was still the symbol of supreme authority and leadership within the tribe and the nation.

And within the Philistine country one other function, which, we have inferred, was characteristic of the pre-islamic *kubbe*, the ark continued to perform, viz., that of selection of the road which it wished to take. That this important power was inherent in the ark, and already in the pre-Canaanite, desert period was thought to be a regular function of the deity resident in or associated with it, is convincingly attested by the little fragment of an independent narrative of the journey through the desert, preserved in Num. 10.33.¹⁴⁰ Now, once again, and under quite comparable circumstances, the ark discharged the same function. For, fulfilling the test which the Philistines proposed, in order to determine to their complete satisfaction whether it was really the Israelite deity resident in the ark, who had brought the various misfortunes upon them, as they half suspected, or whether instead it might have been only a series of fortuitous circumstances with which the ark had no connection whatever, the ark chose the road which led away from the territory of the Philistines and back into Israelite country, and this too despite the fact that, had purely natural and normal forces prevailed, the ark would have remained within the bounds of Philistine territory and dominion.¹⁴¹ Not only did this outcome of the test demonstrate conclusively to the Philistines that it was the ark, or rather the Israelite deity within the ark, who had thus discomfited them so disastrously, and that too even within their own land and after they had mistakenly believed, as they now recognized, that they had gained a great victory over him and his people, but also it reveals in no uncertain manner what the real, original nature of the ark was, and how close its affinity to the pre-islamic *kubbe*.

When the ark came to Beth Shemesh after its departure from the Philistine country, the cows which were drawing the cart stopped of their own accord, quite as if they knew that this was the appointed end of their journey.^{141a} There the ark was set upon a great stone in the open field, and there the men of Beth Shemesh sacrificed to it the two cows which had drawn the cart, and which

¹⁴⁰ Cf. "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," 39-51.

¹⁴¹ For the implication of all the details of this narrative recorded in I Sam. 6 cf. "The Book of the Covenant, I," 18-20.

^{141a} Cf. above, note 91.

had, so it seemed, offered themselves for this sacrifice.^{141b} Obviously they recognized it, as it approached their town, and felt themselves greatly blessed by its presence among them. Manifestly its divine character was known to them even before its advent. And this divine character and its quality of inviolable taboo were impressed upon them all the more when they ventured upon an unhallowed act, viz., to look within, of course in order to ascertain what the ark really contained or perhaps, even more probably, whether its original contents, whatever they may have been, were still there and had not been removed by the Philistines.¹⁴² By their very words they affirmed that the deity of the ark was Yahweh, and that He was thought to dwell in it. To them His presence among them seemed to promise as much of danger as it did to the Philistines; and so they sent the ark on to Kiryat Yearim.

There the ark was deposited in the home of Abinadab, impliedly one of the most substantial citizens of the town, whose house was situated upon the hill. This was a fitting place for the repository of the cult-object, and therefore the sanctuary, of an important and powerful deity, such as, it was now recognized, the god of the ark was in truth; for this hill constituted a high place, as it were. There one of the sons of Abinadab was consecrated as the priest of the ark; and there the ark remained for many years,¹⁴³ and the priesthood thereof descended to at least

^{141b} With this sacrifice of these cows to the ark cf. the annual sacrifice of a camel to the *Markab* by the Ruwala (above, pp. 158, 167, 182).

¹⁴² Cf. "The Book of the Covenant, I," 283.

¹⁴³ I Sam. 7.2 says explicitly that the ark remained in the custody of Abinadab and his family for twenty years. However, this passage is recognized by most scholars as a gloss, and its historic authenticity is open to serious question. Actually the residence of the ark in Kiryat Yearim must have endured for approximately a half-century; for it is clearly implied that it could have been in the Philistine country for only a brief period. Its captivity by the Philistines and the attendant destruction of Shiloh must have taken place when Samuel was still a lad. Samuel must have been well advanced in years when he anointed Saul as king. The entire reign of Saul ensued, near the end of which Samuel died. David was established upon the throne when the ark was finally brought up to Jerusalem. Certainly a period of approximately fifty years is not too much to assume for these successive events (cf. above, note 124). This assumption would account for the fact that when the ark was

the grandsons, and perhaps to members of the family later even than the third generation after Abinadab.¹⁴⁴ Undoubtedly the presence of the ark brought blessing to at least the household of Abinadab, if not to the entire community of Kiryat Yearim. At any rate during its three months sojourn in the home of Obed Edom, the Gittite, in the course of its journey from Kiryat Yearim to Jerusalem, the ark wrought good fortune for Obed Edom and his entire household. Manifestly when treated with proper ritual consideration, the presence of the ark was an un-failing source of blessing to those in whose custody it stood.¹⁴⁵

It is self-evident that, in bringing the ark up to Jerusalem and depositing it in the national shrine which he had erected there, in immediate proximity to his own palace, David had more

brought up to Jerusalem, Elazar, the son of Abinadab was apparently no longer its ministering priest, but in his place functioned two obviously still young men, Uzza and his brother (reading for ¹חֲנִי, ¹חֲנִי with Budde and following Budde in his identification of this brother with Zadok; *ZAW*, XI [n.F.] [1934], 42–50), both descendants of Abinadab (II Sam. 6.3–7) and therefore no doubt sons, or even grandsons, of that Elazar who had been the first priest of the ark at Kiryat Yearim. Just as the ark was carried into the Battle of Eben Haezer by its two priests, Hofni and Phineas, brothers and sons of Eli, so now the ark was escorted from Kiryat Yearim to Jerusalem by its two priests, likewise brothers (cf. "A Chapter in the History of the High-Priesthood," 14).

¹⁴⁴ Cf. II Sam. 6.3, where בְּנֵי is to be interpreted as "male descendants" rather than in the literal meaning, "sons."

¹⁴⁵ Similarly among the Yezidis, when the peacock-image is sent around the country in the custody of a Qauwâl, in order to collect money for the maintenance of the shrine of Sheich 'Adî, it is carried in a saddle-bag upon the back of the horse upon which the Qauwâl rides. It is usually protected by a red coverlet. When the Qauwâl arrives at a village, a kind of auction is held, and to the highest bidder is awarded the privilege of having the sacred image pass the night in his house (Empson, *The Cult of the Peacock Angel*, 138–140). While not explicitly stated, the obvious implication is that the presence of this image in a house confers blessing (*baraka*) upon it and its inmates. Various details of this procedure suggest that this sacred peacock-image of the Yezidis may have developed out of an original betyl of the pre-islamic Arab type or some cult-object of quite similar character, in particular the manner of transportation of the image, its being covered by a red cloth, and its power to work blessing upon those in close proximity to it. It reminds us too, and quite strikingly, of Sanchuniathon's account of the wooden image of Agroueros (cf. above, pp. 228 f.).

than one purpose in mind. On the one hand, the now constant presence of the ark in direct contiguity to his palace, would presumably bring blessing upon him and his household, even as it had upon the household of Obed Edom and impliedly upon that of Abinadab. Not improbably it would even bring abundant blessing upon the royal city, Jerusalem, "the City of David," as it was now popularly known.¹⁴⁶ But even more, in accordance with the long established implication of the presence of a cult-object such as, as is becoming more and more patent, the ark actually was, and conforming to the old, desert tradition, for which David had such profound reverence,¹⁴⁷ the presence of the ark immediately adjacent to David's own abode stamped him as the supreme personality, the highest authority, within the city and the nation; in other words, the custody of the ark by David and his family was a visible and potent title to his position as king. In precisely the same manner as, as we have seen, the *kubbe* was regarded in no small measure as the immediate possession of the tribal leader and his family, rather than of the tribe itself, so now the ark must have been regarded as very largely the possession of David and his family, rather than of the nation at large, and as the proof and guarantee of his royal authority over the nation, assured to him by Yahweh, the deity of the ark. Undoubtedly it was for this reason that, in David's initial flight before Absalom, Zadok brought out the ark, impliedly to accompany David upon his flight and thus to give assurance, first of Yahweh's constant presence with him and His protection of the king from all danger, then of ultimate victory over Absalom in the decisive battle soon to be fought, and finally of David's persistent and unyielding title to the throne.¹⁴⁸ Obviously the ark

¹⁴⁶ II Sam. 5.7-9; cf. also Alt, "Jerusalems Aufstieg," *ZDMG*, 4 (1925), 15.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Lammens, "La vendetta chez les Arabes," in *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire*, 202.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. the statement above (p. 180) of the procedure among the Ruwala, "For if a revolt breaks out in the reigning kin against the prince, his opponents attempt first of all to snatch the Abu-d-Dhûr away from him, as he who has the emblem of the whole tribe in his possession must be recognized as their prince." The fact that David sent the ark back to Jerusalem almost immediately after its arrival may well attest that with advancing years this great and progressive king gradually outgrew many of the pastoral, nomadic or semi-

had the same close, personal relation to David that the pre-islamic *kubbe* had to the tribal chieftain.

But at the same time the ark, deposited in the new national sanctuary at Jerusalem, had a national significance. It was the cult-object, the palladium, of the entire nation.¹⁴⁹ This is evidenced conclusively by the presence of the ark in the decisive battle between the Israelites and the federated Ammonites and Aramaeans, when, to no small degree, the very existence of the still quite young Israelite nation hung in the balance.¹⁵⁰ Manifestly the ark was there to guarantee victory to the Israelite army. It was the very same role which the ark was wont to play of old, not only at the Battle of Eben Haezer, though there with unexpected results, as we have seen, but likewise in the still earlier period of Israelite history, and even out in the desert in the pre-Canaan days of nomadic or semi-nomadic existence.¹⁵¹

But still more, the presence in the new national sanctuary at Jerusalem of the ark, the ancient cult-object and palladium, as we have seen, first of Ephraim and then of the federated tribes of at least Central Palestine, possession of which implied supreme authority and sovereignty over these tribes, must have symbolized and given concrete effect to David's kingship over these tribes. The biblical evidence establishes clearly that these northern tribes were always impatient of the dominion of David and his dynasty. True, under the stress of Philistine rule, they

nomadic institutions of his boyhood and early manhood and the principles which underlay them.

¹⁴⁹ I have suggested elsewhere ("The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," 125, note 119; "The Book of the Covenant, I," 65, note 78; 122, note 154) that in David's national tent-sanctuary in Jerusalem not only the ark of Ephraim but also the ephod of Benjamin, the brazen serpent and the cult-objects of various other tribes were deposited, in order to give concrete and visible demonstration to the principle that the national Yahweh of Israel, from the time of David on, was the sum total and somewhat of a composite representation of all the older tribal Yahwes. In this respect this tent-sanctuary was a kind of Israelite pantheon in precisely the same manner as was the Kaaba at Mecca just before the rise of Islam (Cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 77 f.; Lammens, "Le Culte des bétyles," etc., 146 f.).

¹⁵⁰ II Sam. 11.11; cf. also 10.12, where, following the generally accepted emendation of Klostermann, we should read עיר for עיר.

¹⁵¹ Num. 10.35-36.

had turned to David after the death of Saul and invited him to become their king and deliverer.¹⁵² But it seems that barely had the Philistine danger passed, when they began to rue their agreement with David and to seek an opportunity to repudiate his authority over them and to regain their political independence. The struggle between David and Absalom eventuated, so it seems, in an earnest attempt on the part of the Northern tribes to sever their political relations with the South.¹⁵³ Despite the crushing of their successive rebellions by David, these Northern tribes never gave up hope of ultimately achieving the desired political independence. And eventually, immediately after the death of Solomon, they attained their goal. It is apparent therefore that especially to David the appeasement of the Northern tribesmen and their adherence to the kingdom was an ever-present, serious problem. He may well have conceived, therefore, particularly in the early days of the United Kingdom, that his possession of the ark, the ancient symbol of supreme authority over these Northern tribes, would strengthen not a little his claim to kingship over them. Therefore we can well understand the pains he took to bring the ark from Kiryat Yearim to Jerusalem with fitting ceremonial and to there deposit it in the new national sanctuary, the shrine of the national Yahweh, whom he had actually called into being. Its presence there symbolized more concretely than aught else that the Yahweh of the ark, the Yahweh of the Northern tribes, was completely one with the national Yahweh, the Yahweh of the new Israelite nation, and that these Northern tribes were now an integral part of this new nation, which David had created, and that David was their king, chosen by them and approved by, and enjoying the favor and support of, Yahweh, their God.

Thus up to and through the reign of David the ark retained practically all of its original, pristine character, rooted in the desert, nomadic or semi-nomadic life of the Israelite tribes.¹⁵⁴ It

¹⁵² II Sam. 5.1-3.

¹⁵³ II Sam. 15.1-6; 16.3; 18.6 f.; 19.9-13, 42-44; 20.1.

¹⁵⁴ The affinity of the ark to the *kubbe* is so close and unmistakable that it is impossible to accept the hypothesis of Dibelius, that the ark cannot have

was not until the reign of Solomon, the erection of the Temple and the removal of the ark thither from the national tent-sanctuary of David that it began to be regarded as a cult-object of altogether different character from what it had been originally.¹⁵⁵ Into the record of this, the second period of the history of the ark, we need not enter here.

It suffices for our purpose to have established firmly that during this entire first period of its history, in the pre-Canaan, desert days as well as in the period of evolving settled existence in Palestine and adjustment to the agricultural civilization of the Palestinian environment, the ark retained all the characteristics and discharged all the functions of the pre-islamic *kubbe*. It imparted oracles. It participated in decisive battles and gave assurance of victory to its people. It could select the way it wished to go and could drive its carriers, whether human or animal, irresistibly along this road. It could designate the successive camping-places for its people on their journeying through the desert.¹⁵⁶ Normally it abode in a sanctuary, either a tent or a house, in immediate proximity to the dwelling-place of the chief priest, a town grandee, or the national ruler, and this very proximity of the ark was an important and undeniable title to the very highest authority. Moreover, like the *kubbe* the ark too had its female attendants who performed some kind of ritual mini-stration to it.¹⁵⁷ Above all else, precisely like the *kubbe* and the still earlier palanquins, mounted upon camel-back, reproduced in Syrian art, the ark was thought to symbolize the actual presence of Yahweh, and undoubtedly even to contain a sacred

been of desert origin, but must rather have been of either Canaanite or Egyptian ancestry or perhaps even of Babylonian provenience (*Die Lade Jahwes*, 115 ff.). Westphal (*Jahwes Wohnstätten*, *BZAW*, XV [1908], 55-59) likewise holds that the ark cannot have had a desert origin. This is also the conclusion reached by Gressmann, though in a manner most surprising, particularly after acknowledging his acquaintance with Lammens' illuminating study of the *kubbe* (Hoffmann-Gressmann, "Teraphim," *ZAW*, 40 [1922], 86-94).

¹⁵⁵ For this transition cf. "The Book of the Covenant, I," 37-72 and "Amos Studies, III," 118-122.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Num. 10.33 and "The Book of the Covenant, I," 14-21.

¹⁵⁷ I Sam. 2.22; cf. Ex. 38.8.

stone,¹⁵⁸ or, still more probably, even two sacred stones, even as we see a pair of deities depicted in the Syrian palanquins, and also, as we are told, the deities within the *kubbe* were usually represented, and as the Nabataeans too usually worshiped their sacred stones or betyls, in pairs.¹⁵⁹

As was to be expected, the settled, agricultural environment of the ark in Palestine, so completely different from the desert, nomadic culture in which the ark had its origin, could not but affect the character of the ark, after its entrance into Palestine, to no small degree. In place of the relatively simple tent-housing of the desert period,¹⁶⁰ the ark came now to dwell in a much more pretentious, permanent sanctuary, whether the *bait* or *hekal* at Shiloh, the house of Abinadab upon the hill at Kiryat Yearim, the house of Obed Edom the Gittite on the way to Jerusalem, the tent-sanctuary of David at Jerusalem or the magnificent Temple of Solomon. It was no longer borne in solemn ritual procession or upon its journeyings through the desert upon camel-back, as, as we will soon see, must have been the original practice with it. Instead it seems to have been carried normally by its functioning priests, regularly two in number,¹⁶¹ or else, particularly during the process of ordinary transporation and when not in the discharge of a specific ritual function, upon a cart drawn by oxen.¹⁶² The women who had in the desert period ministered to the ark and the sacred images which it contained, now became,

¹⁵⁸ So also Luther, in Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 214, note 2.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. above, note 114. Perhaps in the figures of the two cherubim, so intimately and seemingly indispensably associated with the ark (In I Ki. 6.23-28; 8.6-7 the two cherubim were integral parts of the *d'ebir* of the Temple, and beneath their outspread wings the ark was deposited. In the P code [Ex. 25.18-22; 37.6-9] the two cherubim were permanently attached to the *kapporet*, the golden cover or lid of the ark, and so were integral parts of the ark itself.) we may see a reminiscence of the two sacred stones or betyls or divine images originally associated with the ark. In some, and on the whole rather striking, respects, they do remind us not a little of the two goddesses in the Syrian palanquins.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. II Sam. 7.6.

¹⁶¹ Obviously the minimum number needed to carry a ritual object such as the ark was; cf. I Sam. 4.4; II Sam. 15.24, 29.

¹⁶² I Sam. 6.7-12; II Sam. 6.3-6.

at least according to the tradition which has survived, participants in rites of sacred prostitution.¹⁶³ And ultimately the two sacred stone images within the ark became transformed, under the force of evolving theology and tradition, into the two, still sacred, tablets of the decalogue. That this transformation of the ark in its new and somewhat unnatural, Palestinian, agricultural environment should have taken place in this manner is not at all surprising. More surprising perhaps is that this transformation should have evolved so slowly, and that still in the comparatively late post-exilic period so many of the original desert, nomadic characteristics of the ark should have been persistently discernible.

However, despite all these seeming points of contact, and even of identity, of the ark with the *kubbe* and its closely related cult-objects, the *mahmal*, the *otfe* and the *Markab*, one consideration seems to defeat all attempts at such identification. We have seen that the *kubbe* and these various related objects were all tents or tent-like structures, while seemingly all biblical evidence suggests unmistakably that the ark was a box, or at least a box-like structure, in which the two sacred stones were deposited. In fact the description of the ark in Ex. 25.10–22 and 37.1–9 is precisely that of a box, two and one half cubits long, one and one half cubits wide and one and one half cubits deep, lined both inside and out with gold and covered by a lid of just the proper size, two and one half by one and one half cubits, made of gold, called the *kapporet*. Immediately after its fabrication the two tablets of testimony were deposited within the ark, and after this the golden *kapporet* or lid was set firmly in place. Above the *kapporet* and at its two ends were attached the two golden cherubim. All this is the plan of the ark set forth in the Priestly Code, a product of the period about 400 B.C. It is self-apparent that to these Priestly writers the ark was a box primarily; but at the same time a box which, once the two tablets of testimony were deposited in it, was never to be opened again; the sacred character of this box and the two heavy golden cherubim above the lid would have effectively guarded against that.

¹⁶³ I Sam. 2.22.

But this very consideration suggests that the ark of the pre-exilic period, and particularly the ark which had stood at Shiloh and had had such remarkable experiences in the Philistine country and in Israelite territory, until it was eventually deposited in the Temple of Solomon, could hardly have been precisely identical with the ark of the Priestly Code; for had it been, then certainly the people of Beth Shemesh would not have found it such a simple, easy and natural thing to raise the heavy lid and open the ark in order to see what it might contain. In certain, very significant respects the ark which came from Shiloh into the Philistine country and thence to Beth Shemesh must have been quite different from the box-like structure of the Priestly Code.

Actually outside the name, 'aron, and this picture of the ark in the Priestly Code there is little in the entire biblical record which suggests that the ark must have been basically a box-like structure. True in II Ki. 12.10, 11 and II Chron. 24.8, 11 'aron seems to designate a box with a door or lid, through an aperture of which money could be dropped, while in Gen. 50.26 the word designates a coffin. Etymologically the word, אָרוֹן, seems to yield no satisfactory and convincing interpretation, and therefore likewise no indication of what it might have connoted originally.¹⁶⁴ However, there is good, and even convincing, evidence that originally the 'aron was basically not a box-like, but rather a tent-like, structure, precisely as we would expect after having noted the unmistakable relationship of the ark to the pre-islamic *kubbe*.

In the first place it is of some significance to note that in the now well known representation of the departure of the ark from the Temple of Dagon at Ekron, upon the wall of the synagogue

¹⁶⁴ Meissner ("Babylonische Leichenfeierlichkeiten," *WZKM*, XII [1898], 61 f.) correlates אָרוֹן with Akkad. (*aban*)*a-ra-nu*, which he translates "grave"; but this is very doubtful, especially since the word is cited neither in Delitzsch, *HWB* nor in Meissner's own *Supplement*. Many years ago Redslob suggested, though purely hypothetically, that Aaron (אֹהֲרֹן) was but a personification of the ark (אָרוֹן), and this suggestion was repeated half-heartedly by Winckler, (*Geschichte Israels*, I, 72, note 2). Later in the same work (II, 95) Winckler identified the ark with the coffin of Tammuz, and held that, just as the dead and about to be reborn Tammuz rested in the coffin, so the newly-born Yahweh rested in the ark.

at Dura, the ark is mounted upon a small cart, drawn by two cows, precisely as in the biblical narrative. But instead of in any way suggesting the appearance of a box, the ark is plainly a small tent, facing forwards on the cart, and with the front curtains or face of the tent closed, thus concealing whatever may have been inside. It can hardly have been accidental that the artist of this painting disregarded completely what in his day must have been the established and conventional conception of the ark, viz., as a box-like structure, the ark of the Priestly Code, and instead represented it as a small tent. He must have had some cogent reason, based upon ancient, unorthodox tradition current among Jews who dwelt away from Jerusalem and the centers of life and tradition of normative Judaism,¹⁶⁵ which, despite the authority of the Priestly Code, told persistently that the ark had actually been a tent-like structure. Otherwise he could never have ventured upon this unorthodox and daring representation of the ark.

Equally interesting, and perhaps equally significant, is the term which regularly designates the manner in which the ark was transported, viz., נָשָׂא,¹⁶⁶ for this verb is the precise Hebrew equivalent of the Arabic حمل, which, as we have seen, is the term which regularly designates the manner in which the pre-Islamic *kubbe* was transported upon camel-back, and from which the name, محمل or محمل, for the closely related tent-like cult-object of the mediaeval and modern pilgrimage to Mecca, is derived.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ That there were such unorthodox traditions and practices current in Jewish communities away from Jerusalem and the center of normative Judaism, in Galilee for example, traditions and ritual practices which preserved ancient, pre-Priestly custom and ceremonial, I hope to demonstrate upon some other occasion.

¹⁶⁶ *Passim*; even in Num. 10.35 for בָּנִסַּע is it well to read, with G, V, S and all three Targums, בָּנִשָּׂא or even בָּהִנִּשָּׂא, "when the ark would raise itself."

¹⁶⁷ Still another verb, used seemingly in a somewhat technical sense in connection with the ark, נָח, is of significance in this connection. For נָח seems to have regularly designated the act of returning the ark to its normal and proper place, after it had been taken therefrom (נָשָׂא) in order to function as palladium in battle, as guide upon a migration, or in some other like capacity; cf. Num. 10.36. The corresponding Arabic verb, نَوَّح, in IV and X (cf. Lane, *op. cit.*, 2865) has the meaning, "to cause a camel to kneel (so that those riding

Perhaps the most convincing evidence of the original tent-like character of the ark may be found in the interpretation of the term אָרֹן. The word occurs only three times in the entire Bible, in I Sam. 6.8, 11, 15, and in all three cases in precisely the same connection and meaning. These passages tell that when the Philistines returned the ark to the Israelites, or rather put it to the test, the outcome of which was that it did return to the Israelites, they placed the golden images of mice and hemorrhoids, which they had made, in the אָרֹן at its side. Two questions are implicit here, just what was the אָרֹן, and also just what is the meaning of מִצְדּוֹ, "at its side."

In an interesting and stimulating article¹⁶⁸ the late Professor Sapir endeavored to prove that אָרֹן is a Philistine rather than a Semitic word, and that it designated the box-like upper structure of the Philistine ox-cart, as we see it depicted upon Egyptian monuments. In truth the fact that the word is used in the Bible only in this one passage and only in connection with the transportation of the ark and its accompanying objects upon this Philistine ox-cart lends not a little initial reasonableness to this hypothesis. Moreover, as Sapir contended, the Hebrew word, has no semantic relationship with the Semitic root, רָגַם, at least none immediately apparent, and might therefore be a loan-word; and if so, then in all likelihood from the Philistine.

But this assumption that אָרֹן designated the box-like superstructure of the cart is altogether inferential, and the etymological interpretation of the term, which he proposes, is forced and artificial, largely evolved, so it seems, in order to support a preconceived and quite ingenious hypothesis. Moreover, to establish his hypothesis Sapir must resort to three rather violent proced-

upon it may dismount or its burden be removed)" (cf. also Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, II, 63), and the derived noun, مَنَاخ, means accordingly "a place where camels kneel for unloading," therefore "a resting-place for camels, particularly for the night," and secondarily "a resting-place for men"; cf. Num. 10.33. A still further, and apparently modern, semantic development of the Arabic مَنَاخ is "a decisive battle" (literally "battle-field"), in which the 'otfe is normally present; cf. Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, 54, 534, and especially 540 f.

¹⁶⁸ "Hebrew 'ārgaz a Philistine Word," *JAOS*, 56 (1936), 272-281.

ures. He contends, in the first place, that בארם מצדו in v. 8 means "in the box [and] at its (the ark's) side," and not, as it is usually interpreted, "in the box at its (the ark's) side." This latter thought, he claims, could be expressed only by בארם אשר מצדו. But in this he is certainly not correct. Quite frequently in Hebrew prose, and very frequently in Hebrew poetry, אשר is omitted and is implied in the pronominal form and in the context. Sapir is constrained to this forced interpretation by the exigencies of his hypothesis, which maintains that the ארם, being the superstructure of the ox-cart, had no immediate connection with the ark itself.

In the second place, he seeks to establish that both vv. 11 and 15 are interpolations, in whole or in part, for, as he admits, they imply a meaning for ארם which is hardly compatible with that of a part of the cart itself. Actually they do much more than this. V. 11 implies clearly that the ארם was placed in the cart along with the ark, therefore that not only was it in no way identical with the cart or a part of it, but actually it must have been something similar or related to the ark, and even connected with or attached to it, which was placed in the cart along with it. This is likewise the implication of v. 15, which states, after v. 14 has already told that the cart was chopped up in order to provide the fuel for the sacrifice of the cows which had drawn it, that the ark and the ארם "which was with it" were set upon a great stone in the field, and there, i. e., before the ark, the men of Beth Shemesh offered a sacrifice to Yahweh, i. e., of course, to Yahweh of the ark. The fact that the ארם was not destroyed with the cart proves that, contrary to Sapir's hypothesis, it was in no wise a part of the cart. It is not at all improbable that v. 15 is an interpolation; and in fact it is generally so regarded by scholars. But while it does seem that v. 11b is somewhat corrupt, there is no good reason for regarding the v., in what may have been its original form, as an interpolation. In fact, were it an interpolation, it would be necessarily a substitute for something else which stood in the same place originally and expressed practically the same thought; for the thought is absolutely indispensable to the narrative. Moreover, even were both vv., 11 and 15, interpolations, none the less they would still evidence that the inter-

polators plainly regarded the אָרֹן as having some immediate connection with the ark, and not at all as the designation of the superstructure of the cart, as Sapir contends. The vv. and their unmistakable implication cannot be disposed of so cavalierly as Sapir would do.

And finally, to establish his thesis Sapir must explain away the article which is used with אָרֹן in its very first occurrence, in v. 8; and this he fails to do in convincing manner. The immediate and most probable implication of the article, with which the word, הָאָרֹן, is used in all three passages, is that the אָרֹן was something well-known, so well known in fact that it needed no further definition or identification; and it could have been well known in this manner only if it had been some regular and indispensable part or accessory of the ark. What could it have been? The one thing which is certain from the context is that it was a receptacle of some kind, in which such objects as the golden images of mice and hemorrhoids, given to the deity of the ark, could be deposited. More than this I Sam. 6 does not tell us.

However, in Arabic a word, رَجَازَة, occurs, apparently a quite uncommon word, and yet adequately confirmed. Lane¹⁶⁹ defines the word thus: *A certain vehicle for women, a thing smaller than the هودج*: or a [garment of the kind called] كَسَاء, in which is a stone ([in the CK a white stone,]) or in which are put stones, and which is suspended to one of the two sides of the هودج to balance it when it inclines: so called because of its commotion: or a thing consisting of a pillow and skins, or hides, put in one of its two sides for that purpose . . . : or hair, or red hair or wool, suspended to the هودج for ornament. Obviously the word, رَجَازَة has a twofold connotation. On the one hand, it designates a certain vehicle for women, similar to but smaller than a howdah, in other words, a kind of small tent, which was carried upon camel-back. But this is precisely what the *kubbe* was. On the other hand,

¹⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, 1036. In a Ras Shamra epic poem, (cf. Gordon, "A Marriage of the Gods in Canaanite Mythology," *BASOR*, 65, Feb., 1937, 29-33, l. 43), בערמים occurs. Gordon suggests a possible connection with אָרֹן only, however, to immediately reject it. Nor would the word in its context there fit in any way the meaning which we have established for אָרֹן.

it designates a kind of pouch or receptacle, in which stones, and especially, so it seems, white stones, or other heavy objects, were deposited, and which was attached to one of the two sides of the *howdağ* in order to balance it when it inclined and threatened to topple over, and which served likewise as a decoration for the *howdağ*. In other words, رجالة could designate both a kind of *howdağ*, of small size, however, or the pouch appended to it, in which stones or presumably other similar objects, particularly if their weight was comparable to that of stones, and so suitable for balancing the *howdağ*, were deposited. Etymologically رجالة is related to رجز,¹⁷⁰ "commotion, agitation, consecutiveness of motions," in other words, "swaying, rhythmic swinging," and so connotes that which hangs down from the *howdağ* and swings back and forth with the stride of the camel. Obviously the word is of pure Semitic origin and not borrowed.

It is impossible not to coordinate, or even to identify, the ארם of I Sam. 6.8, 11, 15 with this رجالة. Despite Sapir's unconvincing argument, the fact remains that v. 8 says unmistakably that the ארם was "at the side," or even "from the side," of the ark, while both vv. 11 and 15 establish that the ארם was connected with the ark in such inseparable manner that wherever the ark was set, whether in the ox-cart or on the rock at Beth Shemesh, the ארם, with the golden images in it, accompanied it.

But if we must identify the ארם with the Arabic رجالة, then it follows necessarily that the ark was conceived of in I Sam. 6, not as a box or a box-like structure, but somewhat as a *howdağ*, a female camel-saddle, with, of course, something mounted upon it in precisely the same manner as the *kubbe* of the pre-islamic Arabs was regularly mounted upon a *howdağ*, and in such way as to be practically inseparable from it, so much so in fact that, as we have seen, whenever the *kubbe* or the *mahmal* or the 'otfe was removed from the back of the camel which was carrying it, the *howdağ* was removed with it and the two together were deposited in, or beside, the tent of the tribal chieftain. So close was the connection in fact, as we have seen, that the term, *kubbe*,

¹⁷⁰ Lane, *op. cit.*, 1036b.

as commonly employed, included both sacred tent and camel-saddle as one single, unified cult-object.¹⁷¹ In precisely the same way the Hebrew term, אֹרֶן, must have designated both the camel-saddle, to which the אֹרֶן was attached, and the sacred object mounted upon it; and this sacred object must have been, basically at least, not a box-like structure at all, but a small sacred tent, in other words a *kubbe*.^{171a}

But if this identification of אֹרֶן and رَجَازَة be admitted, then no other conclusion is possible; the tent-like form and character of the original אֹרֶן, are established beyond all question,¹⁷² and the full implication of the terms, נֶשֶׂא and נוֹחַ¹⁷³ to describe the mounting of the אֹרֶן upon its bearer, obviously originally a camel,¹⁷⁴ when it went into battle, and its removal from

¹⁷¹ So also in Syriac; cf. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus*, under ܐܪܢܐ.

^{171a} For this note see p. 266.

¹⁷² In one other detail of the equipment of the ark a relationship to the Semitic camel-saddle may be noted. The ark was provided with two staves or long poles, one on each side, and extending beyond its two ends. By means of these staves the ark was carried by human carriers. These staves were called בָּרִים. But the Arabic camel-saddle also had its بَد (plu. بدود) (cf. Euting, "Der Kamels-Sattel bei den Beduinen," *Nöldeke Festschrift*, 395; Musil, *Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, 396; Boucheman, *Materiel de la vie bedouine*, 38) or بَدَاد, two long leather strips or pads set upon the camel's back, one on each side of the hump, upon which the saddle rests, and which protect the camel's back from being galled. Etymologically בָּרִים seems to be derived from בָּד, "to be far apart; to be widely separated," i. e., then "to be on opposite sides."

¹⁷³ Cf. Num. 10.35-36, reading for וּבְנוֹחוֹ with *G* and *Sam.* וּבְמַנוּחוֹ; cf. also above, note 167.

¹⁷⁴ This assertion implies, of course, that camels were known to and used by the Israelite tribes of Central Palestine or their forebears out in the desert previous to their entrance into Palestine. This runs completely counter to Albright's recently proposed hypothesis, that the culture and use of the camel by Semitic nomad tribes in the Arabian desert began at some time towards the end of the thirteenth century B.C. or even somewhat later (*From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 120 f.; *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 96-102, 206, note 58). Were this hypothesis correct, it would follow necessarily, just as Albright contends, that, even granting an actual desert origin and pre-Canaanite, desert, nomadic culture for the Israelite tribes of Central Palestine, previous to their entrance into Palestine, these tribes could not have known the camel, and that therefore the ark could not have been a small, tent-like object

camel-back and its being deposited in the customary place of safe-keeping, after the battle was completed and won, is now self-evident. Equally firmly established is the unmistakable

mounted upon a woman's camel-saddle, a *howdağ* (Was this the כר הנמל upon which Rachel sat [Gen. 31.33], or was that object, in which Laban's teraphim were deposited, identical rather with the ארון? Or did the כר הנמל, like the Arabic رجالة, designate both the woman's camel-saddle and the small tent upon it, in other words the palanquin or *mahmal* plus the pouch suspended from it, in which heavy objects, such as stones, golden images and even teraphim could be carried? In Arabic كسر designates the leather piece, either in front or in back, which connects the two wooden side-pieces of the kind of camel-saddle called رحل, which is used regularly by women [Lane, *op. cit.*, 2601]. If this was the כר הנמל of the biblical narrative, then we may perhaps infer that the teraphim which Rachel stole were two in number, that they were of no great size, and that perhaps she concealed them, one in the front כר and the other in the rear כר; this is, however, a remote conjecture), and that in consequence our entire hypothesis of the origin and primary character of the ark would be shattered at one stroke.

However, Albright's hypothesis rests upon dubious and unconvincing grounds. Despite his oft-manifested inclination to regard the patriarchal narratives as basically historical, he ignores completely the afore-mentioned narrative of Rachel and her father's teraphim, in which the woman's camel-saddle plays an integral and indispensable role. (Note also that in this narrative the כר הנמל, precisely like the 'otfe and the *Markab*, was kept regularly in the woman's tent, and also that for Rachel to remain seated in or upon the כר הנמל, even within the privacy of her own tent, seemed a perfectly natural and normal procedure. The כר הנמל must then have been a suitable and convenient resting-place for a woman in Rachel's condition, a palanquin or *howdağ* in other words, of course with the small tent-like structure atop it.) Likewise in the narrative of Gen. 24 camels play an integral role. This establishes conclusively that the authors of the J code, which Albright would date unduly early, between 925 and 750 B.C. (*FSAC*, 190), believed firmly that camel-culture was an established institution in the period of the patriarchs (cf. also Gen. 30.43; 31.17; 32.8, 16; 37.25); and they were scarcely so far removed from the thirteenth century B.C. as to commit so gross an anachronism and speak of camels in the patriarchal age, if this culture had begun only in or after the thirteenth century B.C. and after the majority of the Israelite tribes were already settled in Palestine.

Actually the chief basis of Albright's hypothesis is his claim that the account of the Midianite raid or *ghazzu*, recorded in Jud. 6-8, is the very first record of the use of camels in all Semitic literature. This is probably correct, if we ignore, as Albright does, or else regard as purely legendary, the afore-

desert, nomadic origin of the אֶרֶץ. That the artist of the wall-painting of the Dura Synagogue had a reliable tradition behind him is now clear. Perhaps the intimate caravan connections,

cited references to camels in the patriarchal narratives of Genesis. Albright dates these Midianite raids and the victory of Gideon at about 1080–1060 B.C. In consequence he dates the short-lived reign of Abimelech at *circa* 1050 B.C., and shortly *after* the Battles of Eben Haezer and the fall of Shiloh at the hands of the Philistines. But, even despite the rather uncertain archaeological evidence which Albright adduces to support his argument, his dating is quite gratuitous and ignores well-documented historical considerations. It implies that the Philistine war, the Battles of Eben Haezer and the conquest of Shiloh took place either during or else immediately after the judgeship of Gideon; but this is inconceivable. It is impossible to assign the brief kingship of Abimelech over Shechem to the period when Philistine dominion was firmly established over all of Central Palestine north of the territory of Benjamin and as far as the Valley of Jezreel and Beth Shean. Albright's dating of the Philistine war at about 1050 B.C. and of Abimelech's reign as somewhat later, conforms to his seemingly constant inclination to reduce all early dates in Israelite history to the latest possible moment and to crowd historical events into the briefest space of time. As stated above (notes 124 and 143), I would date the Philistine war at about 1065 B.C., and upon practically the same evidence which Albright adduces, would fix Gideon's time and that of the Midianite raids at about 1120 B.C., approximately a century and a half after the Israelite tribes had established themselves in Central Palestine.

Albright further assumes tacitly, and this is the weakest point in his argument, that the culture of the camel by Semitic desert-folk could not have begun much earlier than what he claims to be the earliest Semitic literary record of camels, viz., not long before 1050 B.C. Through this tacit and gratuitous assumption he reaches his conclusion that Semitic camel-culture could not have begun before the end of the thirteenth century B.C., i. e., about 1200 B.C. But this is a gross *non sequitur*. The narrative in Jud. 6–8 implies clearly that the use of camels by these Semitic nomads was a well established and highly developed institution at the time of the Midianite raid. Knowing the slow tempo of normal cultural evolution in the desert, the natural inference is that camel-culture must have been practiced by Semitic nomads and have reached a fairly advanced stage of development at least several centuries before the Midianite raid, whatever the exact date thereof may have been. And if so, then there is no reason whatever to believe that the culture and use of camels was not well known to the Israelite tribes during the period of their desert sojourn before their immigration into Central Palestine near the beginning of the thirteenth century B.C. In fact there is no adequate reason to question the knowledge of the camel by Semitic nomads and semi-nomads, as the patriarchs are represented as being, already in the so-called patriarchal age. Correspondingly there is not the slightest ground for believing that already in their desert

through Palmyra, of Dura and its population with the desert and desert life and institutions¹⁷⁵ helped to keep this tradition alive among its probably none too orthodox Jewish citizenry, even despite the influence of the Priestly Code upon the transformation of the form and character of the ark in orthodox Jewish belief and practice. After all the institution of the *kubbe*, with the two sacred stone images in it, and mounted upon camel-back was, as we have seen, well-known and real in the caravan life of Palmyra. It need not be surprising therefore that the contemporary Dura artist should have comprehended clearly just what the ארון really was, and so should have represented it as a small tent mounted upon the Philistine ox-cart, only, however, unlike the Palmyrene representations of the *kubbe*, which we have noted, with the front curtains closed, since the episode in the narrative recorded in I Sam. 6.19 implies that the ארון was closed and therefore could not be readily looked into, without some deliberate act of opening the concealing curtain or tent-flap.¹⁷⁶

One problem remains, and then our identification of the ארון with the *kubbe* may be regarded as decisive, viz., to account for the tradition which transformed the original tent-like ארון into a box-like structure, and this too to such a degree that all memories of the original, tent-like form were completely forgotten in orthodox Jewish circles, and the term, ארון, came in time to denote not merely the sacred object itself, but also the collection-box set up in the Temple by Josiah and also the coffin of Joseph.¹⁷⁷

period these Israelite tribes, who eventually settled in Central Palestine, were not acquainted with the woman's camel-saddle, the forerunner of the later *howdah*, and the sacred tent, the forerunner of the later *kubbe*.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*.

¹⁷⁶ This curtain or tent-flap might well have been designated originally as כפרת (cf. Arab. كفر, "to cover, to conceal"), just as well as, at a much later time, the golden cover of the ark of the P code; cf. "The Book of the Covenant, I," 35, note 41. In other words, the P writers may well have cherished a tradition that, in addition to ברים (cf. above, note 172), the ארון had a כפרת or "cover"; but, of course, since they conceived of and represented the ארון as a box, naturally they could make of that כפרת only the lid of the box instead of the tent-flap, as it may well have been at first.

¹⁷⁷ As has been said, the etymology of ארון defies all assured explanation. Therefore it is impossible to determine with absolute certainty whether from

But this is not a difficult task. For, as I have shown elsewhere,¹⁷⁸ the religious reformation in the Southern Kingdom in 899 B.C. was directed very largely against the still quite new and foreign-seeming Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, against the golden image of the enthroned Yahweh standing in the *d^ebir* of the Temple, and against the solar cult of the Temple, largely Phoenician-Canaanite in character, and altogether different from the traditional, pastoral Yahweh-cult of the Southern herdsmen and small farmers. As one of the procedures of this reformation the golden image of Yahweh was removed from the Temple¹⁷⁹ and destroyed, and in its place the ארון was set up in the *d^ebir* of the sanctuary. The substitution of the ארון, of the desert origin of which the people must have still been fully aware, for the golden image of the enthroned Yahweh, the Phoenician origin and character of which were self-evident to everyone, must have symbolized popularly the triumph of the old, traditional, pastoral religion over the newly introduced and still largely foreign Phoenician-Canaanite agricultural religion.

In time the character of the ארון underwent an inevitable transformation. The tradition of the enthroned Yahweh in the *d^ebir* persisted somehow, despite the triumph of the prophetic, pastoral party and the destruction of the golden image. Inevitably therefore the ארון in the *d^ebir* came to be regarded as the throne of Yahweh, and, in turn, the two sacred stones, the ancient betyls, within the ארון were transformed, in tradition, into the two tablets of the decalogue.¹⁸⁰ With the completion of this two-fold process the ancient ארון had now become the ark of the Priestly Code, and of even somewhat earlier, pre-exilic tradition.

the very first ארון had the meaning, "box; box-like structure"; but it does seem most probable.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," 98-119; "Amos Studies, III," 100-134.

¹⁷⁹ I Ki. 15.12-13; II Chron. 15.16.

¹⁸⁰ With this far-reaching transformation of the two betyls, originally kept in the ארון יהוה, the box-like tent-shrine, into the two tablets of the decalogue, we may safely compare the transformation of the two betyls or images of the pre-islamic *kubbe* into the two copies of the Koran, regularly suspended in the *maḥmal*, or to the copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Boḥārī suspended in the *kubbe* of the Sultan of Morocco (cf. above, note 99).

It was now both a divine throne and also a container; and in this double role what more natural, and this all the more so since, within the *d'bir*, it was no longer visible to the general public, than that, as a container, it should have come, and that too rather speedily, to be regarded as having box-like form, and that ultimately all memory of its original, tent-like form and character should have disappeared completely in orthodox or normative Jewish circles? That it should have survived, however, in Dura, on the periphery of Jewish religious and cultural life, and where direct contact with desert life and tradition was never interrupted, need not surprise us too greatly.

That the biblical *אֲרוֹן*, the cult-object of Ephraim, then of all the tribes of Central Palestine, and eventually of the entire Israelite nation, was of desert, nomadic origin, and that it was at first a tent-like structure, housing the two betyls or sacred stones, that, in other words, it was of precisely the same form and character and functioned in a ritual manner in precisely the same way as the pre-islamic *kubbe* and its more modern forms, the *maḥmal*, the '*otfe* and the *Markab*, and that it was, in fact, the historical forerunner of the *kubbe*, may now be regarded as firmly established.

The realization that *הָאֲרוֹן*, or the ark, to employ once again the conventional translation of the term, was originally, basically not a box-like structure, but rather a small tent-shrine, regularly mounted upon a woman's camel-saddle, enables us to take one further step forward, to interpret in a somewhat new light a troublesome biblical passage, and in so doing to find additional and strong confirmation of the correctness of our major thesis. As we have seen, *הָאֲרוֹן* was identical with, or at least was one particular object of that general class of sacred objects designated by the Arabic term, *kubbe*. Actually the term, *קֶבֶה*, occurs only once in the entire Bible, in Num. 25.8, where its primary implication seems to be "a marriage-tent," i. e., the special tent in which, according to Bedouin custom,^{180a} marriage was con-

^{180a} Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahābys*, 61; Stevens, *Folk-Tales of Iraq*, 234. It is noteworthy that the Bedouin marriage-tent is pitched at quite some distance from the camp, precisely as Ex. 33.7 records was Moses' practice with the "tent of meeting" (cf. below, in *HUCA*, XVIII).

summed; in this particular instance the tent in which the sexual act, incidental to the celebration of the festival of Baal Peor, was performed.¹⁸¹ A synonym of קבה is חפה, found, however, in the entire biblical literature only three times, twice with the explicit connotation of "marriage-tent,"¹⁸² and once, in Isa. 4.5, as a synonym of סכה in the following v. It is this last word which claims our attention here.

Sellin has directed attention¹⁸³ to Amos 5.26, although he has missed almost completely the real import of the v. Actually this v. must be interpreted in conjunction with v. 27a for its full meaning to be appreciated. The general context is perfectly clear. The prophet, speaking in the name of Yahweh, has denounced Israel, the Northern Kingdom, scathingly for its manifold sins and repeated faithlessness towards its god, and proclaimed the doom which Yahweh will bring upon His rebellious people. They must leave their present home, Palestine, Yahweh's land, and go into exile, far away into a strange and, to them, completely unknown country, far beyond Damascus, and there they must wander about in search of a new place of settlement. But how can an entire people wander about in a strange and unknown country with reasonable assurance, and how will it at last find its proper place for resettlement? V. 26 gives the definitive answer to this question. There is no need to repeat here the numerous interpretations of this seemingly difficult v. given by various scholars. The ready possibility of, by a slight change of the vocalization of the two words, seeing in סכּוּת and כּיּוּן the gods, Sakkuth and Kaiwan, has led scholars far astray from the real, and now almost self-evident, meaning of the v. In fact, recognizing that v. 26b must be a gloss,¹⁸⁴ we see that this glossator himself, whatever his date may have been,¹⁸⁵ misinterpreted these words as

¹⁸¹ Notice the force of the article, הַקֶּבֶה, i. e., the well-known tent of a certain kind, regularly associated with the peculiar sexual rites of this festival; cf. also Ingholt, "Inscriptions and Sculptures from Palmyra, I," *Berytus*, III (1936), 85-88).

¹⁸² Joel 2.16; Ps. 19.6.

¹⁸³ "Das Zelt Jahwes," *Kittel Festschrift*, BWAT, 13 (1913).

¹⁸⁴ So Wellhausen, G. F. Moore, Guthe, Schmidt, Zeydner and Nowack (to a certain extent); cf. Harper, 130.

¹⁸⁵ Certainly not later than the third century B.C., since in this in-

the names of deities, and so not only misrepresented the meaning of this v., but likewise led practically all subsequent biblical scholarship more or less completely astray.

Actually the interpretation of the v. is perfectly simple. In addition to recognizing v. 26b as a gloss the only textual emendation necessary is to read for סִכָּה, with *G*, Σ , *V*, *S* and *Syr. Hex.*, and to a certain degree *A* also, סִכָּה.^{185a} Furthermore, we must recognize that it is quite possible to interpret צִלְמִיכָם as a dual. The vv. then say, "And you will take up the tent of your king and the base of your two images — and I will drive you into exile beyond Damascus." The "tent of your king" is obviously the sacred tent which served as the symbol of royalty, and which, for precisely one of the reasons because of which, as we have learned, David was so concerned to bring the ark, the sacred tent, up to Jerusalem, was kept constantly in close proximity to the royal residence. Whether Jerobeam II actually possessed such a royal symbol, corresponding to the *kubbe* of the pre-islamic Arab tribal chieftain, or whether the language here be merely figurative, it is, of course, impossible to determine.¹⁸⁶ But even if the language be only figurative, none the less it evidences conclusively the existence in ancient Israel of the sacred tent-shrine, the סִכָּה, the precise counterpart of the old Arabic *kubbe*, employed as the regular and proper symbol of supreme authority.¹⁸⁷

interpretation he is followed more or less completely by *G*, *A*, Σ , Θ , *V*, *S* and *T*.

^{185a} Also *The Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, 9.6–7 (cf. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O.T.*, II, 816) must have read סִכָּה, since it speaks of "the tabernacle of the King." It likewise interpreted כִּיִּן as in the construct state with צִלְמִיכָם, since it speaks of "the כִּיִּן of the images"; to its author כִּיִּן must accordingly have had some such meaning as "base," just as we propose. In his translation of this passage Charles failed completely to appreciate these readings. This evidence, and especially the reading סִכָּה, coming from near the end of the first century B.C., is of more than passing significance for this study.

¹⁸⁶ In the same way the symbolic figure of the sacred tent as the mark of the authority of the king and his dynasty is basic to the utterance ascribed to Amos (9.11), but dating certainly from the early post-exilic period, "I will set up the tent of David, which is fallen," i. e., "I will restore the Davidic dynasty."

¹⁸⁷ It is readily comprehensible why in Ps. 27.5; 76.3; Lam. 2.6 the Temple at Jerusalem is likened to a סִכָּה.

Moreover, within this tent were two sacred images, symbolic of the deity, or even of two deities, precisely as in the ancient Arabic *kubbe*, as we have seen, and, as now seems practically certain, likewise in the ancient ark. These two images rested upon a כִּיּוֹן,^{187a} a base, which, whatever it may actually have been, corresponded closely to the *howdag*, the woman's camel-saddle, upon which, as we have seen, the ark, and also the Arab *kubbe*, was regularly set. Moreover, the verb here used to express the idea of taking up the sacred tent and starting upon the journey is נָשָׂא; and, as we have seen, this verb, precisely like the Arabic حَمَلَ, was the technical term regularly employed to describe the placing or loading of the ark or the *kubbe* upon the back of a camel and setting forth upon a journey or pilgrimage. In other words, vv. 26–27 give us an exact description of the ancient tent, its equipment and the regular procedure therewith, and likewise suggest one of the major functions which both ark and *kubbe* normally performed, viz., to lead the people upon a migration through a totally unknown country, to select for them the road which they must travel, and to indicate for them the place of their ultimate settlement. The meaning of this passage is now perfectly clear. And in a way these two vv., thus interpreted, provide the final link in our chain of evidence of the original nature and function of the ark.

But one question concerning the ark remains to be answered, viz., why, if it now be granted that the ancient ark was a tent-like, rather than a box-like, structure, should it have been designated by the express name or title, הָאָרוֹן, "the box"; for it may now be conceded that the primary meaning of אָרוֹן is "box" or "ark." That the אָרוֹן contained originally two sacred stones, betyls in all probability, is no adequate answer to this question; for, as we have seen, among the early Semites the customary container or housing of these betyls was a small tent and seldom, if ever, a box. There is no direct evidence whatever bearing upon this question, and so it can be answered only by conjecture.

^{187a} Inasmuch as כִּיּוֹן here is a hapaxlegomenon, and so not altogether above suspicion, it may not be amiss to emend it to the closely related and much more common word, מִכּוֹן, "base, fundament."

Our conjecture is that **הארון** was a proper name, the specific designation of one particular object of outstanding significance among a large number or class of similar objects, viz., clan or tribal tent-sanctuaries. We have seen that the 'otfe of the Ruwala Bedouin bears such a specific title or name, *Al-Markab*, literally "the riding-vehicle" *par excellence*.¹⁸⁸ That the ark, as we have seen, originally the cult-object, or the container of the cult-object or objects, of the tribe of Ephraim, and later the palladium of the federated tribes of Central Palestine, was in its day quite similarly a tent-shrine of inter-tribal character, and therefore of supreme significance, is now firmly established. What more probable therefore than that it should have come to be designated, and that too at a relatively early moment in its history, by a specific title, its own proper name, which distinguished it immediately from all other similar clan or tribal tent-shrines and accorded to it the recognition of supremacy, which its outstanding role iustified?

Just why, however, it should have come to be designated as **הארון**, "the box," is not absolutely certain. Quite probably, how-



THE MAHMAL IN GALA ATTIRE

Reproduced from Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London, 1842.

¹⁸⁸ According to Lane (*op. cit.*, 1145) **مركب** connotes any kind of vehicle borne by a camel or other beast."

ever, there was something distinctive in its peculiar shape or appearance which suggested this name, and thus distinguished it fittingly from other tent-shrines of a somewhat different shape or appearance, yet of the same general class of clan or tribal cult-objects. We have seen that the *mahmal*, *en déshabille*, as Burton puts it,¹⁸⁹ i. e., stripped of all its appurtenances and therefore reduced to its mere framework, or sub-structure, resembles a box much more than a tent. This box-like form of its lower section is even more apparent in the photograph of the *mahmal* in normal dress here reproduced. We have noted likewise that the Ruwala 'otfe, *Al-Markab*, which Raswan intuitively correlated with the ancient ark of Israel, has much more the appearance of a box or basket than of a tent. It seems therefore very probable that something peculiar about the shape or appearance of the ancient ark may have suggested its proper and distinctive name, הארון "the box," or ארון יהוה, "the box of Yahweh."

We have just suggested that the name, הארון, may have been the special designation or title of a particular clan or tribal tent-shrine, of which, by implication, there must have been others in ancient Israel. We must now determine whether this hypothesis is valid, and if so, just what the generic name for this class of cult-objects may have been.

(To be concluded)

¹⁸⁹ *Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Mecca*, I, 233; cf. above, p. 202, and also the accompanying photograph of the *mahmal* in full dress.

^{172a} A distinct reminiscence of the אָרֹן may lurk perhaps in Deut. 31.24–26. The passage is from RP. It records Moses' command to the Levites, the bearers of the "Ark of the Covenant of Yahweh," to deposit "this book of the law," i. e., impliedly Deuteronomy, at the side of the ark, that it might be there as a witness. The implication seems to be that "this book of the law" is to be deposited beside the ark in its place in the Temple at Jerusalem. I Ki. 8.4–11 and its parallel passage, II Chron. 5.4–10, record that the ark was deposited in the Temple by the priests. However, II Chron. 5.4–5, especially when compared with I Ki. 8.3–4, establish fairly conclusively that in its original form this passage told that it was the Levites rather than the priests who bore the ark, and who therefore deposited it in the Temple. In this respect this narrative in its original form was in agreement with Deut. 31.24–26 as to who bore the ark and presumably who deposited it in the Temple. It is apparent that in their present form both I Ki. 8.4–11 and II Chron. 5.4–10 have undergone drastic textual revision in the interest of the priests over against the Levites. Furthermore, the insistence of I Ki. 8.9 and II Chron. 5.10 that in the ark there was naught but the two tablets which Moses had placed there at Horeb is of more than passing significance. In the first place, the use of the name, Horeb, rather than Sinai, suggests that there is an old, pre-Priestly tradition basic to this narrative. In the second place, the later strata of P represent the two tablets within the ark as the testimony; therefore the name, "the two tablets of testimony." But this contradicts the statement of the obviously older P narrative of Deut. 31.26, that "this book of the law," placed at the side of the ark, was to serve as the testimony. The very insistence of statement in I Ki. 8.9 and II Chron. 5.10, that in the ark was naught but the two tablets seems almost a purposed refutation of the statement of Deut. 31.26 about the presence of "this book of the law" there and of its function as witness.

But this older P narrative would hardly have told that "this book of the law" was merely deposited at the side of the ark, without covering or protection. The natural implication is that it was deposited in some suitable receptacle at the side of the ark. Indeed this seems implicit in the word, מִצַּד; for normally "at the side of the ark" would have been expressed by הָאֹרֹן. I suspect therefore that in its original form the narrative in Deut. 31.24–26 told that "this book of the law" was deposited בְּרֵיחַ יְהוָה אֲרוֹן מִצַּד אֲרוֹן, precisely the same expression as in I Sam. 6.8, and that perhaps this was even the actual original reading, and that בְּאֲרוֹן was omitted purposely by late P editors for obviously theological reasons.

But if this hypothesis be correct, then, unquestionably, the tradition of the אָרֹן, and with this the concept of the ark as a tent-like structure, must have persisted in Palestinian Jewish circles until well into the post-exilic period. Therefore it could have been only Pg writers who, about 400 B. C., coined the fiction that the ark was a box rather than a tent. Realizing this, it is easy to comprehend how the tradition of the tent-like form of the ark could have persisted in such peripheral circles of the Jewish people as the Jewish community of Dura as late as the third century A. D.

THE BIBLICAL PREPOSITIONS $T\dot{A}HAT$, $B\bar{E}N$, $B\dot{A}'AD$, AND PRONOUNS $'AN\ddot{U}$ (OR $'AN\bar{U}$), $Z\bar{O}'T\dot{A}H^*$

HARRY M. ORLINSKY, Baltimore Hebrew College, Baltimore, Md.

לזכר אבי מורי
יצחק משה ב"ר זאב שו"ב

THE prepositions תחת, בין, and בעד, have suffixed forms which are anomalous. The pronouns אננו (or אננו) and זאתה are hapaxlegomena. Practically all these forms are members of the Kethib-Qere system in the Hebrew Bible. It is the purpose of this article to determine the origin and character of these unique formations in light of biblical usage, the Kethib-Qere system, Northwest Semitic orthography and morphology, and masoretic tradition. I have deemed it most convenient to arrange the study as follows:

I. Introduction

IV. בעד

II. תחת

V. אננו (or אננו).

III. בין

VI. זאתה

Appendix. On the origin of the $y\bar{o}d$ in forms like עָלִי, אֶחָדִי, and אֶחָדִי.

I

Until the First World War our knowledge concerning the ancient orthography of the Hebrew Bible had its source in the Bible itself, and in what was learned from the Hebrew *Vorlagen* of the

* The essence of this article was read before the seventy-fifth Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, New York, Dec. 1939, constituting part of the Colloquium on "Northwest Semitic Epigraphy and the Old Testament." For the abstract, cf. *JBL* 59 (1940) x.

Septuagint and other versions, from a few scattered inscriptions like the Moabite stone, the Zenjirli group, the Gezer calendar, the Samaria ostraca, and the Siloam inscription, and from Phoenician, Aramaic, and South Arabic inscriptions, and Hebrew seals. Since then there has come to light considerably more epigraphic material, especially the Ugaritic texts, Phoenician inscriptions, and the Lachish letters, so that not only is our direct knowledge increased but even the older material can be analysed afresh with new and more reliable results.

The phenomenon of the K-Q system in the Bible is well known. Some 1500 words are written one way but are usually pronounced another way. For centuries two theories have held sway as to the origin of this system. One theory has it that the Q is a correction of the K. The other, that the K-Q are manuscript variants. The variations on the themes of these two theories, as well as theories that are mystical and otherwise unscientific in character, require no mention here. From my own study of the K-Q I have become convinced that the correction theory has no satisfactory arguments in its favor, and that the theory of manuscript variants, handled properly, explains adequately the origin and character of the K-Q system.¹

¹ In this connection it should be noted that members of the K-Q system are to be treated as textual readings the origin and value of which are decided by the usual canons of textual criticism. In this the K-Q readings are treated exactly like the variants in parallel passages in the Bible, the variants in the Hebrew *Vorlagen* of the Septuagint and other primary versions, the Sebirin, the Madinḥa'e vs. Ma'arba'e readings, and the variants preserved in the manuscripts collated by Kennicott, de Rossi, Ch. D. Ginsburg, Kahle, and others. The difference between the K-Q variants and all the other kinds of variants is essentially this: the former have acquired special authority because most of them existed in the manuscripts selected by the Masoretes to form the basis of the consonantal text of the Hebrew Bible that they were about to vocalize; the latter lack this distinction — yet their variants are no less worthy of consideration and explanation. For attempts to analyze K-Q variants historically, cf. *JQR* 30 (1939-40) 33 ff. [on II Ki. 20.4]; *JAOS* 60 (1940) 30 ff.; *JQR* 31 (1940-1) 59 ff. [on Ju. 19.13]; § III of "The Cohortative

II

There are a few prepositions in biblical Hebrew that are found in the received text with both the singular and so-called plural suffixes. Thus there are listed in the grammars two forms of the preposition תחת in the third person singular: תחתו and תחתיו "under him"; and in the third plural: תחתם and תחתיהם "under them." Similarly the preposition בין is found in two forms in the second and third singular persons: בינך and ביניך "between you"; בינו and ביניו "between him." And the preposition בעד is used with both the singular and plural suffixes in the first person plural: בעדנו and בעדינו "away from (or, behind, on behalf of) us."

As for the preposition תחת, it is used throughout with the plural suffixes, viz., תחתם,² תחתיהם, etc., except in the third

and Jussive after the Imperative and Interjection in Biblical Hebrew" (*JQR*, 31 [1940-1]; 32 [1941-2]). On the origin of the masoretic vocalization see the recent discussion by Prof. Blake, *JAOS* 60 (1940) 391 ff.

² In Ps. 18.37 there is preserved the reading of the second column of Origen's Hexapla, *θεθι* (cf. Hatch-Redpath, *Concordance*, etc., 1906, Supplement, Fasc. II, § III, pp. 199 ff.; Wutz, *Die Psalmen*, München, 1925, p. 36. *ad loc.*), for masoretic תחת. This does not, however, really indicate a current תחת alongside תחת, as is assumed by A. Sperber in his "Hebrew Based upon Greek and Latin Transliterations" (*HUCA*, 12-13 [1937-38] 278). Rather does it appear that *θεθι* is itself but a corruption of an original *θεθαυ*. Firstly, just three verses farther on (vs. 40) it is *θεθαυ* that corresponds to masoretic תחת. Secondly, our verse is part of David's Hymn of Triumph which forms Chapters 22 in II Samuel and 18 in Psalms. In the Samuel version (vs. 37) our stich reads תחתני צערי תרחיב, and it is significant that wherever the Samuel version reads תחתני (vss. 37, 40, 48) the Psalms version reads תחת. And coupled with the fact that it is always תחת in the Bible (eight times, three of them in Psalms — not counting our own) and never otherwise תחת, and never תחתני except the three times in Samuel, it becomes rather inescapable that *θεθι* stands for original *θεθαυ*. As to the manner of corruption, there are several possibilities. Firstly, note that three of the five words immediately preceding our own end — צערי . . . תרחיב . . . תסערגני. Secondly, perhaps the — in תחתני helped in transforming *θεθαυ* into *θεθι*. In this connection it may be noted that the word immediately preceding

person singular and plural, where, as stated above, we find תָּחַת alongside תַּחְתִּי , and תָּחַת coexistent with תַּחְתִּיָּם . However, an examination of the passages in the Bible in which the form in the third singular is used puts the matter in quite a different light. First of all, the form תַּחְתִּי is found close to ninety times, as against only four for תָּחַת (II Sam. 2.23; 3.12; 16.8; Job 9.18). Secondly, and this is of greater importance, in every one of these four instances תָּחַת is a member of the K-Q system.

From whatever is known concerning the methods employed in designating one word as the K and its correspondent as the Q, whether the K was placed in the text and the Q in the margin, both unpointed, or the K in the text pointed with the vowels of the Q, and either with nothing in the margin or with the Q in the margin unpointed or with both the K and the Q in the margin, both unpointed, and variations on these, one procedure appears to have been followed throughout all methods, viz., the consonants themselves of the K never received their own pointing. Accordingly, the pointing of the K תָּחַת is really uncertain.³ I shall attempt now to determine the pointing of

our own, תָּעַר , is reproduced in the Milan palimpsest used by Hatch-Redpath and Wutz as $\sigma\alpha\alpha\delta\alpha\iota$. As in the case with $\theta\epsilon\theta\iota/\text{תָּת}$, this too does not presuppose תָּעַר (so A. Sperber, p. 254); much rather is the Greek but a corruption of an original $\sigma\alpha\alpha\delta\iota$ (=preserved תָּעַר), a very easy one in the uncial script where *delta* and *alpha* were so readily confused ($\text{C AA}\Delta\text{I} > \text{C AA}\Delta\Delta\text{I}$; note also twice Δ before Δ) — and this accords perfectly with the תָּעַר in the parallel Samuel version.

Finally, it may not be out of place here to point out that alongside the linguistic analyses made of this Greek transcriptional material, there is room enough for a purely textual study, in context. Not a few difficulties and exceptions, accepted, e. g., in A. Sperber's study at their face value, will disappear when subjected to textual criticism. Cf. also below, Appendix I, § B.

³ Cf., e. g., Ch. D. Ginsburg, *Introduction*, etc., p. 184, "I know that some critics may in sundry cases differ from me as to the proper pointing of the *Kethiv*, but in the absence of all MS. authority I could do it only according to the best of my judgment." On the importance of masoretic tradition, as compiled, e. g., in the *Ochlah we-Ochlah*, for the proper pointing of many K,

this form with the aid of the orthography of Northwest Semitic, the K-Q system proper, and masoretic tradition.

From the more pertinent epigraphic material mentioned above, in conjunction with the evidence of the Hebrew Bible itself and the Hebrew *Vorlagen* of the Septuagint and other versions, it is evident that the *scriptio defectiva* was the norm in Canaanite orthography all the way down to around Septuagint days, and that even when the vowel letters ' , ʾ, and ֿ were introduced⁴ it was primarily finally and only rarely, if at all, medially.⁵ Thus there occurs in the Lachish letters (III:18) the very pertinent form וַאֲנָשִׁי "and his men," the form which later on in biblical orthography gave way to the plene writing וַאֲנָשִׁי. Coming back to the Bible proper we find some 150 instances where nouns and prepositions with the third person suffix form members of the K-Q system, and where the Q is written plene and, of course, pointed, with the K written defectively, without the *yōd*. Thus the Q is written וְיָדָיו and pointed וְיָדָיו "his hands," with the K written וְיָד, without any pointing. According to almost all competent critics of the Masorah (e. g., Baer, Gins-

see below towards the end of § II, and my discussion of Ju. 19.13 in *JQR* 31 (1940-1) 59 ff.

⁴ On the use of the *matres lectionis* (א, ה, ו, י, '), see in general the chapter on "The Orthography" in Ginsburg's *Introduction*, pp. 137-57. The entire discussion there is instructive, even though individual passages and even the opinions of the Masoretes may sometimes be given an interpretation different from that proposed by Ginsburg.

⁵ Cf. for the present, Friedrich, *ZS* 1 (1922) 3-14; Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (Phila., 1936), pp. 17-19; *Development of the Canaanite Dialects* (New Haven, 1939), pp. 25 f. I hope to find the time soon to prepare for publication my material on this point. I may state here that I have yet to find in Canaanite orthography a really clear-cut case of a vowel letter introduced medially. In the overwhelming majority of the alleged instances of medial vowel letters, the ' or ʾ or ֿ is even at first glance either still consonantal or else the graphic remains of its once consonantal character. This is quite different from the real significance of the term *scriptio plena*, the introduction of a vowel letter into a word to indicate a long vowel, although that letter has no etymological *raison d'être*.

burg, Kahle) the K is a variant not merely orthographic but also morphologic; that is, the K כד is to be read not כד, written defectively as in the inscriptions listed above, but כד "his hand." However, not only is there no evidence presented for the pointing of the K as כד, nor any against the pointing of the K as כד, but an examination of the passages in which these K-Q are found make it abundantly clear that the pointing of the K as כד is utterly impossible: in Lev. 16.21, e. g., K כד is qualified by the numeral שתי ("two hands"!); and in Job 5.18 the same K is the subject of a verb in the plural, תרפיה ("and his hands shall heal"; cf. Böttcher, *Lehrbuch*, II, § 886, pp. 39 f.). Again, identical in form with the ונשו quoted above from the Lachish letters, we find in I Sam. 23.5 ונשו as the K, ונשו as the Q. Since ונשו is never used in the singular with suffixes, but only in the plural, those who point these K forms as the singular are either compelled to leave this K entirely unpointed (so, e. g., Baer, Kahle [BH³]) or else ignore completely both biblical Hebrew and the context and point the utterly impossible ונשו (so, e. g., Ginsburg). Actually, however, exactly as in Northwest Semitic, the K is but the traditional, consonantal spelling of the later plene orthography which was used so frequently in what came to be called the Q.⁶

A third, and final case in point. Among the prepositions that are members of the K-Q system we find twice (I Sam. 2.10; II Sam. 20.87) the unpointed עלו as the K, עליו "upon

⁶ A convenient listing of K-Q of this kind is to be found in Gordis, *The Biblical Text in the Making: A Study of the Kethib-Qere* (Phila., 1937), pp. 87-91 (with probably not a few listed in #61, pp. 136-38). But Gordis's explanation of their origin and role in the K-Q system is without any foundation; cf. *JAOS* 60 (1940) 30 ff. On the masoretic listing of this kind of K-Q, see below. On the *yōd* in the plene forms כד and ונשו, etc., as of the prepositional forms, עליו, חחתיו, etc., see below, Appendix.

⁷ So most "masoretic" texts, e. g., the editions of Baer, Ginsburg, Kahle (BH³), *Miqra'ot Gedolot*. But the text of Kittel's BH² (based on Jacob ben

him" as the Q, three times (I Sam. 22.13; Ezek. 9.4; Zech. 2.8) the unpointed אלו as the K, אֵלָיו "to him" as the Q, and once (II Sam. 23.9) אחרו as the K, אַחֲרָיו as the Q. Without exception these three prepositions are found with what is popularly called the plural suffix.⁸ Practically all critics assume that the K without the *yōd* is but an *error scriptoris* of the Q.⁹ But that is not so. In no case is the K an error, nor the Q a correction of it; the K is merely the older orthography, as opposed to the

Hayyim's Bible of 1524–25) reads simply אֵלָיו, without any mention of a K–Q, nor does the *Ochlah we-Ochlah* include אֵלָיו alongside אֵלָיו in its List 128. To determine the origin of this K–Q (as of many others of this kind), see my discussion of K לך Q לָךְ in Ju. 19.13 (*JQR* 31 [1940–41] 59 ff.).

⁸ I have not deemed it worthwhile referring to the manner of adding the pronominal suffixes to the preposition in the cognate languages, since in them all persons of any given paradigm are treated alike; that is, the equivalent to the Hebrew *yōd* either is added to all persons or else is completely absent. Consequently, they do not help us with our own specific problems in Hebrew, except to make it *a priori* more difficult to accept the inconsistencies in Hebrew as original and natural. For a detailed discussion of the prepositions in their various phases and in the other Semitic languages, see in general, König, *Lehrgebäude*, II¹, pp. 269–321. It is but fair to König to point out that his attitude toward the various anomalous forms discussed in this article is most commendable, in striking contrast, e. g., to Bauer-Leander. While not aware of decisive proof against the pointing ל- in K אחתו, עלו, אחרו, etc., or against suffixal *yōd* in בניך, בניו, בניו, etc., König (pp. 298 ff.) refuses to accept them as genuine in the absence of satisfactory evidence in their favor.

⁹ As with the K ואנשו (which he points ואֲנָשׁוּ) Ginsburg points these forms אֵלָיו, אֵלָיו, אֵלָיו, etc. In this he is followed, e. g., by Bauer-Leander (§ 81 i, p. 641, "עליו . . . beidemal im Kt., Neubildung." Yet curiously they make no mention of אֵלָיו or אֵלָיו as similar Neubildungen) and A. Sperber ("Hebrew Based upon Biblical Passages in Parallel Transmission," *HUCA* 14 [1939] 212 f., § 80, who regards K ואנשו Q ואֲנָשׁוּ, K אלו Q אֵלָיו, etc., as "two readings of the same [italics in original] passage, demonstrating the two possibilities of morphology [§§ 44–87]. . ." [p. 153]). It is a question of orthography, not of morphology. See further below, with reference to List 128 of the *Ochlah we-Ochlah*, and n. 4 of the article referred to in n. 7 above. It may be noted in passing that יִי for (על)י and (אלי) is attested also in the second column of Origen's Hexapla, viz., αλαυ (Ps. 89.46; on the -ι see below, Appendix I, § B) and ηλαυ (32.6).

later *scriptio plena*, the pronunciation in both the K and the Q being the same, עֲלִי (K), אֲלִי (Q), and אֶחָדִי.¹⁰

Coming back now to the K תַּחְתִּי Q תַּחְתִּי, it is clear that the consonantal orthography common to Northwest Semitic, the K-Q system itself, and biblical usage, all demand the exclusion of a form like תַּחְתִּי from biblical Hebrew, and explain the four occurrences of the textual variant תַּחְתִּי as but the earlier consonantal spelling of the later plene תַּחְתִּי.

And this conclusion both helps to explain and accords perfectly with the phenomenon of the preposition in the third singular feminine. The normal form תַּחְתִּיהָ is used sixteen times in various parts of the Bible, but not once does one meet with the feminine counterpart of the assumed תַּחְתִּי, viz., תַּחְתִּיהָ — not at all surprisingly if the form תַּחְתִּי is eliminated from the picture.

A word is in order here about the form תַּחְתִּים coexistent with the normal תַּחְתִּיהֶם. Offhand one could argue that if תַּחְתִּים is legitimate, then why not תַּחְתִּי? Actually, however, the problem of תַּחְתִּים / תַּחְתִּיהֶם has nothing to do with תַּחְתִּי / תַּחְתִּיהָ. In the first place, תַּחְתִּים is used eleven times in the Bible as against five for תַּחְתִּיהֶם, whereas תַּחְתִּי is used close to ninety times as against four for the hypothetical תַּחְתִּי. And in the second place, תַּחְתִּים is well attested textually, whereas תַּחְתִּי is in every case a member of the K-Q system of manuscript variants. So that the problem of תַּחְתִּים for what should have been exclusively the domain of תַּחְתִּיהֶם, in accordance with תַּחְתִּינוּ and תַּחְתִּיָּם and תַּחְתִּיהֶן (never תַּחְתִּיָּכֶם, תַּחְתִּיָּן, etc.), remains unsolved regardless of תַּחְתִּי / תַּחְתִּיהָ. The most that can be said is that תַּחְתִּי came to be pointed תַּחְתִּי on the analogy of תַּחְתִּים. K

¹⁰ I had planned to discuss this type of K-Q as Appendix II. However, limitation of space had to be considered. For the method employed, cf. below the argument in connection with K תַּחְתִּי, and JQR 31 (1940-41) 59 ff. on K לָךְ [=לָךְ, not לָךְ] Q לָךְ at Ju. 19.13.

forms like אלו, על, and אחרו, lacking such an analogy, escaped this fate.¹¹

It was at this point that it first occurred to me how the tradition of the Masorah and the Hebrew grammar current in and around Moslem Spain a thousand years ago could be used altogether independently of the different types of arguments hitherto employed, so as to demonstrate beyond any possible doubt the non-existence of תחתו, עלו, and the like, totalling over 150 cases of K-Q, and even when and how these assumed forms first came into being.

According to the masoretic tradition preserved in the *Ochlah we-Ochlah* (as edited by Frensdorff, Hannover, 1864), listed as § 128 (pp. 104 f.), there are fifty-six words that only once in the entire Hebrew Bible lack the *yōd* of the plural suffix in the third person singular in writing, but which are pronounced nevertheless as if the *yōd* were really there. That is, the K is, say, בכפו, the Q בכפיו "in his palms," the K ימו, the Q ימיו "his days," the K עלו, the Q עליו "upon him," etc. Most critics of the Masorah, ever since Hebrew Bibles came to be printed and vocalized, either do not point the consonants of the K at all, because the form itself or the context makes it impossible, or else point the K as with the singular suffix: בכפו "in his palm," ימו "his day," עלו "upon him," etc. This is the

¹¹ In the course of a discussion of this point at a session of the Semitics Journal Club at The Johns Hopkins University, Rabbi Paul Reich threw out the suggestion that תחתם originally was nothing more than the adverbial form, of the ר'קם, אָמָם type. Subsequently, because of its morphological similarity to nouns and prepositions with the singular suffix in the third person plural (e. g., מלכם), תחתם came to be used simultaneously with the regular תחתיהם, but it was never extended to the other persons. The evidence of the Bible is indecisive. The author of I Kings employs תחתם in 14.12, and תחתיהם in 20.24. Yet it should be observed that the תחתם of earlier books like Deuteronomy, Joshua, and I Kings came to be replaced by תחתיהם in I and II Chronicles. תחתם is found four times in Job, all in the later strata (26.8 is Theodotonic).

position taken by such authorities as Elijah Levita, Fürst, (Delitzsch-)Baer, Ch. D. Ginsburg, and Kahle, and followed in such standard grammars as those of Gesenius-Kautzsch and Bauer-Leander. And the K is regarded as either a corruption and the Q a correction of it, or else as a morphologic variant of the Q.

However, a closer analysis of the masoretic caption over List 128 precludes completely any such pointing of the K as **בְּכָפוּ**, **יָמוֹ**, **עָלוּ**, etc. To the best of my knowledge, the Masoretes never connected two words of different morphologic character unless they distinctly specified that difference. Now if the Masoretes, for whatever reason they might have seen fit, had decided to make note of a form **בְּכָפוּ**, they would not refer to it as the form **בְּכָפָיו** written defectively without the *yōd*. Nor, in the opposite direction, would they make a masoretic note on a form like **יָמָיו** "his days" by referring to it as the form **יָמֹו** "his day" written plene with a *yōd*. Accordingly, when the fifty-six words listed in § 128 of the Ochlāh we-Ochlāh are stated to be defective forms read just like their plene correspondents, they cannot possibly be singular-suffixed **בְּכָפוּ**, or **יָמוֹ**, or **עָלוּ**, but merely the plural-suffixed defectively-written **בְּכָפָו**, and **יָמָו**, and **עָלוּו**. On this point, it seems to me, there can be no two opinions. And consequently, K forms like **בְּכָפוּ**, **יָמוֹ**, and **עָלוּ**, were not yet recognized in the period of the Masoretes.

Coming back to our own alleged **תַּחְתּוֹ** as the pointing of the K **תַּחְתּוּ**, List 128 will of course not include it since it is found more than once in the Bible — four times to be exact. But on II Sam. 2.23, which is the first of the four passages in the Bible in which the K form occurs, the masoretic work known as *Minḥat Shai*, compiled by Solomon di Norzi (1560–1626) and published posthumously, reads as follows, **תַּחְתּוֹ. תַּחְתּוֹ ק' וּמִסּוּרָת** ... **כ"י תַּחְתּוֹ ד' חֶסֶד וּסִימָנָהוּן** ... i. e., according to the tradition

of the Masorah the Q תחתיו is found written in the Bible four times defectively, without the *yōd*. Both *per se* and in light of the above, it is obvious that the Masoretes did not have in mind any such word as תחתו differing morphologically from תחתיו — they would not refer to a form תחתו by identifying it with the form תחתיו written defectively. All that they had in mind, and all that they stated, was that תחתיו was written four times defectively, though of course pronounced תחתו.

Finally, as to when such forms like תחתו, עלו, אחרו, and the other 150 cases of K-Q of the same kind, first came into existence, even if incorrectly and without proper authority, it would appear that they originated after the time of David Qimḥi, who died in 1235. In common with earlier lexicographers and grammarians like Ibn Janah (d. 1040)¹² and Abraham ibn Ezra (d. 1167),¹³ Qimḥi knows no form תחתו.¹⁴ The earliest reference to such a form, so far as I am at present aware, is to be found early in the 16th century, in the masoretic work of Elijah Levita, *Massoreth Ha-Massoreth* (ed. Ginsburg, *Introduction*, III, pp. 102 ff., pp. 182 f., and n. 4), who arrived at this form through an erroneous comprehension of the import of the caption of List 128 in the *Ochlah we-Ochlah*.¹⁵

¹² Ibn Janah has nothing to say about the manner of adding pronominal suffixes to תחת. But concerning אחר and אל (s. vv., in his dictionary, *Kiṭāb al-Uṣūl*, ed. Neubauer) he is very explicit, viz., the suffixes are added to אחר and אלי.

¹³ Cf., e. g., his comment on תחתו at Gen. 2.21; *Sefer Šaḥōt* (Berlin, 1768), fol. 23a; *Moznājim* (Offenbach, 1791), fol. 30a, 38b, 39b.

¹⁴ Cf., e. g., *Sefer Ha-Shorashim*, p. 410, יחבור עם הכנויים יהיה, תחת . . . יחבור עם עלו, " . . . and when it is joined together with suffixes, it is in the plural . . . all of them in the plural . . ."

¹⁵ While true that Levita does not refer to the K תחתו itself (since the fifty-six words that he discusses occur but once each as a K written defectively, whereas תחתו occurs four times as such), the fact that he pointed K of this kind as 1- (Levita did not recognize *scriptio plena* and *defectiva* as a factor in the K-Q system), and the fact that the strictly analogous עלו is pointed עלו (occurring once among the fifty-six K), and the fact that the K was

III

The preposition בִּין is used in the Bible with singular suffixes in the singular persons and the so-called plural suffixes in the plural persons, viz., בִּינִי, בִּינְךָ, בִּינוּ, etc., but בִּינֵינוּ, etc. (the forms בִּינוֹתֵינוּ, etc., do not concern us here). Two forms upset this otherwise regular procedure: בִּינֵיו (twice: Jos. 3.4; 8.11¹⁶) for the expected בִּינוּ, and בִּינְיָךְ (once: Gen. 16.5) for the usual בִּינְךָ.

Actually, however, we are dealing here with essentially the same problem presented by K תַּחְתּוֹ/Q תַּחְתָּיו, in that בִּינֵיו is in both instances a member of the K-Q system. As stated above, the *scriptio plena* gradually came to replace the earlier consonantal orthography. In many instances scribes introduced the *matres lectionis* contrary to the phonetic and morphologic

considered an integral part of the sacred text of the Bible, all resulted in תַּחְתּוֹ coming to be considered as an original and genuine variant of תַּחְתָּיו. Yet in fairness to Levita it should be pointed out that he himself considered the K as anomalous in the context and the Q a substitution for it, on the authority, direct or indirect, of the various authors of the Bible. Consequently, he himself probably did not consider forms like תַּחְתּוֹ and עָלוּ as authoritative as תַּחְתָּיו and עָלָיו. And that is probably why Levita makes no mention at all in his edition of and commentary on Joseph Qimḥi's little grammatical treatise, מַהֲלַךְ שְׁבִילֵי הַדַּעַת, of the form אָלוּ (אָלוּ occurs three times as a K) as a variant of the אָלָיו listed by Qimḥi (at the end of the grammar). In his own grammatical work, סֵפֶר הַבְּחֹר, Levita did not concern himself with prepositional forms.

¹⁶ Ges.-Kau.-Cow., *Heb. Gram.*²⁸, § 1030, p. 304, "בִּינֵיו, which occurs three times, is only the Masoretic *Q're* for בִּינוּ . . .," is based ultimately on the Masora Marginalis to Jos. 8.11, 'וְגו' חֶסֶד בְּלִישׁ', "and three times it is found thus written defectively." But this note can scarcely refer to K בִּינוּ Q בִּינֵיו (Frensdorff's argument [*Die Massora Magna*, Hannover und Leipzig, 1876, p. 230 and n. 9], while sound in itself, is not pertinent to the issue involved), among other reasons because no third passage is cited anywhere. On the other hand, Norzi (at Jos. 8.11) has disposed of the entire difficulty by referring the masoretic note to the word preceding בִּינוּ, viz., הָיָה, and this is borne out fully by the masoretic note on הָיָה (Frensdorff, *op. cit.*, p. 44, s. נִאָּ (to the Deut. 34.6 and Jos. 8.11 there cited, add Micah 1.6).

history of the word.¹⁷ Probably on account of the fact that בֵּין was used with the plural suffix in the plural, the *yōḏ* came to be inserted in the normal בֵּינוּ in some manuscripts in these two instances (the only cases of "between him" being used in Joshua).¹⁸ When the Masoretes found בֵּינוּ in the majority of the manuscripts that they had selected for vocalization purposes as the authoritative representatives of the Hebrew text of the Bible, they were compelled to point the plene form as בֵּינִי. Yet the evidence adduced in the case of the identical problems presented by אֲנִשׁוּ, יְדוּ, אֱלֹ, אֲחֵרֵי, and אֲחֵרֵי, leaves no alternative but to excise the form בֵּינִי as having had its origin in the erroneous application of the plene orthography (or in textual corruption; cf. n. 18), and to accept the K, pointed בֵּינוּ, as the original, alongside the other three occurrences of this form and the scores of instances of בֵּין in the singular persons with the singular suffixes.¹⁹

¹⁷ Cf. Ginsburg, *op. cit.*, p. 137, "It is, moreover, perfectly certain that the presence or absence of these letters [viz., *matres lectionis*] in our text in many instances is entirely due to the idiosyncrasy of the Scribes," with further reference to Ḥayyuj and Ibn Ezra. And in his own description and discussion of the manuscripts and printed texts of the Hebrew Bible (Chaps. XII [pp. 464-778] and XIII [pp. 779-976]) Ginsburg time and again points out how carelessly the K-Q variants were treated by scribes and printers. Jacob ben Ḥayyim (on whose important, albeit underestimated contribution to the study of the Masora, see Kahle, *Masoreten des Ostens*, 1913, pp. VI-XII) is a notable exception.

¹⁸ So, e. g., König, p. 307. One could resort to other plausible explanations for the origin of בֵּינִי. In 3.4 one could suggest that בֵּינוּ became בֵּינִי at the hands of a scribe under the influence of the plural suffix in the immediately preceding בֵּינֵיכֶם. And in 8.11 each of the two words that precede and follow בֵּינִי contains a *yōḏ*, viz., לְעִי וְהָיָה בֵּינִי וּבֵין הָעֵי, resulting in the unintentional scribal addition of *yōḏ* to בֵּינוּ to form בֵּינִי. Nor is it to be ruled out altogether that בֵּינוּ became בֵּינִי by pseudo-dittography of the *wāw* in the square script, where *yōḏ* and *wāw* were scarcely distinguishable. Cf. also Bauer-Leander, § 81², p. 646.

¹⁹ It may be worth mentioning that such a careful scholar like S. R. Driver (who, it may be observed, appears to have been an exponent of the correction theory, generally explaining the K as a corruption and the Q as

And as for the single instance of **בִּינִיךְ** for the normal form found 19 times elsewhere in the Bible, **בִּינָךְ** (pausal **בִּינָךְ**), already the early Rabbis drew attention to the fact that the form was anomalous, by placing a dot over the second *yōd*.²⁰

a correction thereof) states dogmatically (BH², *ad loc.*), "לִכּ K בִּינוּ." The entire problem becomes hopelessly confused in Gordis (*op. cit.*, p. 91, List 3b), where the K is pointed **כִּי** (כִּי), and the Q with the additional *yōd* is explained as a guide to the correct reading of the K, lest the latter be read erroneously (!) **כִּי**.

²⁰ The discussion of **בִּינִיךְ**, one of the 15 words in the Hebrew Bible with extraordinary points (on which see, e. g., Blau, *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, Strasbourg, 1891, Chaps. I and II; Ginsburg, *op. cit.*, 318 ff.), is to be found already in the *Sifre* (ed. Horovitz, Lipsiae, 1917, Pisqa 69, pp. 64 f.), and repeated (with slight variations), e. g., in *Midrash Rabba* (on Numbers, Par. III:13), *Aboth de-Rabbi Nathan* (ed. Schechter, pp. 97, 100), *Masseket Soferim* (ed. Müller, Leipzig, 1878, VI:3[p. XII]. Cf. the notes, pp. 86 ff.). The passage in the *Sifre* reads, **כִּיּוּצָא בּוּ יִשְׁפּוּט ה' בִּינִי וּבִינָךְ נִקּוּד עָלָיו שְׁלָא אָמְרָה לּוּ אֵלָא עַל הָגֵר בְּלִבְדָּ וְיֵשׁ אֲמָרִים עַל מַטִּילִים . . . מְרִיבָה בִּינוּ לְבִינָה . . .** similarly, 'Let the Lord judge between me and between you' [is dotted] since she [viz., Sarah] said it to him [viz., Abraham] only in reference to Hagar. There are others who say [that it was said] with reference to those who create ill-feeling between him and between her." This would seem to indicate that the former has in mind the singular **בִּינִיךְ** (as opposed to the plural **בִּינֵיךְ**); the latter part seems to be an interpretation of the plural **בִּינֵיךְ**.

Yet it should be noted that our word, just like the other dotted words and letters, is open to different interpretations, since it is difficult to determine whether the entire word or just one, or more letters was dotted. Thus in our case Blau (pp. 17-19) would delete either both **וּבִינֵיךְ** to form **וּבִינָה** (his "Nach der Streichung des punctirten Kaf verbleibt **וּבִינִי**" is wrong; there remains **וּבִינִי** — hence Ginsburg's "the *Yod* and *Kaph* . . . are to be pointed and . . . elided," p. 323) or simply the **וּבִינֵיךְ** to form **וּבִינֵיהֶם**. Yet even here too both **וּבִינֵיךְ** could be dotted and elided to form **וּבִינֵיהֶם**. Blau's "Aboth d. R. N. (1.V) und Soferim haben schlechthin 'das Jod in **וּבִינֵיךְ** habe einen Punct', ob das zweite oder das erste wird umbestimmt gelassen, die übrigen Quellen schweigen darüber ganz" (p. 18) is answered twofold: (1) there would be no point at all in dotting the first ' in **וּבִינֵיךְ**; (2) a masoretic tradition states clearly, **נִקּוּד עַל יוֹד בַּחֲרָא**, "there is a dot over the second '." Blau's suggestion (followed by Ginsburg) that an original **יְהוָה בִּינִי וּבִינָךְ** was erroneously resolved into **נִקּוּד עַל יוֹד** and then extended to **נִקּוּד עַל יוֹד בַּחֲרָא**, is ingenious, and may be correct. In any case it is evident that all these traditions either reject the second *yōd* in **וּבִינֵיךְ** or else alter the person of the suffix altogether to **וּבִינָה**, **וּבִינֵיהֶם**, or the like (cf. also

Moreover, it should be noted that this solitary instance of the plene occurs in pause, that is, בִּינִיךְ for בִּינְךָ , which made the erroneous insertion of the $yōḏ$ so much easier.²¹

IV

The preposition בְּעַד , used 105 times in the Bible (according to Brown-Driver-Briggs, Heb. Lex., s. v.), regularly takes the singular suffixes in declined forms: בְּעַדְךָ , בְּעַדְכֶם , etc. Yet the form בְּעַדִּינוּ (Amos 9.10) would seem to indicate that this preposition was used with both the singular and plural suffixes in the first person plural, and this is the position taken by many critics and grammarians (cf., e. g., J. Fürst, *Heb. und Chald. Handw.*, Leipzig, 1863, p. 202; Bauer-Leander, *Heb. Gramm.*, 81c" d", pp. 644 f.). Others, e. g., David Qimḥi (*Sefer Ha-Shorashim*, s. עַד, p. 251b) explain the $yōḏ$ not as part of the plural suffix but rather as the sort of element that is the $yōḏ$ of $\text{בְּעַדִּינוּ} \dots \text{אֵין הוּא לְרַבּוּי כִּי אֵין רַבּוּי בּוֹאֵת הַמְּלָה אַבְל} \dots \text{עַדִּי} \dots$ (היא נוספת כיו"ד עַדִּי). Most recently, H. H. Rowley (*ZDMG*, 92 [1938] 58), after construing בְּעַדִּינוּ as "only exceptionally a plural suffixal form" on the analogy of לְפָנַי ,

the 16th century commentary *מתנות כהונה*, at Gen. Rabba, XLV:7; likewise the notes in Horovitz's *Sifre*). Finally I may refer to the doctoral dissertation of the lamented Father Romain F. Butin, *The Ten Nequdoth of the Torah* (Balto., 1906); this worthwhile work came to hand only recently.

²¹ It is scarcely possible to invoke as conclusive proof the reading ובינך in numerous Kennicott manuscripts and the Samaritan. The former may conceivably be but the *scriptio defectiva* of וביניך , and the latter suffers far too much from scribal errors, editorial activity, and a peculiar orthography, to be of independent value (yet R. Kittel [BH², 3], dogmatically, "l c ובינך "). It may be noted here that although one might argue *a priori* that the tradition of the extraordinary points might have been expected to help preserve the $yōḏ$, actually the dotted words in numerous instances are lacking in from one to eight manuscripts collated by Kennicott; cf. וַאֲהָרֹן in Num. 3.39; אֲשֶׁר in 21.30; עֲשֶׂרֹן in 29.15; הַמָּה in Isa. 44.9; הַהִיכָל in Ezek. 41.20; מְהִקְצָעוֹת in 46.22; לֹלֵא in Ps. 27.13.

accepts G. R. Driver's explanation of this unique form (*ibid.*, note) "as a scribal error for **בְּעֲדָנוּ**, due to the false analogy of **אָחֵר** and **תַּחַת**; moreover, many MSS read **בְּעֲדָנוּ**."

Our preposition is used five times in the first person plural, four times with the normal singular suffix **בְּעֲדָנוּ** (all in Jeremiah, in the expression **אֶל־יְהוָה . . .** [or **דָּרַשׁ**], **הַתְּפִלָּה**), and but once with the *yōd*. However, an examination of the context of the latter, in Amos 9.10, makes it extremely doubtful that we are dealing here at all with the word **בְּעֲדָנוּ** and the preposition **בְּעַד**. The passage reads, **הָאֲמָרִים לֹא־תִגֵּשׁ וְתִקְדָּם בְּעֲדָנוּ הָרֶעָה**, "[v. 8] . . . Saith the Lord. [v. 9] For, lo, I will command and . . . [v. 10] All the sinners of my people shall die by the sword.) That say: 'The evil shall not overtake nor confront us.'" Whether or not one wishes to retain the **תִּגֵּשׁ וְתִקְדָּם** of the masoretic text or, in common with such critics like Wellhausen, Harper (ICC), Novack (BH²), Procksch (BH³), Robinson (in series *Handbuch zum A. T.*), and with the Septuagint (**οὐ μὴ ἐγγίση οὐδὲ μὴ γένηται**), to emend to **תִּגֵּשׁ וְתִקְדָּם**, the fact remains that **בְּעֲדָנוּ** is impossible in the context (note that Margolis, in the Jewish Publication Society Translation just cited leaves **בְּעֲדָנוּ** untranslated, or else assumes **עֲדָנוּ**). For one thing, "Calamity shall not approach and come near about us" is no more acceptable in Hebrew than it is in English. Secondly, the context demands a word with the meaning of something like "towards."²¹ It is obvious that what was in almost all certainty the original reading was the word **עֲדָנוּ** (or, **עֲדָנוּ**), a

²¹ Septuagint **ἐφ' ἡμᾶς** cannot be invoked with confidence for **עֲדָנוּ** (as do, e. g., Harper, Nowack, Robinson) — prepositions are among the first to suffer from the demands imposed by the context upon the translator. Some critics (e. g., Ehrlich, Budde ["Möglich"], Sellin) emend **בְּעֲדָנוּ** to **בְּעֲדָנוּ**, "solange wir noch da sind (or, leben)." But then the sentence becomes utterly wooden and unhebraic! Ehrlich's objections to **עֲדָנוּ** are disposed of above.

form of the preposition עַד.²³ And this was understood already almost a thousand years ago, when emendation was not practised (and when, it may be added, עַד / עַדִּי and בְּעַד were treated as one not merely etymologically but also semantically and syntactically [cf., e. g., Qimḥi on בעדינו above]), by that excellent grammarian and exegete, Ibn Janah, when he stated (*Kitāb al-Uṣūl*, ed. Neubauer, Oxford, 1875, s. עַד, col. 503 bottom) בעדנו . . . الباء فيه زائدة والوجه فيه عדינו كما قيل عריך תאתה לא תדנו ולא تتقدم الین. And finally, the origin of the preserved ב(עדינו) is readily explained by pseudo-dittography of the immediately preceding (תְּקַדִּים; or (תְּקַדִּים) in the

²³ The only other form of this preposition in the plural is עַדִּיכֶם (Job 32.12; for the expected עַדִּיכֶם), where "the *ā* retained in the secondary tone, is abnormal" (Ges.-Kau.-Cow., § 103o, p. 304. Bauer-Leander, e. g., have another explanation, §§ 81h' [p. 640] and 26i' [p. 240]). If עַדִּיכֶם, instead of עַדִּיכֶם, be original, then it may perhaps be due to the paradigmatic influence of עַדִּי, עַדִּיךְ, etc. (though contrast, e. g., אֲלֵיכֶם and עֲלֵיכֶם). On the other hand -עַ may be but a scribal slip for an original -עַ, due to the lack of plural forms of this preposition in the Bible and to the influence of the singular forms in (etc., -דִּי, -דִּיךְ. It may be noted that even if עַדִּיכֶם should prove to be a corruption of another word (the Peshiṭto, e. g., is based on עַדִּיכֶם "your witnesses") the form עַדִּיכֶם would still remain to be accounted for.

The עַד-הֵם of II Ki. 9.18 is hardly "eine dial. Neubildung, vg. מִן-הוּא" (Bauer-Leander, § 81i, p. 641. On their equally unacceptable "עֲלוּ . . . Neubildung," see above, n. 9), nor can it be justified by forms like בְּהֶמָּה (so König, p. 304) — the uniliteral prepositions, ב, כ, ל, and מ (e. g., מִהֶם) prove nothing morphologic for prepositions of two or more letters. In common with most scholars I take it to be rather the defective form עַדֵּהם (or עֲדֵהם), exactly like the defective forms found in the preserved text, עַדֵּהם (so too in Phoenician), עֲלֵהָ, /, עֲלֵהָ, etc. The form עַדֵּאֲלֵיהֶם two verses farther on (II Ki. 9.20) is scarcely acceptable. The Jewish Publication Society Translation (ed. Margolis), e. g., gets around the problem by "even unto them"; and the phrases cited as analogous in König (pp. 320 f. and n. 1) and Brown-Driver-Briggs (p. 724a): עַדֵּאֲלֵהֶם, לְפָנֵי, מִעַדֵּהָ, מִעַבְרָהּ, מִתְּחִלָּה, are hardly pertinent here. Furthermore, verse 20 repeats verse 18, the latter reading עַדֵּהם for the former's עַדֵּאֲלֵיהֶם. It appears inescapable, therefore, that עַדֵּאֲלֵיהֶם is a conflate reading of עַדֵּאֲלֵיהֶם (so, e. g., Stade-Schwally in Haupt's Polychrome Bible, *Kings*, p. 223, *ad loc.*), and אֲלֵיהֶם. Not being a preposition, it is best not to make use of (מִדְּבָרִים) (Isa. 65.24. Cf. Br.-Dr.-Br., p. 728b for עֲדֵי אֲנִי) for our own problem with עַד.

post Septuagintal square script in which the two letters were well nigh indistinguishable. In the earlier Aramaic cursive כ and מ were not confused paleographically. As to the reading בעדנו found in numerous manuscripts (27 are listed by Kennicott), its authority for an original בעדנו as opposed to בעדינו might have had value were we dealing with the form of the preposition בעד — though even there the variant is more plausibly explained as but the *scriptio defectiva* of בעדינו.²⁴ The process of corruption was probably as follows: (ותקדם עדינו > (ותקדם בעדנו > בעדינו. [I note now that my argument is in agreement with that of I. H. De Long (and Nöldeke) in his thesis on *Die Hebräische Präposition בעד* (Leipzig, 1905), 31 f.]

V

In Jer. 42.6 we find the K אנו as a form of the first person plural pronoun, "we," with the Q the regular אנחנו. Most grammarians (e. g., Joseph Qimḥi,²⁵ David Qimḥi,²⁶ Gesenius,²⁷ Ewald,²⁸ Stade,²⁹ König [II¹, 367, § c], Ges.-Kau.-Cow. [§ 32d], Bauer-

²⁴ In the same fashion that בינו was written defectively once (Jos. 22.25), as against בינינו with the *yōd* five times (twice in the same chapter in Joshua, vss. 27, 28). No one would seriously maintain that בינו was anything but an orthographic variant of בינינו — yet that is precisely what is done in the case of בעדינו vs. בעדנו! Note also, e. g., the plene / defective forms אֶל־הֵם / אֵל־הֵם, בִּינֵם / אֵל־בֵּינֵם, cited in the preceding note.

²⁵ מִהֵלֶךְ שְׂבִילֵי הָדָעָה, ed. Levita, end.

²⁶ מִכְלֹל, Lyk edition by Rittenberg, fol. 190b.

²⁷ *Thesaurus*, p. 125.

²⁸ *Lehrbuch*, p. 483.

²⁹ *Lehrbuch*, p. 136. I need hardly state that I have made no attempt to go through *all* grammatical treatises that touch on this point. As in the case of the prepositions discussed above, I have deemed it sufficient to cite only those works which, whether by reason of their originality or because of their reliable character, have come to be considered standard.

Leander (§ 28*h*) accept the K as legitimate, explaining its origin as from the first singular אֲנִי,³⁰ and identifying it with mishnic אֲנִי (or אֲנִי).³¹ Others (e. g., Ges.-Bergsträsser, §§ 20 [p. 14] and 3*g* [p. 18]; Joüon, *Grammaire de l'Hébreu Biblique*, Rome, 1923, § 39) do not regard the K as genuine, evidently assuming it to be but a corrupt form of which the Q is a correction.

The usual form in biblical Hebrew for "we" is אֲנִיחֵנוּ. Five times we find נִחֵנוּ, which is also found once in the Lachish letters (III:18). Throughout Jeremiah it is always אֲנִיחֵנוּ that is used. Accordingly, the single instance in the whole Bible of אֲנוּ is deservedly suspect.³² Moreover it is hardly likely that Hebrew operated at one and the same time, all in prose, with three forms for "we," viz., אֲנִיחֵנוּ (Jer.), נִחֵנוּ (contemporaneously in Lachish), and אֲנוּ (Jer.).³³ — this would be a luxury foreign to Northwest Semitic and to languages in general. And since the first two are well attested, and the last is but a textual variant, it can scarcely be doubted that אֲנוּ is to be excluded. But how explain its origin in biblical Hebrew?

One has but to look into the passage in Jeremiah to realize what must have happened. The eye of the scribe simply passed

³⁰ Via אֲנִיחֵנוּ = אֲנִי: X. So already Gesenius (*ibid.*), Böttcher (§ 858 end), Nöldeke (*ZDMG* 38 [1884] 420, n. 3), etc.

³¹ Scholars differ between אֲנִיחֵנוּ and אֲנוּ. The latter is preferred, e. g., by Levita (*Massoreth Ha-Massoreth*, ed. Ginsburg, p. 181); Ges.-Kau.-Cow.; M. Lambert, *Traité de Grammaire Hébraïque* (Paris, 1938), p. 139, n. 1. Cf. also E. Porath, *Mishnaic Hebrew as vocalised in the early manuscripts of the Babylonian Jews* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1938, p. 143.

³² In his ed. of D. Qimhi's *Mikhlol* (Phila., 1933), Chomsky cites from Kokowzoff's ed. of Ibn Baṭ'am (11th cent.) to the effect that אֲנוּ is never used in biblical Hebrew (וְלֹא נִמְצָא לָרַבִּים אֲנוּ), and correctly explains this erroneous statement as due to oversight.

³³ On אֲנִיחֵנוּ/נִחֵנוּ see Harris, *Development of Canaanite Dialects*, p. 78, # 63. But contrast, e. g., Bauer-Leander, § 28*o*, p. 249, and the cognates listed in Ges.-Buhl for נִחֵנוּ.

over from the first נ of אֲנַחְנוּ to the second נ, so that חַנ (or נַח) was not copied. Errors of this kind are common enough in the Bible, as in every sort of text that goes through the hands of innumerable scribes. But whereas most errors of this kind are noted at once with little difficulty, and may at times even regain their original form through correction at the hand of a learned scribe, our word was blessed by a fortunate circumstance, viz., though in itself a corrupt form, and non-existent in biblical Hebrew, by coincidence it happened to be identical in form with the mishnic form of the first person plural pronoun. Consequently, even if only as a textual variant in the K-Q system, אֲנַנ came down intact through the ages, to be incorporated in most grammars of biblical Hebrew. The K אֲנַנ should therefore be excised as but a textual corruption of its mate in the K-Q system, אֲנַחְנוּ.

VI

The regular form of the fem. sing. demonstrative pronoun is זֹאת, with זֶה and זֹו occurring eight and two times respectively. Once, in Jer. 26.6, we find the form זֹאתָה, the passage reading, וְנִתְמִי אֶת־הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה כְּשִׁילָה וְאֶת־הָעִיר הַזֹּאתָה אֶתֵּן לְקָלָלָהּ . . . "And I shall make this house like Shiloh, and this city I shall make a curse . . ." This rather anomalous form, pointed זֹאתָה, is accepted by many grammarians alongside the normal זֹאת, with the final ה explained either as the fem. element repeated (so, e. g., Bauer-Leander, § 28 *b d*) or as "the demonstrative determination" (Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, s. v.; Ges.-Kau.-Cow., § 34 *b*).

Exactly as in the case of אֲנַנ above, זֹאתָה is but the K variant of the Q and normal זֹאת. Secondly, no such form is part of the linguistic pattern of Northwest Semitic. Thirdly, it would be

strange indeed to have at one and the same time three different words serving the same function within the one language: **זאת**, **זו** / **זה**, **זאתה**. And fourthly, our phrase is repeated but three verses farther on (vs. 9), and reads there **הזאת**. And while none of these four arguments is decisive in itself, all four together make it rather difficult not to conclude that in **זאתה** we are dealing with a suspect form. On looking into the context of this word the origin of the final **ה** strikes one as rather obvious — in the group of five successive words of which the variant **זאתה** forms the fifth, the letter **ה** occurs fully 6 times **הַנּוֹבִיתִּי הַחוּצָה הַנּוֹבִיתִּי הַחוּצָה הַנּוֹבִיתִּי הַחוּצָה** (ובשלזה נואתיהוועירן הנואתה). Or else one could explain the **ה** even more simply as due to pseudo-dittography of the immediately preceding **ה** in the square script, a very common source of confusion.³⁴ Accordingly, **זאתה** is to be excised from biblical Hebrew as but the corrupt textual variant of **זאת**.

In conclusion may I state what has become increasingly obvious in the course of this article, that there is necessary a completely fresh and historical study of all the material in the Bible of grammatical, lexical, exegetical character, and the like, that derives its main support from a case of the K-Q (as of textual variants in general; cf. n. 1 above). Many forms and words will be explained and discarded as a result; other, hitherto discredited forms, will come into their own. And this is the task primarily of the trained textual critic who knows Semitic grammar and lexicography adequately.

³⁴ I note that Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 3, while offering no specific objections to **זאתה**, proposes essentially the same explanation for its origin, though he attempts to be somewhat too precise: "Le *ketib* הַזֹּאתה pour הַזֹּאת . . . ne peut être qu'une faute (dittographie de הַנּוֹבִיתִּי אֶת הַנּוֹבִיתִּי)." .

APPENDIX

A

The *yōḏ* in עָלִי and אֱלִי is generally explained as part of the original root of these words, viz., עָלִי and אֱלִי, the forms going back directly to the *-aihū* stage; cf., e. g., Ges.-Bergsträsser (*Heb. Gramm.*²⁹, § 16e, p. 95 ["**-aihū* > *-au* im Pluralsuffix יָ (etymologisch mit ' geschrieben)"], Bauer-Leander (§ 251), and J. Friedrich (*ZS* 1 [1922] 5). This explanation is scarcely acceptable, however, since *-aihū* had become *-āw* (or else *-ēhū*) long before the *yōḏ* came to be inserted as a *mater lectionis* in *-āw* forms. Firstly, there is the evidence of וְאִנְשׁוֹ in the Lachish letters (shortly before 587–6 B.C.E.). Secondly, the Septuagint not infrequently read the singular where the received text reads the plural, and vice versa, in the יְדִי / יְדוֹ forms — proof enough that in the 3rd–2nd centuries B.C.E. manuscripts of the Bible still retained the יְדוֹ (=יְדִי) type of orthography. Additional evidence to this effect is offered by the over 150 textual variants of the יְדוֹ / יְדִי type in the K–Q system. Accordingly, the *yōḏ* would have been inserted as a vowel letter long after it had lost its original consonantal value and had been dropped in writing — and, it may be added, long after the Jews had lost all notion of a *-aihū* stage.³⁵

As to the origin of the *yōḏ* as a *mater lectionis* for *-āw*, already the medieval grammarians realized that it was hardly the sort of letter that helped determine the *-āw* sound. Accordingly, recourse was taken to the explanation that the *yōḏ* was nothing more than a substitute for א, in accordance with the general interchange to be found within the group א, ה, ו, and י; i. e.,

³⁵ On the loss of the *h* in the *-ahū* stage, which must have preceded the loss of the *h* in the *-aihū* stage and have been connected with it, see Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects*, # 30, pp. 55 f.

יְדִי > יְדִי (cf., e. g., Ḥayyuj, in his treatise on the weak verbs, *Kitāb al-Af'āl dawāt Hurūf al-Līn*, ed. Jastrow, Leiden, 1897, pp. 17 f.; Ibn Ezra, *Sefer Ṣaḥōt*, Berlin, 1768, 18a centre). This explanation is, of course, unacceptable to us today. It seems to me that the *yōḏ* in יְדִי > יְדִי had its origin in the general use of the *yōḏ* to indicate plural and dual forms. That is, the *yōḏ* does not indicate an *-āw* sound, as it does an *ī* sound; it came into use in prevocalization days to distinguish *yāḏāw* (יְדִי) from *yāḏō* (יְדִי), even as the *yōḏ* indicates the difference between *dibrē* (דִּבְרִי) and *dēḥār* (דִּבְרִי), *dēḥārēkā* (דִּבְרִי) and *dēḥārḳā* (דִּבְרִי), *dibrēkēm* (דִּבְרִיכֶם) and *dēḥārḳēm* (דִּבְרִיכֶם), etc.

B

A. Sperber (*HUCA* 14 [1939] 179, § 41b) suggests that “the diphthong *au* is indicated by וי,” as well as by the usual יי. This is unacceptable, however, both because the evidence presented in its favor will not withstand critical analysis and because there is pertinent proof against it. Sperber cites two words as evidence, K בְּדִי (Q בְּדִי) in Jer. 48.30, and Samaritan השְׁלִי (for masoretic הַשְׁלִי) in Ex. 16.13. As for the former, בְּדִי is a rather obvious corruption of בְּדִי.³⁶ And while Sperber (n. 72) adduces the Ma'arba'e — Madinḥa'e variants in Job 18.13 as additional support for his contention, actually these variants afford but additional proof for textual corruption. The Ma'arba'e tradition (our *textus receptus*) knows only בְּדִי; the Madinḥa'e developed a K-Q, the Q our normal בְּדִי, the K

³⁶ In view of the fact that none of BH³ (based on Ben Asher), BH² (based on Jacob ben Hayyim), *Ochlah we-Ochlah* (List 128), *Miqra'ot Gedolot*, Norzi's *Minḥat Shai*, Baer, etc., records any K-Q at all here, nor does Kennicott cite any variants, it is apparent that K בְּדִי is a late and isolated textual corruption and variant of original Q בְּדִי, and deserves none of the authority attributed to it by Sperber.

the clearly corrupt בְּדוֹי (cf., e. g., Baer, *Liber Iobi*, 1875, p. 57, n. 2) — the cases of confusion between ם and ן in the square script are legion. And this too accords perfectly with the fact that nowhere does a Masorete or a medieval grammarian make mention of ן being used alongside ם in *-āw* forms — and they certainly made a close study of biblical orthography!

Samaritan שְׁלוֹי, on the other hand, has nothing whatever to do with any *-āw* sound. Just as תָּו, נִתָּו, יִחָדָו, and the like, only later became תָּוִי, נִתָּוִי, יִחָדָוִי, etc. (cf. n. 10 above), so too שְׁלֹו is original, שְׁלָוִי being merely the later plene form.³⁷ Nor is Samaritan שְׁלוֹי at all an orthographic variant of masoretic שְׁלוֹי; it is a different word. First of all, the Samaritan knows no other form but שְׁלוֹי. Secondly, the word for "quail" in Arabic and Syriac is سلوى and ܫܠܘܝܐ. Thirdly, the plural for "quail" in Hebrew is שְׁלֹוִים (Num. 11.31), as if ultimately from שְׁלוֹי. Accordingly, Samaritan שְׁלוֹי is not *š'law* (שְׁלָו) but *šalwáy* (שְׁלָוִי). As for Hebrew שְׁלָוִי, it is possible that in line with the Arabic, Syriac, and Samaritan, and with the pl. שְׁלֹוִים, it was originally שְׁלוֹי (cf., e. g., Kittel [BH²] and Rudolph [BH³] at Num. 11.32; Buhl [BH², 3] at Ps. 105.40; Ges.-Buhl, s. v.; Bauer-Leander, § 72f, p. 580 top). In no case, however, is the form שְׁלוֹי any evidence for an earlier שְׁלוֹי; it is but the later plene of שְׁלוֹ. And though שְׁלוֹי may have been the earlier form, it by no means follows that שְׁלוֹ is a textual corruption, to be emended to שְׁלוֹי. To the contrary, שְׁלָוִי is a legitimate and textually attested form in the Bible. As to why the Hebrews ceased using a form שְׁלָוִי* (even if it be a loan-word) and pre-

³⁷ It is noteworthy that List 128 of the masoretic *Ochlah we-Ochlah* knows a K הֶשְׁלָו only at Num. 11.32; unlike later scribal tradition it does not recognize a K הֶשְׁלָו Q הֶשְׁלָוִי at Ex. 16.13 (see, e. g., Norzi's *Minḥat Shai ad loc.*). On how to analyze such K-Q developments historically, cf. the treatment of K לָךְ Q לָכֶּה in *JQR* 31 (1940-1) 59 ff.

ferred to it the form שְׁלִי, that is another matter entirely (note the general absence of *qatlay* forms in biblical Hebrew; cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, § 231 f, g, pp. 378 f.), and does not concern us here.

As further proof of his contention Sperber cites three cases in Origen's transliterations (*HUCA* 12-13 [1937-38] § 133, p. 199): *μαβσαρान* for מְבַצְרִי (Ps. 89.41³⁸), *σαρान* for צָרִי (vs. 43), and *αλान* for עֲלִי (vs. 46). Here again, however, they prove nothing at all as regards the use of וי-, alongside וי-, for -āw. Firstly, if, as Sperber holds, עֲלִי (his assumed *Vorlage* of αλαν) were but an orthographic variant of עֲלִי, both representing the same sound, 'ālāw, then αλαν is not pertinent, since it proves to be a morphologic variant: 'ālāwi. vs. 'ālāw. Secondly, it is rather curious that the only cases of -אנ for וי- occur within five verses of each other in the same Psalm, and nowhere else. Thirdly, everywhere else, including בְּנֵי, גְּדֵרוֹתֵי, שְׂכָנֵי, אֹיְבֵי, and עֲלֵמֵי, in vss. 31, 42, 43, and 46 in the same Psalm (note especially אֹיְבֵי // צָרִי and עֲלֵמֵי // עֲלִי), it is *-av* that reproduces וי- (add ηλαν = אֲלִי [Ps. 32.6; 36.3], ιδαν = יְדִי [35.26], λιββαν³⁹ [36.2], and γαδρωθαν = גְּדֵרוֹתֵי [89.41] to Sperber's nine other hexaplaric instances in § 133, and a "?" after his μαβσαρान). Accordingly, -אנ for -āw in these three (two?) cases has nothing to do with an assumed וי- for -āw or with the obviously corrupt בְּדִי. It has occurred to me that -אנ might represent the influence of Aramaic וְהִי- (in the Bible only תְּגַמְלוּהִי, Ps. 116.12).

³⁸ So Hatch-Redpath, Supplement to the *Concordance*, Fasc. II, §3, p. 209a. Wutz (*Die Psalmen*, p. 238; unnoted by Sperber), however, reads simply μαβσαρान. Until the palimpsest itself is reproduced publicly the reading is uncertain.

³⁹ Masoretic לְבִי is universally emended, with versional, manuscript, and contextual authority, to לְבוֹ (// עֲנִי).

C

The fact that the *yōd* in עָלִיו and אֲלִיו does not go back to the original roots עָלִי and אֲלִי (see above, § A), any more than רָגְלִיו, etc., do not go back to roots יָדִי, רָגְלִי, etc., does not mean, of course, that עָלִי and אֲלִי are not the roots of these words (see the recent convenient summary in H. H. Rowley's "Some Prepositional Forms," *ZDMG* 92 [1938] 55 f.). Most recently, Driver (*ZDMG* 91 [1937] 344 ff.; cf. his comments apud Rowley, p. 55, nn. 3, 4) suggested that "the simple עָל = upon, gave rise to a triliteral verb עָלָה to denote the complex idea of *going up* to a place, and that this in turn begat a secondary preposition . . ." However, no convincing evidence is presented for this position, and Driver was led to it only because of his belief that "it is becoming increasingly clear that all Semitic roots were at one time biliteral" (p. 344) and because of his attempt to relate תַּחַת, בְּעַד, and אַחֲרַי semantically. The *yōd* in אַחֲרַי and its suffixed forms is due almost certainly to the analogy of לְפָנַי, even as the *yōd* in the suffixed forms of תַּחַת on the analogy of עָל (Barth, *Nominalbildung*, § 231d, p. 378). The argument, "But אַחֲרִיךְ is not analogous to לְפָנֶיךָ. Why not אַחֲרִיךְ and תַּחַתֶּיךָ?" (most recently Driver, p. 57, n. 3) is hardly pertinent: the argument of analogy cannot be made to walk on all fours (cf. Rowley's reply, *ibid.*).

On the possibility of interpreting עָלִיו in some instances in the Bible not as the prepositional form but as the suffixed form of a substantive עָל "height; deed," see Reider, *JQR* 30 (1939-40) 263 ff.

PROBLEMS OF THE MASORA

ALEXANDER SPERBER, Jewish Theological Seminary

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EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS USED:

- BHKK = *Biblia Hebraica* edidit R. Kittel; Textum masoreticum
 curavit P. Kahle. Stuttgart 1937.
- Ven = *Biblia Rabbinica*; second edition; Venice 1524/5. With
 "Bible" or "our Bible" we refer to this edition.
- TRL = A. Sperber: Hebrew based upon Greek and Latin Trans-
 literations, *HUCA*, XII-XIII.
- HPT = A. Sperber: Hebrew based upon Biblical Passages in
 Parallel Transmission, *HUCA*, XIV.

NTS=A. Sperber: New Testament and Septuagint, *JBL* 1940.

HPh=A. Sperber, Hebrew Phonology, *HUCA* XVI.

K=כתיב; Q=קרי.

||=separates the two components of a doublet.

ABBREVIATIONS IN THE MASORA QUOTED HERE:

מצע=מצעות	אב = אלפא ביתא
נבי = נביאים	אור = אוריתא
נמס = נמסר	אמצ = אמצע
נס = נסיב	אספ = אתנח סוף פסוק
ס = סוף; ספר	ביני = ביניהון
סא = ספר אחד (אחר: or)	במב = בר מן ב (two=)
ספ = סוף פסוק	בר = בראשית רבה
ספ = ספרא	בתר = בתריה; בתראה; בתרין
סח = ספר תורה	דסמ = דסמיכין
פס = פסוקא; פסוקין	זק = זקף
פת = פתח; פתחין	חס = חסר
ק = קרינן	טע = טעותא; טעמא
קד = קדמא	יס = יש ספרים
קמ = קמץ; קמצין	כת = כתיב
קרי = קריא; קרינן	ככ = כתיב כן
רפ = ריש פסוקא	ל = לית
רפ = רפה	לק = לא קרי
תור = תורה	ליש = לישנא; לישני
תיב = תיבותא	מל = מלא
תני = תניינא	מלי = מלין
תרג = תרגום	מסה = מסורה הגדולה

A dotted letter (e. g. ב or ה) indicates: that the word referred to occurs either so many times (twice, or five times), or is spelled in such a way (with ב or ה).

A. INTRODUCTION

I. THE MASORETIC BIBLE

THE first quarter of the sixteenth century or — to be more exact — the decade from 1515 to 1525 witnessed the publication of two almost equally elaborate editions of the entire Hebrew Bible by one and the same publishing house: Daniel Bomberg in Venice put out the so-called Rabbinic Bible in its first edition in the years 1515/17, and a comparatively short time afterwards, in 1524/5, the second edition. All subsequent Bible editions up to our own days were based — or at least claimed to be — cf. my "Hebrew Phonology," (*HUCA* XVI) §7 — upon the second *Biblia Rabbinica*, while the first edition survived merely in well equipped museums and in first class libraries. The reason for the different fates that befell Bomberg's two Bible editions lies in the fact that the second edition was *essentially* different from the first and was published with the express claim of representing the only reliable and trustworthy text of the Hebrew Bible, namely the Masoretic Text.

By the strange workings of fate, Bomberg had met, after the publication of his first Bible edition, Jacob ben Chayim, had given him a job as proof-reader in his printing plant, and was finally persuaded by him (though Jacob ben Chayim in his *Introduction* puts it to the effect that it was Bomberg, who took the initiative) — quoting Jacob ben Chayim verbatim — להדפיס כד באופן זה שיהיה עם פירושים ותרגום. ומסרה גדולה וקטנה. וקריין ולא כתבן. וכתבן ולא קריין. ומלאים וחסרים. וכולהו דקדוקי ספרי. ובחר הכי המסרה הגדולה כדרך הערוך. למען ירוץ קורא (see Jacob ben Chayim's *Introduction* towards the beginning. There the text has וקריין וכתבן, which

we corrected into וקריין ולא כתבן, cf. the parallel וכתבן ולא קריין and the later references to this point in the *Introduction*; cf. also the statement in Ned. 37b, to be quoted and discussed shortly, which corroborates our emendation).

This brief outline contains the basic features of the new Bible edition; they were meant to raise its standard from the level of *a* Bible edition to the authority of *the* Bible edition, i. e. the Masoretic Bible. These characteristics are: (1) the inclusion of the מסרה in its two forms, as מסרה גדולה and מסרה כתבן; (2) marginal notes indicating קריין ולא כתבן; (3) exactness in the use of the *matres lectionis*, expressed by the terms חסרים and מלאים; and (4) כולו דקדוקי ספרי. I purposely retained here the original terminology of Jacob ben Chayim, without even attempting to translate or paraphrase it. For any such procedure would subconsciously prejudice us to connect a certain and historically established meaning with each term. We, on the other hand, aim at a new and unbiased investigation of the original meaning of these ancient terms.

In discussing, in his *Introduction*, the importance of these features for the establishment of a correct Bible text, Jacob ben Chayim does not follow the order in which he first listed them. While postponing the enumeration of the many and variegated difficulties in editing the מסרה גדולה וקטנה till the very end, he loses no time in taking up the discussion of the terms concerning קרי וכתבי (number 2 in the list above), in order to clarify their origin and meaning. To this end he first deals with the various theories advanced by scholars of preceding generations, demonstrating their weak points and inadequacies. On the ruins of these shattered theories he then "solves" the problem, not by formulating a new theory of his own, but by plainly denying us the right to apply our reason and judgment to its solution: כל אלו התרוצים (השר דון יצחק אברבנאל הם מסברה.

ואנן לית לן כי אם תלמודא דילן. אשר קבלנו עלינו. כי לבן של ראשונים כפתחו של אולם. והם אמת ודבריהם אמת. Instead of arguing, Jacob ben Chayim thus merely refers us to the statement in Ned. 37b, where these terms together with references to other Masoretic activities are classed as הלכה למשה מסיני. Now, whatever הלכה למשה מסיני may mean, one thing is surely implied herein: no human argument can prevail against it!

This way of proving his point no doubt fully appealed to Jacob ben Chayim's contemporaries, and even to later generations. Yet one cannot but wonder how Christian D. Ginsburg could base his *Introduction to the Masoretico-critical edition of the Hebrew Bible* which appeared in the year 1897, on Jacob ben Chayim's *Introduction*, without even as much as attempting to analyze critically Jacob ben Chayim's presentation of the problems connected with the Masora, and asking whether arguments, which sounded quite convincing in the early sixteenth century, still hold true in our days of historical-critical approach.

II. A NEW APPROACH

In taking up now the discussion of the problems of the Masora in the same order in which Jacob ben Chayim refers to them, we wish to emphasize, at the very beginning, that we concern ourselves solely with the problems as such and the possibility of their solution, but not with the history of dealing with these problems. To such an extent is the very starting point of all previous researches in this field outdated and obsolete, and to such an extent have the ancient arguments used as proofs pro and con for the respective theories lost their weight and power in our own age that, interesting though their study may be to the historian, they have nothing to offer to the philologist. We, therefore, turn instead right to *the sources and concentrate on*

their interpretation, with our view unobstructed by the débris of decayed theories which were based upon late Masoretic compilations.

B. THE MASORETIC ACTIVITIES

III. THE PROBLEM OF כתיב AND קרי

1. *The Talmudic Statement*

The first reference to the terms כתיב and קרי can be found in Ned. 37b, a statement which has been referred to already by Jacob ben Chayim. It reads: **אמר רב יצחק מקרא סופרים ועיטור סופרים. וקריין ולא כתיבן. וכתבן ולא קריין. הלכה למשה מסיני**. The statement continues by giving examples for each one of the categories mentioned. We postpone the examples for the terms מקרא סופרים and עיטור סופרים for a later discussion, and proceed to קריין ולא כתיבן: **פרת דבלכתו. איש דכאשר ישאל איש בדבר האלהים. באים דנבנתה. לה דפליטה. את דהגד הגד. אלי דהגרן. אלי דהשערים. אלין קריין ולא כתבן. וכתבן ולא קריין: נא דיסלח. זאת דהמצוה. ידרך דהדורך. חמש דפאת נגב. אם דכי קריין ולא כתיבן** by pointing out the following examples: (1) פרת in connection with the verb בלכתו; (2) איש in the verse כאשר ישאל איש; (3) באים in connection with נבנתה; (4) לה in connection with פליטה; (5) את in connection with דהגד הגד; (6) אלי in connection with דהגרן; and (7) אלי in connection with השערים. These words represent cases of **קריין ולא כתבן**. As to the counterpart of this term, namely the term **כתבן ולא קריין**, the Talmud again offers the explanation by way of listing examples. They are the instances of: (1) נא in connection with דיסלח; (2) זאת in connection with דהמצוה; (3) ידרך in connection with דהדורך; (4) חמש in connection with דפאת נגב; and (5) אם in connection with **כי גואל**.

their appearance, which offer the word **אם** as a common feature (**אם במקום**, **אם אמנון** and **אם כאשר**).

The discrepancy in the number and choice of instances between the Talmudic statement and the Masoretic note in the Codex Petropolitanus might be explained by assuming that either source intended merely to exemplify the term, but did not aim at presenting us with a complete list of such cases. Of course, the fact that the Codex Petropolitanus explicitly limits the number of cases to eight seems to exclude such an explanation. But an even more startling fact remains unaccounted for: that of the 12 instances mentioned in the Talmud, R. Nissim already found himself unable to locate two. This reflects in a strange way on the attention which post-Talmudic Jewry paid to a phenomenon which the Talmud itself characterized as **הלכה למשה מסיני**.

3. *The Solution of the Problem*

The identification of the remaining ten Talmudic instances could easily be ascertained with the help of a concordance. So e. g. **קריין ולא כתיבן פרת דבלכתו** (cf. above #1 in the list of the **קריין ולא כתיבן**) was identified as referring to 2 Sam. 8.3, where our Bible text reads: **בָּלְכְתוּ לְהַשִּׁיב יְדוֹ בְּנֵהֶר**; a Masoretic note here informs us that the open space with the vowel-signs **ָ** **ִ** is reserved for the word **פרת**, which is **קרי ולא כתיב**. We thus have **פרת** in connection with the verb **בלכתו**, as the Talmud stipulates it. Simple and convincing though this identification sounds, we have grave objections against it: The Talmudic assertion is centuries older than the Masoretic note on 2 Sam. 8.3 and than the invention of the vowel-signs. In Talmudic days there were no **ָ** **ִ** to keep the space open for the oral insertion of an unwritten word, and also no Masoretic note to instruct the reader what word to insert. Hence, vocalization and Masoretic note

must not be brought up as arguments in our search for the locating of the passage **פרת דבלכתו**.

The historic events as narrated in 2 Sam. 8 are once again retold in 1 Chron. 18. With the differences in the choice of words, the morphology and syntax between these two narratives of identical events I have dealt exhaustively in a monograph "Hebrew based upon Biblical Passages in Parallel Transmission," *HUCA* XIV. We now compare the *consonantal text* of verse three in these sources: 2 Sam. 8.3 reads: **בְּלָכְתוֹ לְהַשִּׁיב יְדוֹ בְּנֶהֱר**; 1 Chron. 18.3 reads: **בְּלָכְתוֹ לְהַצִּיב יְדוֹ בְּנֶהֱר פָּרַת**. (On the variant **לְהַשִּׁיב** — **לְהַצִּיב** cf. HPT § 9). And now let us interpret the Talmudic statement on the basis of this parallel passage: The Talmud states that **פרת דבלכתו** is **קרי ולא כתיב**; actually we find that **פרת** in connection with the verb **בלכתו** is offered by Chron., but not by Sam. We may formulate our findings by way of an equation: According to the Bible, **פרת** in connection with **בלכתו** is offered in Chron., but not in Sam.; according to the Talmud, **פרת** in connection with **בלכתו** is offered in **קרי**, but not in **כתיב**. The conclusion is: *Chron. represents the קרי-text, and Sam. the כתיב-text*. And while stating that **פרת דבלכתו** is **קרי ולא כתיב**, the Talmud meant to indicate: in connection with the verb **בלכתו**, Chronicles has the noun **פרת**, while Samuel does not have it. The Biblical passage 2 Sam. 8.3 would, therefore, have to be read as: **בלכתו להשיב ידו בְּנֶהֱר** (and not vocalized **בְּנֶהֱר**). The noun **הְנֶהֱר** (with the article) instead of **נֶהֱר פָּרַת**, is often used to describe the Euphrates; cf. Ex. 23.31: **וְשָׂתִי אֶת גְּבֻלְךָ מִיַּם-סוּף וְעַד-יָם פְּלִשְׁתִּים וּמִמְדְּבָר עַד-הֶנָּהֱר**; Num. 22.5: **וַיִּשְׁלַח מַלְאָכָיו אֶל-בִּלְעָם פְּתוּרָה אֲשֶׁר עַל-הֶנָּהֱר**; Deut. 11.24: **מִן-הֶנָּהֱר וְהָרִי-פָרַת**; cf. similarly the use of **הַיָּאֵר** for the Nile.

Formulating our findings on a broader basis, we now state: The history of the kingdom of Judah is told twice in our Bible: in the Former Prophets (from 1 Sam. 31 on) and in Chronicles (from 1 Chron. 10 on). We disregard as later additions the

paraphrases and interpolations of the original strictly historic narrative, which occupies approximately 470 verses in more or less identical form (cf. HPT) in each of these parallel sources. The Talmud — or the ancient source whence the Talmud derived its information — designated with כתיב that recension of historic narrative, which is now included in the Former Prophets, while קרי was applied to the other recension, which Chronicles now exhibits. The problem as to whether the Talmud has the terms כתיב and קרי from his ancient source, or whether they already represent a confusion of a later generation, when the original meaning of the genuine symbols had been forgotten and was subsequently replaced by a later popular explanation (cf. similarly תא: originally for תרגום ארמי, later explained as: תרגום אנקלוס; or תי: originally meaning: תרגום ירושלמי, later misunderstood as: (תרגום יונתן) is irrelevant for our investigation. On the connotation which these terms כתיב and קרי carry in the mediaeval Masoretic terminology, cf. §§ 6–8, 12c and 17c in Chapter C.

4. The Solution Tested on Parallel Historic Narratives

a) SAMUEL, KINGS, AND CHRONICLES. If our contention be correct that the historic *Annales* in the recension of the Former Prophets are meant by כתיב, and in that of Chronicles by קרי, then we should be able to verify it on more examples than just the one of פרת דבלכתו, which the Talmud mentions. Theoretically reasoning we would say: whenever a Masoretic note appears on a word in a verse of the Former Prophets, which belongs to these *Annales* (that means: the Bible offers this verse twice; in the Former Prophets and in the respective parallel passage in Chronicles), stating that the spelling of the text represents the כתיב, while the קרי has it differently, we should expect the parallel passage in Chronicles to offer this word in exactly the

same way as the Masoretic note stipulates for the קרי. This theoretical demand is fully corroborated by the facts. In order to prove this highly essential point I shall list all the passages in the *Annales* (as defined above) which have Masoretic notes regarding the כתיב and קרי, with constant reference to the textual reading of the parallel passage. The material is derived from both Bible editions, the *Biblia Hebraica* ed. Kittel-Kahle and Jacob ben Chayim's second edition of the *Biblia Rabbinica*. As a rule they agree in their application of the terms כתיב and קרי, so that I do not have to bring their sigla. Only when such a Masoretic note has but one of these Bible editions as a basis, do I put its symbol to indicate the source. I consistently vocalize the קרי-word:

2 Sam. 5.2: K מוציא

Q המוציא = 1 Chron. 11.2

2 Sam. 5.2: K והמבי

Q והמביא = 1 Chron. 11.2

2 Sam. 5.24: K בשמעך

Q בשמעך = 1 Chron. 14.15

2 Sam. 8.3 as compared with 1 Chron. 18.3, cf. above p. 302.

2 Sam. 21.21: K שמעי

Q (Ven) שמעא = 1 Chron. 20.7; the Q (BHKK) is: שמעה; cf. HPT § 38b.

2 Sam. 23.8: K אחד

Q אחת = 1 Chron. 11.11

2 Sam. 23.9: K ואחרו

Q ואחריו = 1 Chron. 11.12

2 Sam. 23.9: K דדי

Q דדו = 1 Chron. 11.12; the spelling in Chron. is plene (דודו), cf. HPT § 40.

- 2 Sam. 23.9: K גברים
Q הגברים = 1 Chron. 11.12
- 2 Sam. 23.13: K שלשים
Q שלשה = 1 Chron. 11.15; the spelling in Chron. is plene (שלושה), cf. HPT § 40.
- 2 Sam. 23.15, 16, 20: K מבאר
Q (Ven) מבר = 1 Chron. 11.17, 18, 22; the spelling in Chron. is plene (מבור), cf. HPT § 40.
- 2 Sam. 23.18: K השלשי
Q השלשה = 1 Chron. 11.20; the spelling in Chron. is plene (השלושה), cf. HPT § 40.
- 2 Sam. 23.20: K חי
Q חיל = 1 Chron. 11.22
- 2 Sam. 23.20: K האריה
Q הארי = 1 Chron. 11.22
- 2 Sam. 23.21: K אשר
Q איש = 1 Chron. 11.23
- 2 Sam. 23.37: K נשאי
Q נשא = 1 Chron. 11.39
- 2 Sam. 24.14: K רחמו
Q רחמי = 1 Chron. 21.13
- 2 Sam. 24.22: K בעינו
Q בעיניו = 1 Chron. 21.23
- 1 Ki. 7.23: K וקוה
Q וקו = 2 Chron. 4.2
- 1 Ki. 8.26: K דבריך
Q דברך = 2 Chron. 6.17
- 1 Ki. 8.48: K בנית
Q (BHKK) בניתי = 2 Chron. 6.38; the Masoretic note in Ven: יב חס' בסוף תיבו וקרי' בנית ק' shows that בנית ק' is a misprint for בניתי ק', too.
(cf. later IX § 13).

- 1 Ki. 9.9: K וישתחו
Q וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּ = 2 Chron. 7.22
- 1 Ki. 9.18: K תמר
Q תִּדְמַר = 2 Chron. 8.4
- 1 Ki. 10.5: K משרתו
Q מִשְׁרָתִי = 2 Chron. 9.4
- 1 Ki. 12.3: K ויבאו
Q (BHKK) וַיָּבֹא = 2 Chron. 10.3
- 1 Ki. 12.7: K וידבר
Q וַיְדַבְּרוּ = 2 Chron. 10.7
- 1 Ki. 12.12: K ויבו
Q וַיָּבֹא = 2 Chron. 10.12
- 1 Ki. 12.21: K ויבאו
Q וַיָּבֹא = 2 Chron. 11.1
- 1 Ki. 14.25: K שושק
Q שִׁישַׁק = 2 Chron. 12.2
- 1 Ki. 22.13: K דברִיךְ
Q דְּבָרְךָ = 2 Chron. 18.12
- 2 Ki. 8.17: K שנה
Q שָׁנִים = 2 Chron. 21.5
- 2 Ki. 11.1: K וראתה
Q רָאָתָהּ = 2 Chron. 22.10
- 2 Ki. 11.2: K הממותתים
Q הַמוֹמְתִים = 2 Chron. 22.11
- 2 Ki. 11.4, 10, 15: K המאיות
Q הַמְּאֹת = 2 Chron. 23.1, 9, 14
- 2 Ki. 11.18: K מזבחחו
Q מִזְבַּחֲתִי = 2 Chron. 23.17
- 2 Ki. 14.2: K יהועדין
Q יְהוֹעָדָן = 2 Chron. 25.1
- 2 Ki. 14.12: K לאהלו
Q לֹאֲהָלָיו = 2 Chron. 25.22

vice-versa: 1 Chron. 14.1: K **הִירָם** = 2 Sam. 5.11

Q **חִירָם**; thus, the reading of the parallel passage in the Former Prophets is termed here **כתיב** in Chron.

The only exceptions are the following three instances, in which Chronicles exhibits textual readings which are termed **כתיב** in the Former Prophets:

2 Sam. 10.9: K **בִּישָׁרְאֵל** = 1 Chron. 19.10

Q **יִשְׁרָאֵל**

2 Sam. 23.35: K **הָצְרוּ** = 1 Chron. 11.37

Q **הָצְרִי**

2 Ki. 22.5: K **בְּבֵית** = 2 Chron. 34.10

Q **בֵּית**

These cases may be taken as an indication of the fact that the form in which the original *Annales* appear in the Hebrew Bible, represents an already mixed type. This explanation is further substantiated by a few cases, in which the Masoretic note concerning **כתיב** and **קרי** occurs in the Chronicles passage, while it is the corresponding parallel verse in the Former Prophets, which exhibits the **קרי**-reading as its text:

1 Chron. 11.20: K **ולא**

Q **ולו** = 2 Sam. 23.18

1 Chron. 14.10: K **פלשתיים**

Q (BHKK) **פְּלִשְׁתִּים (= תִּים)** = 2 Sam. 5.19

1 Chron. 18.10: K **לשאול**

Q (BHKK) **לְשָׁאֵל** = 2 Sam. 8.10

2 Chron. 18.8: K **מיכהו**

Q **מִיכָהוּ** = 1 Ki. 22.8

2 Chron. 18.33: K **ידיך**

Q (BHKK) **יָדְךָ** = 1 Ki. 22.34

2 Chron. 25.17: K **לך**

Q (BHKK) **לָכָה** = 2 Ki. 14.8

2 Chron. 26.21: K **החפשות**

Q **החפֿשית** = 2 Ki. 15.5

b) 2 KI. 18–20 AND ISA. 36–39. The incidents told in 2 Ki. 18.13, 17–37; 19.1–37; 20.1–6, 9, 11b–19 are narrated again in Isa. 36.1–22; 37.1–38; 38.1–8; 39.1–8. In 2 Chron. 32 we have merely a short abstract of these narratives which can in no way be considered as a parallel to the reports of 2 Ki. We find ourselves thus confronted with a new problem: what place does the narrative in Isa. occupy in comparison with that of 2 Ki.? An examination of the relation of this text to the Masoretic notes on 2 Ki. concerning **כתיב** and **קרי** will furnish us with a clue towards the solution of this problem:

2 Ki. 19.23: K **ברכב**

Q **בִּרְב** = Isa. 37.24

2 Ki. 19.23: K **קצה**

Q (Ven) **קצוֹ** = Isa. 37.24

2 Ki. 19.31: K vacant

Q **צָבָאוֹת (קרי ולא כתיב)** = Isa. 37.32

2 Ki. 19.37: K vacant

Q **בְּנֵי (קרי ולא כתיב)** = Isa. 37.38

2 Ki. 20.18: K **יקח**

Q **יִקְחוּ** = Isa. 39.7

There is only one instance, in which Isa. offers a Masoretic note of **כתיב** and **קרי**; and here the parallel in 2 Ki. has the **קרי**-reading:

Isa. 37.30: K **ואכול**

Q **וְאָכְלוּ** = 2 Ki. 19.29

I would not lay too much stress on the evidence of this instance, I feel by no means sure that this Masoretic note is based upon sound tradition. For it is quite possible that we have here rather a confusion of the sources similar to the case of 2 Ki.

20.13 and its parallel Isa. 39.2, where BHKK and Ven differ as to where the Masoretic note rightly belongs:

BHKK: Isa. 39.2: K נכתה

Q נכתו; but 2 Ki. 20.13 merely

נכתה without any Masoretic note.

Ven: 2 Ki. 20.13: K נכתה

Q נכתו; but Isa. 39.2 merely

נכתה without a Masoretic note.

We may, therefore, sum up the result of our investigation by stating that *the reports in Isa. 36–39 are of the קרי type and that consequently their proper place would be within the framework of Chronicles.*

5. The Hebrew Bible in Two Recensions

Our investigation has led us to the realization that in the ancient source from which the Talmudic statement in Ned. 37b emanated, כתיב and קרי (or whatever form these symbols originally had) were used to indicate variants between the two recensions of historic narrative as contained in the Former Prophets (כתיב) and Chronicles (קרי). An apparent gap in the narrative of Chronicles could be filled by pointing to the chapters 36–39 in Isa.

The Masoretic notes on כתיב and קרי do in no way represent an exhaustive list of these differences between the two recensions. I refer the student of Biblical philology to my monograph "Hebrew based upon Biblical Passages in Parallel Transmission" (HUCA XIV) for an adequate treatment of this problem: identification of the variants and their explanation by way of grouping and classification. The preceding investigation furnishes the methodical justification of my procedure there in basing it upon the three parallel sources as defined in the introductory remarks (p. 153). The fact that we possess Masoretic

notes on כתיב and קרי for all Biblical books, while the parallel passages of our Hebrew Bible are limited mainly to the narration of certain historic events, may be taken as evidence that, originally, considerably larger portions of the Bible were transmitted in two recensions, but were subsequently withdrawn in the course of redactional developments. The fate of the parallel recension of the Pentateuch makes our explanation plausible: It is not much more than two centuries since the Hebrew Pentateuch of the Samaritans was discovered and became available to scholarship. This text represents — as demonstrated in HPT — a parallel recension of our Masoretic Pentateuch, which prior to this discovery was all we had of the Pentateuch in Hebrew. In a monograph "New Testament and Septuagint" (JBL 1940) I proved that "we shall have to assume that the Samaritan Hebrew Bible originally included the entire Old Testament" (p. 246). It now becomes clear that *the three sources in two recensions, upon which HPT is based, are in reality three fragments of one and the same genuine source, consisting of major portions of the Hebrew Bible in two recensions.*

These two recensions differed from one another in very many details. These variants are dealt with in HPT; they reflect differences in the vocabulary, morphology, and syntax. According to the results obtained there, the basic sources of that monograph can be divided into two groups; the members of each group have certain linguistic or dialectic phenomena in common, as against the members of the other group. Of course, no division can claim to be correct in each and every detail, since we possess the basic texts only in a later form, which is of an already mixed type; but in general I hope to be correct. Recension A is represented by: 1) the Masoretic Pentateuch; 2) the parallel passages in Chronicles, and 3) קרי-readings. Recension B is evidenced by: 1) the Samaritan Pentateuch;

2) the parallel passages in Samuel and Kings; and 3) כתיב-readings.

In support of these results, I should now like to refer to the conclusions I arrived at in my monograph NTS with regard to the sources of the Old Testament in Greek. I could prove there the previous existence of two independent Greek Bible translations of the Septuagint-type, which in turn were based upon two different Hebrew Bibles. As far as the Pentateuch in Greek is concerned, these two different Hebrew *Vorlagen* may be identified as more or less represented by the Masoretic and Samaritan Pentateuch, respectively (cf. NTS, especially chapter XI, pp. 242 seq., and the concluding remarks of chapter XVI on p. 278 there). In other words, the Hebrew Bible — or at least very considerable portions thereof — was originally known in two recensions, which in their turn even served as bases for two respective translations into Greek.

On the *terminus ad quem*, how long these recensions continued their separate existence, and at what approximate period we might fix the time of their final merger into the one Hebrew Bible (which in certain parallel chapters still preserves the original two-recensional character), cf. NTS, chapter XVIII, p. 283 seq.

6. *The Examples of the Talmud Re-interpreted*

I am under the impression that the instances which the Talmud lists in Ned. 37b in order to explain the terms כתיב and קרי do not represent just casual variants, but were deliberately chosen so as to illustrate some of the characteristic differences between the two types or recensions of the original Hebrew Bible:

פֶּרֶת דְּבִלְכְתוּ reflects the use of הַנָּהָר or פְּרֶת for the Euphrates; cf. p. 302.

אִישׁ דְּכֹאשֶׁר יִשְׁאַל אִישׁ בְּדִבְרֵי הָאֱלֹהִים: the indefinite pronoun "one" (German: man) is expressed in Hebrew by אִישׁ or merely by the 3rd person of the predicative verb; cf. Ex. 10.23: וְלֹא יוּכַל לִרְאוֹת אֶת הָאָרֶץ with ib. verse 5: קָרַי וְלֹא כְּתִיב אִישׁ מִתַּחְתִּיו. In terming this use of אִישׁ as כְּתִיב, the Talmud — according to our interpretation — wishes to indicate that Recension A has it, but not Recension B. In NTS, pp. 242 seq. in conjunction with p. 278, I proved the close interconnection between the Samaritan Pentateuch and the obelus-type, and between the Masoretic Pentateuch and the asterisk-type of the Septuagint. With the results of our discussion in the preceding paragraph in mind, we may claim the asterisk-type for Recension A, and the obelus-type for Recension B. And now we can illustrate the Talmudic example under discussion by way of reference to Origen's Hexapla. We note here the following instances, which have this particular use of אִישׁ in common with the passage, which the Talmud quotes:

Deut. 28.54: הָאִישׁ הָרֶךְ: O': ※ ο ἀνὴρ[×] ο ἀπαλός;

2 Ki. 18.31: וְשָׁחוּ אִישׁ: O': καὶ πῖεται ※ ἀνὴρ;

Isa. 36.6: אִישׁ יִסְמַךְ אִישׁ עָלָיו: O': ὡς ἀνεπιστημισθῆ[×] ※ ἀνὴρ[×] ἐπ' αὐτῇ. In these cases, אִישׁ signifies "someone"; its Greek equivalent ἀνὴρ is quoted *sub asterisco*, which means: it was added on the evidence of a Septuagint text which was based upon a Hebrew Bible of the Recension A-type. This shows that the usage of אִישׁ in this meaning is typical for Recension A, in accordance with our interpretation of the Talmud.

אֶת דֶּהֱגַד הִגַּד: the use of the *nota accusativi* אֶת to indicate the verbal object is termed קָרַי וְלֹא כְּתִיב. I must confess that the examples which I listed in HPT § 119 lead to the assumption of the contrary, namely that the use of אֶת is characteristic of Recension B (and not A). It is, therefore, perhaps significant that the example דֶּהֱגַד הִגַּד, which the Talmud quotes, finds

no support in the reading of our Bible (cf. also רבנו ניסים's remark, quoted here on p. 300). Similarly אלי דהגרן and אלי אל: the use of אל with verbs of speech (with reference to דהשערים: the use of אל with verbs of speech (with reference to קרי ולא in Ruth 3.5, and אמר ib. verse 17) is termed קרי ולא כתיב. But in HPT § 117a, c we could show it to be a characteristic feature of Recension B. Whether the Talmud erroneously listed these instances under the wrong heading, I dare not assert, though the number of examples listed under קריין ולא כתיב, seven, seems to suggest that the last two are not genuine; the preceding term עיטור סופרים and the following term כתבן קריין ולא קריין have only five examples each. The Munich Ms. reads 'את דהשעורים' (instead of אלי דהשערים). However, it is enough for me to have so plainly pointed to the only existing difficulty in the application of my theory.

נא דיסלח: the addition of the particle נא to stress the meaning of supplication (referring to 2 Ki. 5.18) is termed קרי ולא כתיב. In our own terminology we would call it: characteristic of Recension B (as against A); cf. HPT § 124b 5, where this one example finds further support in an additional number of similar cases listed there.

זאת דהמצוה: whether or not the article includes the meaning of a demonstrative pronoun. The reference can not be located (cf. the quotations from רשי and רבנו ניסים on p. 300), but its implication is clear: המצוה or זאת המצוה; the choice of the noun מצוה is obviously irrelevant. The use of the demonstrative pronoun in addition to the article is termed קרי ולא כתיב, hence: typical for Recension B. Cf. HPT § 95, where I could list further evidence for this characteristic feature of Recension B.

אם דכי גואל: the use of אם כי or simply כי in the meaning "but" (with reference to Ruth 3.12) is termed קרי ולא כתיב, i. e. particular for Recension B. Cf. HPT § 124b 3 and the

notes 413 and 414 thereon, where this assertion finds further substantiation.

As to the examples of the Masoretic note in the Codex Petropolitanus, which we quoted above p. 300, they contain in addition to Ruth 3.12 (which is cited there as **אם ואל**) three more instances of this characteristic difference: **אם במקום** (2 Sam. 15.21), **אם אמנון** (2 Sam. 13.33) and **אם כאשר** (Jer. 39.12). In these cases, **אם** is preceded by **כי**.

The cases of **ידרך דהדורך** (Jer. 51.3) and **חמש דפאת נוב** (Ezek. 48.16) are merely examples for dittography; cf. HPT § 35.

Of a similar nature — exemplifying the interchangeability of certain letters — is the **כתיב** and **קרי** referred to in Sanh. 20a: **דרש רבא. מאי דכתיב: ויבא כל העם להכרות את דוד? כתיב להכרות וקרינן להברות! בתחלה להכרותו. ולבסוף להברותו.** Here the verse 2 Sam. 3.35 is expounded in a midrashic way, which is based upon the observation that the text has as **כתיב** the reading **להכרות**, and as **קרי** the word **להברות** instead. While our Bible, which goes back to Jacob ben Chayim's edition (cf. p. 296), offers **להברות** without any Masoretic note thereon, the first Rabbinic Bible, Venice 1515/7, has here as text-reading actually **להכרות** and as marginal note **להברות**. Thus, the textual basis for the statement of the Talmud is fully substantiated; for the fact that the Venice 1515/7 edition brings **להברות** merely as a marginal note, without classing it as **קרי**, can not be used as an argument against this evidence, since this edition lists the marginal notes anonymously throughout and does not use the term **קרי** in order to differentiate between them. Now, the only difference between these two readings, which the Talmud styles **כתיב** and **קרי** respectively, is the interchange between **כ** and **ב**; cf. HPT § 23. Consequently, this case reflects, like the two cases from Ned. 37b mentioned last, merely the paleographic condition of the Bible manuscripts of

those days, and is of no consequence for the solution of the problem of כתיב and קרי now under investigation.

For a similar case in the Talmud, where the explanation of a Bible verse is based on an interchange between כ and ב as compared with our Bible; cf. Ber. 7b: רב הונא רמי: כתיב לענותו. ובכתיב לכלותו? ובכתיב לכלותו. ולבסוף לכלותו. "R. Huna tried to reconcile the difference in the expression which the Bible uses with regard to the future of Israel. In 2 Sam. 7.10 it is written: 'and the children of wickedness shall not afflict it any more'; but in the parallel narrative 1 Chron. 17.9 the word *destroy it* is written instead. This reflects the evil intentions of these children of wickedness towards Israel: first they aim only at affliction, but finally at complete destruction of Israel." The basis of this explanation is the reading לכלותו in the passage 1 Chron. 17.9. But our Bible has לבלתו here, and thus cannot have been the *Vorlage* of the Talmud. On the interchangeability of the letters כ and ב, cf. HPT § 23.

Phonetic confusions, too, sometimes play a role in such midrashic explanations of the Talmud; cf. Sanh. 103a: אמר רבי יוחנן משום רבי שמעון בר יוחאי. מאי דכתיב: ויתפלל אליו ויחתר לו? ויעתר לו מיבעי ליה! מלמד שעשה לו הקב"ה כמין ויחתר לו. מחתרת ברקיע. כדי לקבלו בתשובה מפני מדת הדין. "R. Johanan said on the authority of R. Simeon b. Johai: What is meant by: "and he prayed unto Him and an opening was made for him" (2 Chron. 33.13)? Should not "and was entreated of Him" rather have been written? — This teaches that the Holy One blessed be He made for him a kind of opening in the Heavens in order to accept him with his repentance, on account of the Attribute of Justice, which was against it." This is based on a reading ויחתר; but our Bible actually offers ויעתר which — according to the Talmud — *should* have been written there! On the interchange between ח and ע due to the similarity of their phonetic value, cf. HPT § 6.

IV. THE PROBLEM OF מלאים וחסרים

7. *The Talmudic Statement*

The uncertainty in matters of spelling Hebrew words: whether and when to apply the vowel-letters to indicate the respective vowel, finds its clear expression in *Kid.* 30a (cf. the parallels in Rabbinic literature in Higginson's *מסכת סופרים*, chapter IX, section 2) לפיכך נקראו ראשונים סופרים. שהיו סופרים כל האותיות: (2) שבתורה. שהיו אומרים: וא"ו דְּנָחֹן חֲצִיין של אותיות של ספר תורה... בעי רב יוסף: וא"ו דְּנָחֹן מהאי גיסא או מהאי גיסא? אמרו ליה: ליתי ספר תורה ולימניהו! מי לא אמר רבה בר בר חנה: לא זזו משם עד שהביאו ספר תורה ומנאום? אמר להון: אינהו בקיאי בחסירות ויתרות. "The early scholars were called *soferim* (cf. 1 Chron. 2.55), because they used to count all the letters of the Torah. Thus they said: The *waw* in נָחֹן (Lev. 11.42) marks half the letters of the Torah... R. Joseph propounded: Does the *waw* in נָחֹן belong to the first half or the second? Said the scholars to him: Let a Scroll of the Torah be brought, and we will count them! Did not Rabbah b. Bar Ḥanah say (on a similar occasion): They did not stir from there until a Scroll of the Torah was brought and they counted them? Answered he to the scholars: *They were thoroughly versed in the defective and plene spellings, but we are not.*"

This general statement is being corroborated by Talmudic references to the spelling of specific words. In *Ket.* 5a we read: השיב בבלי אחר. ורבי חייא שמו: ויבשת ידיו יצרו. ידו כתיב. "Here a Babylonian scholar interrupted the discourse (of a Palestinian colleague) and his name was R. Ḥiyya by referring to the verse Ps. 95.5, where God's hands are spoken of (in connection with the creation) as a plural: יָדָיו. He got the reply: the actual spelling of the word in question in the text is de-

fective: ידו, thus implying a singular." This statement contrasts with the *plene*-spelling in our Bible!

The Palestinian Talmud, too, contains evidence for this fact that at that early period, the spelling differed from the one which our Bible has adopted; cf. Yer. Ber. VII, 11c: מה מקיימין רבנן טעמא דרבי יוסי הגלילי? במקהלות. בכל קהילה וקהילה. "How will the Rabbis explain the argument of R. Josse ha-Gelili? The answer is: The plural במקהלות (Ps. 68.27) has collective meaning, embracing the multitude of single communities. To this R. Ḥanina the son of R. Abahu replied: Your supposition is wrong, because the word is spelled *defective* as במקהל (thus implying a singular)." But our Bible has the word in *plene* spelling!

The controversy in the Talmud, whether יש אם למקרא or יש אם למסרת: whether we are guided in our conclusions by the pronunciation (מקרא) or the spelling (מסרת) of a given word in the Bible, sheds light on our problem, too; cf. Sanh. 4a: רבי ורבי יהודה בן רועץ ובית שמאי ורבי שמעון ורבי עקיבא. כולו סבירא להו: יש אם למקרא... בית שמאי דתנן... ואמר רב הונא: מאי טעמא דבית שמאי? קרנות. קרנות. קרנות. הרי כאן שש... ובית הלל אומר: קרנות. קרנות. קרנות. הרי כאן ארבע. "Rabbi and R. Judah b. Ro'ez, the Shammaites, R. Simeon and R. Akiba, all hold that the pronunciation of the word is determinant in Biblical exposition... R. Huna said: What basis in the Bible text have the Shammaites for their opinion? The answer is: The word קרנות, meaning horns of the altar, occurs three times in the context (Lev. 4.25, 30, 34) and, being pronounced *karnoth*, as a plural, each occurrence implies two sprinklings; that makes six altogether... But the Hillelites argue from the way the word in question is spelled: twice *defective*, implying only one sprinkling each, and once *plene*; this makes four sprinklings altogether." This reference to the spelling of the word is in open

contrast with our Bible, where all three occurrences appear in *defective* spelling.

Similarly we read in Sanh. 4b: **וְדָכוּלִי עֵלְמָא יִשׁ אַם לְמִקְרָא?** **וְהִתְנִיָּא:** **לְטַטְפַּת. לְטַטְפַּת. לְטוּטְפוֹת.** **הָרִי כָאן אַרְבַּע.** **דְּבָרֵי רַבִּי יִשְׁמַעְאֵל.** "But do all, indeed, regard the pronunciation of the word as determinant? Has it not been taught: The word for "frontlets" occurs three times in the Torah, twice in *defective* spelling, implying only one section each, and once *plene*, thus indicating altogether the four sections, into which the phylacteries are to be divided." The word occurs Ex. 13.16; Deut. 6.8 and Deut. 11.18. The controversy here refers to the spelling of the ending of the word: whether *plene* **וּת**, thus necessitating us to see in it a plural-form, or *defective* **ת**, classing it as a singular. Against this statement of R. Ismael cf. our Bible, where the word is spelled in all three instances with a *defective* ending **ת**.

8. Rashi and Tosaphot

In the Talmudic statement quoted last, R. Ismael does not explain which of the three occurrences of **לְטַטְפַּת** is spelled *plene*, and which *defective*. In commenting upon this passage, Rashi identifies them by saying: **בְּפֶרֶשֶׁת שְׁמַע וּבְפֶרֶשֶׁת כִּי יִבְיֵאךְ** **כְּתִיב לְטַטְפַּת חֶסֶד וִי"ו.** **אָבֵל בְּפֶרֶשֶׁת וְהָיָה אִם שְׁמוֹעַ כְּתִיב לְטוּטְפוֹת** **מֵלֵא.** "In Deut. 6 and in Ex. 13 the word is spelled **לְטַטְפַּת**, *defective*, implying a singular; but in Deut. 11 that word appears *plene* as **לְטוּטְפוֹת**, thus indicating a plural. Hence we derive the law of the four divisions for the frontlet." We thus see that in this particular controversial instance, Rashi's Bible had preserved the same reading as that which we have to surmise for the Talmudic period. But already his grandson's Bible exhibited in this passage the reading of our own Bible (as against Talmud and Rashi); cf. **תּוֹסֵפוֹת דָּה** **לְטַטְפַּת לְטַטְפַּת לְטוּטְפוֹת:** **חִימָא.** **דְּלֹא כְּתִיב וִי"ו בֵּין פ"ה לְתִי"ו**

בכולהו. "R. Ismael's conclusion is surprising, since in none of the three passages is there a *waw* between the ו and ה (to indicate the *plene* spelling of the ending)."

Even more outspoken in underlining the apparent discrepancy between Biblical quotations in the Talmud and the respective text-readings in their proper places in the Bible itself, is another marginal gloss on Shab. 55b. Here the Talmud asserts: והכתיב מעבירים? אמר רב הונא בריה דרב יהושע: מעבירם. כתיב. "But it is written (1 Sam. 2.24): 'ye (scil. plural) cause the Lord's people to transgress'? To this replied R. Huna the son of R. Joshua: It is written: 'he (singular) causes them to transgress'." The interpretation of R. Huna is based upon the spelling of the word. According to his assertion which arose no contradiction, the spelling of the ending is defective (merely ם, and not ים), and implies that the subject is in the singular. The Tosaphot avail themselves of this opportunity of an obvious difference between the Bible text itself and the quotation in the Talmud, to point out another similar case; cf. תוספות דה. מעבירם כתיב: השם שלנו חולק על הספרים שלנו. שכתוב בהם מעבירים. וכן מצינו בירושלמי בשמשון: והוא שפט את ישראל ארבעים שנה. מלמד שהיו פלשתים יראים ממנו עשרים שנה אחר מותו כמו בחייו. ובכל הספרים שלנו כתיב: עשרים שנה. "The Talmud text disagrees with our Bible text which offers the reading מעבירים (in 1 Sam. 2.24), implying a plural. Similarly we find a discrepancy between the Palestinian Talmud text and our Bible text in the case of Samson. The Palestinian Talmud quotes Judg. 16.31 as: 'And he judged Israel forty years.' The apparent contradiction between this indication and that of Judg. 15.20, where Samson's period of rule is given as twenty years, is explained in this fashion: hence the Philistines dreaded him for twenty years after his death just as in his lifetime. But our Bible text has both in Judg. 16.31 and 15.20 equally 'twenty years'." Thus the Talmudic interpretation finds according to

the Tosaphot no basis in these readings. Though, strictly speaking, this variant, forty-twenty, does not belong in our present discussion of *plene* and *defective* spelling, I still should like to remark that though the way the Talmud quotes Judg. 16.31 is without foundation in *our* Bible, it most likely was well based in the Bible of those days. Cf. similar uncertainties of transmission concerning the numbers forty and twenty: The verses 2 Ki. 8.26 and 2 Chron. 22.2 are identical; but in 2 Ki. the age of Aḥaziah is given as: **בן עשרים ושנים**, while in 2 Chron. it is: **בן ארבעים ושנים**. Furthermore: according to 1 Sam. 4.18 the period of Eli's judgeship is given as: **ארבעים שנה**; but Origen *ad loc.* is quoted by Field as translating: *εκατοσεν ετη*.

In the preceding discussion of Sanh. 4b, we found Tosaphot's Bible agreeing with our own text, as against the way these words were quoted in the Talmud. This does not yet mean that the Bible in the days of Tosaphot and in ours is the same. It is enough to refer to Men. 43b in order to exclude any such assumption: **תוספות זה שואל מעמך: פירש רבנו תם דהוי מלא**. "R. Tam explains this Talmudic passage by pointing out the fact that in Deut. 10.12 the word **שואל** is spelled *plene*, thus bringing the number of letters in this verse up to hundred." But our Bible has **שאל** in *defective* spelling! Had R. Tam had this our Bible before him, then he would certainly have looked for another possible explanation of this Talmudic passage.

We now return to Rashi (cf. p. 318): On Gen. 25.6 Rashi comments on **דה הפלגשם: חסר כתיב. שלא היתה אלא פלגש**. "The ending of the Hebrew term for concubines is in *defective* spelling, thus indicating a singular; for Abraham had only one concubine, Hagar and Keturah being two names for one and the same person." But in our Bible the ending is spelled *plene*: **הפלגשים**, and clearly signifies a plural.

A similar case is that of Num. 7.1 on דָּה וַיְהִי בַיּוֹם כָּלוּת מֹשֶׁה: כָּלָת כְּתִיב. יוֹם הַקֶּמֶת הַמִּשְׁכָּן הָיוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּכֹלָה הַנִּכְנָסָה לַחֹפֶה. "The Hebrew equivalent for 'made an end (finished)' appears in *defective* spelling and thus resembles the Hebrew word for 'bride'; for on the day when the tabernacle was set up, Israel was like a bride, ready to enter the canopy." Not only does our Bible offer the word in question in a *plene* spelling, but in addition to it there is a Masoretic note on it saying: לֹמֶל: this word occurs only here and is spelled *plene*!

A ritual still in common use in Israel is involved in Deut. 6.9. Here Rashi remarks on דָּה מִזְוֹת בֵּיתֶיךָ: מִזְוֹת כְּתִיב. שְׁאִין צָרִיךְ אֶלָּא אַחַת מִזְוֹת. "The ending of the Hebrew word for 'door-posts' is spelled *defective*, implying a singular; accordingly, one *mezuzah* is enough." But our Bible exhibits מִזְוֹת, with a *plene* spelling of the ending; and this implies a plural!

V. THE PROBLEMS OF סְפָרִי כוֹלְהוּ דְקִדּוּקֵי

9. The Division into Verses

The statement in Kid. 30a, parts of which we cited above on p. 316 in order to inaugurate our investigation of the problem of spelling, contains also remarks of basic importance with regard to the way of dividing the Bible text into verses. For the sake of clarity of presentation, the repetition of the introductory phrases is unavoidable: לפִּיכֶךְ נִקְרָאוּ רֵאשׁוֹנִים סוֹפְרִים. שֶׁהָיוּ סוֹפְרִים כָּל הָאוֹתִיּוֹת שֶׁבְּתוֹרָה. שֶׁהָיוּ אוֹמְרִים: ... וְהִתְגַּלַּח וְחֲצִיּוֹן שֶׁל פְּסוּקִים [שֶׁל סֵפֶר תּוֹרָה] ... וְהָיָה רְחוּם יְכַפֵּר עֲוֹן חֲצִי דְפְּסוּקִים [שֶׁל תְּהִלִּים] ... בְּעֵי רַב יוֹסֵף: וְהִתְגַּלַּח מֵהָאֵי גִיסָא. "The early scholars were called *soferim*, because they used to count all the letters of the Torah. Thus they said: ... וְהִתְגַּלַּח (Lev.

13.33) marks half of the verses of the Torah... והוא רחום ... יכפר עון (Ps. 78.38) half of the verses of the Psalms... R. Josef propounded: Does והתגלח belong to the first half or the second? Said the scholars to him: For the verses at least we can bring a Scroll of the Torah and count them! But the answer was: *In the division of verses we are not certain, either.*"

In passing we wish to point out that according to a Masoretic note Lev. 8.8 is the middle verse of the Pentateuch; from Lev. 8.8 till ib. 13.33 there are 160 verses, too many to be ascribed only to faulty counting. According to מסכת סופרים ed. Higger, chapter IX, section 2, the middle verse begins with וישחט; on the location of this verse cf. Higger's note *a. l.*

The expression לא בקיאין "we are not certain" with regard to the division into verses in the Talmudic statement just quoted seems to imply that no fixed and generally recognized division of the text into verses was known at that period. Different schools may have followed their own respective stylistic taste in subdividing scriptural portions into verses. In Meg. 22a we have positive evidence for this explanation of ours: רב אמר: ... כל פסוקא דלא פסקיה משה. אנן לא פסקין ליה. רב אמר: ... כל פסוקא דלא פסקיה משה. אנן לא פסקין ליה. ושמואל אמר: פסקין ליה. "Rab said: ... Any verse which Moses had not divided, we do not divide; but Samuel said: we do divide it." The reference to Moses as authority in matters of division into verses merely seeks to claim greater antiquity for a certain system of division; cf. the terming of the Masoretic activities as הלכה למשה מסיני in the Talmudic passage quoted here above, p. 299.

Further support for our interpretation of the implication of the expression לא בקיאין may be found in a statement in Kid. 30a (following the statement cited above and referred to): כי אתא רב אחא בר אדא אמר: במערבא פסקי ליה להאי קרא לתלתא פסוקי: ויאמר ה' אל משה הנה אנכי בא אליך בעב הענן. "When R. Aḥa b. Adda came (from Palestine to Babylon), he

said: *In the west* (scil. Palestine) *the one verse Ex. 19.9 is divided into three verses.*"

Was the verse Ex. 19.9 the only instance, in which the Palestinians differed so widely from the Babylonians on this point? Or is Ex. 19.9 merely referred to as one example (but by no means the only one!) to illustrate the immediately preceding assertion *בפסוקי נמי לא בקיאין* "in the division of verses are we not certain, either"? We are inclined to favor this second alternative, in support of which even another Talmudic statement may be cited, which follows right after the one quoted last. It reads (cf. Higger's *אוצר הברייכות*, Vol. V, p. 561, #281): *תנו רבנן: חמשה אלפים ושמונה מאות ושמונים ושמונה פסוקים הוו פסוקי ספר תורה. יתר עליו תהלים שמונה. חסר ממנו דברי הימים שמונה.* "Our Rabbis taught: There are 5888 verses in the Torah; the Psalms exceed this number by 8, while Chronicles are less by 8." These three Biblical books were selected for a comparison in the number of their verses for an obvious reason: because they provided the Talmud with an example for a play on the number 8: we have 5888, 5888+8 and 5888-8. Hence, there can be no room for any doubt in the exactness of the tradition concerning the numbers given.

Let us now compare these numbers with the respective indications of the Masora on our Bible. In parenthesis I bring the number according to the Talmud: Pentateuch: 5845 (5888); Psalms: 2527 (5896); Chronicles: 1656 (5880). We discard the discrepancy concerning the number of the verses of the Pentateuch, since the difference is insignificant. But the proportion of the numbers as given by the Masora to those of the Talmud is for the Psalms approximately 1:2, and for Chronicles almost 1:4. This can surely not be attributed to a mistake in counting, but positively reflects a difference in the respective system of division, with one system (Masora) favoring larger sentences (verses), while the other (Talmud) preferred short ones.

In the light of these results we shall now be able to interpret the Tosaphot on Meg. 22a: **בפרשה פחות דה אין מתחילין משום הנכנסין. שלא יטעו לומר שאותו שקרא לפניו לא קרא אלא שני פסוקים. וקשה על מנהג שלנו. שאנו קורין בפרשת ויחל בתעניות. והראשון מתחיל שם. והוא לסוף שני פסוקים מפרשה שלמעלה. וכן המפטיר ביו"ט בחוה"מ דפסח.** "In reading from the Torah at services we do not read less than three verses together at the beginning of a section. This is done out of apprehension that late comers might err in assuming that someone who was called up first read only two verses from the Torah. Now the difficulty arises with regard to our custom: On public fast days we read the section beginning with **ויחל** (Ex. 32.11). The first person to be called up starts there, though only two verses separate it from the preceding section. Similarly he who is called up as "*maftir*" on the intermediate days of the Passover-festival begins his reading of the Torah with **והקרבתם** (Num. 28.19), and this, too, is only two verses removed from the beginning of the section." In comparing this statement with our Bible we find that Ex. 32.11 is four verses removed from the beginning of the section (Ex. 32.7), and Num. 28.19 three verses (Num. 28.16). Had Tosaphot had any knowledge of these facts, then no question **וקשה על מנהג שלנו** would have been asked, since only three verses' distance from the section are required by the law. The continuity of the narrative in these sections excludes any explanation that according to Tosaphot the sectional division of these passages must have been a different one. We thus see that the two verses, according to the division of Tosaphot, correspond to our four or three verses, respectively. This means a proportion of 1:1½ or even 1:2.

The very same proportional difference in the methods applied in dividing the verses can be demonstrated on the basis of our Bible also, by way of internal evidence. Certain genealogic or

historic material appears twice in our Bible; but its division into verses follows different stylistic rules or taste.

1. One verse in Chron. corresponds to $1\frac{1}{2}$ verses elsewhere:

1 Chron. 1.17 = Gen. 10.22, 23b

“ 1.30 = “ 25.14, 15a

“ 1.40 = “ 36.23, 24a

“ 16.29 = Ps. 96.8, 9a

“ 17.13 = 2 Sam. 7.14a, 15

2 Chron. 13.2 = 1 Ki. 15.2, 7b

“ 24.1 = 2 Ki. 12.1, 2b

2. One verse in Chron. corresponds to two verses elsewhere:

1 Chron. 1.42 = Gen. 36.27, 28

“ 1.43 = “ 36.31, 32

“ 6.42 = Josh. 21.13, 14

“ 10.12 = 1 Sam. 31.12, 13

“ 17.1 = 2 Sam. 7.1, 2

2 Chron. 9.1 = 1 Ki. 10.1, 2

3. One third of a verse in Chron. corresponds to a full verse elsewhere:

1 Chron. 2.3c = Gen. 38.7

4. One and a half-verse in Chron. correspond to one verse elsewhere:

1 Chron. 21.11a, 12 = 2 Sam. 24.13

2 Chron. 7.8, 9b = 1 Ki. 8.65

10. The Division into Sections

While discussing the Tosaphot in Meg. 22b with regard to the division into verses, we emphasized that the continuity of the narrative in the passages referred to by Tosaphot makes it im-

possible to affirm a different sectional division as the solution of the difficulty (p. 324). We thus admitted that but for the logical interconnection of the verses under discussion, we might have questioned the correctness of the tradition concerning the sectional division in our Bible. In doing so, we would be in a position to refer to the authority of a Talmudic statement which plainly upsets the Masoretic division into sections; the resulting discrepancy becomes even more striking by the elaborate working out of the details involved in the comment of Tosaphot. We refer to Pes. 117a (cf. also Higger's **מסכת סופרים**, chapter XX, section 7, and his Introduction p. 33): **אמר רב חסדא: הללויה סוף פירקא. רבה בר רב הונא אמר: הללויה ריש פירקא. אמר רב חסדא: חזינא להו לתילי דבי רב חנין בר רב. דכתיב בהו הללויה באמצע פירקא. אלמא מספקא ליה. אמר רב חנין בר רב: הכל מודים בתהלת ה' ידבר פי וידבר כל בשר שם קדשו לעולם ועד. הללויה דבתריה ריש פירקא. רשע יראה וכעס שניו יחרק ונקם תאות רשעים תאבד. הללויה דבתריה ריש פירקא.** "R. Hisda said: "Hallelujah" marks the end of a chapter; Rabba b. R. Huna said: "Hallelujah" marks the beginning of a chapter. R. Hisda observed: I saw that in the copies of the Psalms used in the college of R. Hanin b. Rab, "Hallelujah" was written in the middle of a chapter, *which proves that he was in doubt*. — R. Hanin b. Rab said: All agree that in the case of Ps. 145.21, the "Hallelujah" which follows it is the beginning of the next Psalm (Ps. 146.1); in Ps. 112.10, the "Hallelujah" which follows it commences the next Psalm (Ps. 113.1); and also in the passage "Ye that stand in the house of the Lord" (Ps. 135.2), the following "Hallelujah" commences the next Psalm (Ps. 135.3)." A mere glance at our identification of the quotations of the Talmud, which we bring in parenthesis, shows that in the Psalms of the Talmud, the very same verse which forms Ps. 135.3 according to our Bible, marked the

beginning of a new Psalm. Thus, R. Ḥanin b. Rab's doubts as to the division of the Psalms into sections were well founded.

We now turn to Tosaphot's comment: דָּהּ הַכִּי גֵרְסִינִן: שְׁעוּמִדִּים בְּבֵית הָ בַחצֵרוֹת בֵּית אֱלֹהֵינוּ. הַלְלוּיָהּ דְּבִתְרִיָּה רִישׁ פִּירְקָא. וְלֹא גֵרְסִינִן: הָעוּמִדִּים בְּבֵית הָ בַלִּילוֹת. דָּאִם כֵּן הוּא לִיָּה לְמִינְקָט: יִבְרַךְ הָ מִצִּיּוֹן. שׁוּהוּ פִּסּוּק לְמַעַלָּה מִהַלְלוּיָהּ. וְלֹא הוּא לִיָּה לְמִנְקָט שְׁלֹשָׁה פִּסּוּקִים לְמַעַלָּה. לַכֵּךְ נִרְאָה דְּגֵרְסִינִן כְּדַפְרִישִׁית. וּלְפִי־זֶה אֲנִי צָרִיכִין לֹמַר בּוֹ: הַלְלוּיָהּ הַלְלוּ אֶת שֵׁם הָ הַלְלוּ עַבְדִּי הָ שְׁעוּמִדִּים בְּבֵית הָ וְגוֹמֵר שְׁלִמַעְלָה מִזֶּה אֵינִי תַחֲלַת הַמְזוּמֹר. דְּלֹא יִתְכֵּן שִׁיְהִיָּה הַמְזוּמֹר שְׁנֵי פִּסּוּקִים. וְעוֹד דְּאִמְרִינִן בְּמִדְרַשׁ: קמ"ז מְזוּמֹרִים יֵשׁ בְּסִפְר תְּהִלִּים כִּנְגַד שְׁנוֹת יַעֲקֹב. אֲלֵא הוּא סוּפּוֹ שֶׁל שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת הִנֵּה בִּרְכוּ וְגוֹמֵר. וְאֵתִי שְׁפִיר דְּקִאֲמְרִינִן לְקַמֵּן: רַב אַחָא בְרִי יַעֲקֹב דִּמְתַּחֲלִיל הַלֵּל הַגְּדוֹל מְכִי יַעֲקֹב בַּחֵר לוֹ יְהִי. דְּהוּי תַחֲלִילַת הַמְזוּמֹר. דְּבַעֲנִין אַחֵר לֹא יִתְכֵּן שִׁיְהִיָּה מְתַחֲלִיל הַלֵּל מֵאַמְצַע הַמְזוּמֹר. "The Talmud's last quotation refers to Ps. 135.2 and to the following "Hallelujah" of ib. verse 3; but not to Ps. 134.1, a verse which highly resembles our verse of Ps. 135.2. Had the Talmud thought of citing Ps. 134, it would not have quoted the verse 1 of Ps. 134, but verse 3 there; for it is this verse 3 which is immediately followed by "Hallelujah" (namely Ps. 135.1), while verse 1 of Ps. 134 is three verses ahead of the next "Hallelujah" (namely Ps. 135.1; between Ps. 134.1 and 135.1 are three verses). Hence it is evident that the Talmud had Ps. 135.2 in mind. As a result of this observation we shall say that the verses Ps. 135.1-2 which precede the "Hallelujah," are not the beginning of a Psalm, since in this case the Psalm would consist of two verses only (for "Hallelujah" in verse 3 marks already the beginning of a new Psalm), and this would be in itself an anomaly, and would in addition upset the established number of Psalms which is 147 in accordance with the life-span of the Patriarch Jacob. It thus follows that Ps. 135.1-2 form the end of Ps. 134. This also explains why R. Aḥa b. Jacob, as stated later on, began the Great Hallel with

the verse Ps. 135.4 (since the verses 1–2 of Ps. 135 thus belong to Ps. 134, and verse 3 of this Ps. 135 is merely the introduction of the Psalm, as indicated by הללויה, the Psalm really commences with what is in our Bible verse 4 thereof). He surely would not have started the Great Hallel in the middle of a Psalm! But according to our interpretation, the “Hallelujah” in Ps. 135.3 marks the beginning of a new Psalm, of which Ps. 135.4 is the first verse.”

Again we wish to stress the importance of our indicating the location of Biblical passages in Tosaphot's quotations; by this procedure we have brought into sharp relief the divergences in the division of the Psalms according to Tosaphot as against our Bible. In addition, we desire to point out that Tosaphot's argument: no Psalm consists of two verses only, is further proof of our thesis, since in our Bible Ps. 117 has only two verses. As to the number of Psalms which the Tosaphot give (on the basis of the Midrash) as 147 — while we have 150 — I refer to A. Z. Schwarz' Catalogue of the Hebrew manuscripts of the *Nationalbibliothek* (formerly: *k. k. Hofbibliothek*) in Vienna (published in 1925): In the manuscript no. 5 (described on p. 6 of the Catalogue) the number of Psalms is 147. This number is achieved by the following deviations from the practice of our Bible: Pss. 9 and 10 form only one Psalm in this manuscript; similarly Pss. 70 and 71, Pss. 114 and 115. Ps. 113 of the manuscript corresponds to our Ps. 117–118.4 and consists thus not of two verses only (but of six verses), in accordance with the assertion of the Tosaphot: דלא יתכן שיהיה המזמור שני פסוקים.

11. *The Extraordinary Points* (נקודות)

That by putting a dot above a letter, the scribe meant to indicate that this letter was written by mistake and should, therefore, be erased, is too well known a fact to dwell on here;

cf. במדבר רבה, פרשה ג, סוף הפרשה: ויש אומרים: למה נקוד? אלא כך אמר עזרא: אם יבוא אליהו ויאמר: למה כתבת אותן? אומר לו: כבר נקדתי עליהם. ואם יאמר לי: יפה כתבת! כבר אמחוק נקודותיהם מעליהם. This passage not only explains the origin of the points as meaning *delendum*, but also gives the reason why subsequent scribes did not take the hint and leave these letters out, instead of copying them with their dots above. For, in doing so, they secured for themselves the possibility of an honorable retreat: in case later scholars were of the opinion that the letter thus stigmatized did by right belong to the word, they could still save it by deleting the point. In the language of our own period we would put the thought thus: A word with one or more letters with such points on them represents a combination of two words: one consisting of all the letters written, and another formed by the free letters only.

We shall now discuss from this our point of view the words with such dots in the same order as they are listed in **מסכת סופרים** ed. Higger, chapter VI, section 3; there the parallel Rabbinic sources are mentioned, too:

1. Gen. 16.5: **וישפוט ה' ביני וביניך**: a combination of **ויבִינֶיךָ** and **ויבִינֶךָ**. The *mater lectionis* " merely indicates the vowel, but not the number (sing. or plur.) of the suffix; cf. HPT § 78.
2. Gen. 18.9: **ויאמרו אליו**; against this way of putting the points already Mueller in his edition, p. 87, suggested the order **ואי**, namely: **ויאמרו אליו**. This results in the readings: **ויאמרו אליו** and **ויאמר לו**; cf. HPT § 117. Note also the singular **ויאמר** in the following verse 10.
3. Gen. 19.33: **ולא ידע בשכבה ובקומה**; hence *plene* spelling **ובקומה** or *defective* **ובקומה**; cf. HPT § 40c.

4. Gen. 33.4: ויפל על צואריו וישקהו: a textual difference.
5. Gen. 37.12: וילכו אחיו לרעות את צאן אביהם: on the use of the *nota accusativi* את cf. HPT § 119.
6. Num. 3.39: כל פקודי הלוי אשר פקד משה ואהרן: a textual difference; cf. ib. verse 14: the command was issued to Moses alone.
7. Num. 9.10: או בדרך רחוקה; this leads to: רחוקה and (or) רחוק. The gender of דרך is given as masc. or fem.; cf. HPT § 88, especially note 289.
8. Num. 21.30: ונשים עד נפח אשר; the two readings are: אשר and אש; cf. πύρ in the Septuagint, and אש in the Hebrew Pentateuch of the Samaritans.
9. Num. 29.15: ועשרון עשרון; but according to the parallel Rabbinic source in במדבר רבה, the passage Num. 28.21 is meant: עשרון עשרון: "a tenth" in a distributive sense can thus be expressed either by the repetition of the term, or by the simple term: עשרון עשרון or עשרון; cf. similarly Gen. 7.2: שנים with SAM.: שנים שנים; ib. verse 16: זכר ונקבה with SAM.: זכר ונקבה זכר ונקבה; Num. 4.19: איש איש with SAM.: איש; 1 Chron. 21.3: כהם with 2 Sam. 24.3: כהם וכהם; 2 Chron. 4.18: מאד with 1 Ki. 7.47: מאד מאד.
10. Deut. 29.28: הנסתרות לה אלהינו והגלות לנו ולבנינו עד: עולם. The ע in עד leaves the ד without support; I, therefore, believe that the dot over the ע originates in a confusion of the Masoretic note עד meaning "up to" (עד עד עולם) with the text-word עד. We now get two sentences: the one as spelled above, and the other reading: הנסתרות לה אלהינו והגלות עד עולם.

In Meg. 2b we read the following assertion: ואמר רבי ירמיה ואיתימא רבי חייא בר אבא: מנצפ"ך צופים אמרום. "R. Jeremiah — or you may also say: R. Hīyya b. Abba — also said: The alternative forms of the letters MNZPK were prescribed by the Watchmen."

This rather brief statement is found in a clearer and more elaborate form in Yer. Meg. I, 9: "כל האותיות הכפולים באל"ף בי"ת" (I, 9: "All the double letters in the alphabet, from Aleph to Tet, are written in their original form at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of a word, and in the middle of a word, and the later forms at the end [of a word]. A deviation from this rule makes the Torah unfit for religious use. It is said on the authority of R. Matyah b. Heres: The alternative forms of the letters MNZPK are הלכה למשה מסיני . . . People of Jerusalem were in the habit of writing הלכה למשה מסיני without differentiating; similarly: צפון and ירושלים and ירושלימה and ירושלים without differentiating; similarly: תימנה and תימן; צפונה and צפון." In quoting the text and in the translation I followed the way the words are spelled in the Krotoschin edition. The result is only too obvious: the second part of the quotation seems entirely out of place here. The statement deals with the final letters, but suddenly shifts over to what appears to be an indifference of the inhabitants of Jerusalem towards the use or omission of the ה *euphonicum* (on this new term, instead of the misleading term ה *locativum* hitherto applied, cf. HPT §§ 103–107). But we can not fail to observe that the examples chosen end either in ם or ן. We, therefore, suggest seeing in the second part of the statement the continuation of rules for the scribe concerning the final

letters, allowing for an exception of the foregoing general assertion **ואם שינה פסל**, in keeping with the custom prevalent in Jerusalem. We should like to repeat this second part, both in the original and in translation, in order to adjust the spelling of the words in question to our interpretation: **אנשי ירושלים היו כותבין ירושלימ ירושלימה. ולא היו מקפידין. ודכותה: צפונ צפונה. תימן תימנה.** "People of Jerusalem were in the habit of writing **מ** and **נ**, both in medial and final position, and did not differentiate;" with the statement in this revised form cf. HPT § 37a, where additional cases are listed in which **מ** and **נ** are employed in final positions (according to the **כתיב**); cf. also the next paragraph *passim*.

VI. THE EVIDENCE OF THE OLDEST HEBREW BIBLE MS.

ON RECORD

Abraham Epstein in an article "Biblische Textkritik bei den Rabbinen" (*Chwolson-Festschrift*, Berlin 1899, pp. 42 seq.), called attention to a list of variant readings of an ancient Pentateuch manuscript, the Codex Severus, as compared with the readings of the accepted text of those days. This list is contained in several manuscripts of the **בראשית רבה**, and was presented by Epstein in the article just mentioned on the basis of a comparison of all the sources which were available to him. Originally, this list must have had a wide circulation; Epstein proves that even *Ḳimḥi* quoted 't. It is headed by the following introductory remarks: **אלין פסוקיא דהוו כתיבין בספר אורייתא דאשתכח ברומא. והוה גנוזה וסתומה בכנישתא דסוירוס. בשינוי אותיות ותיבות.** We shall follow here the order in which Epstein lists these variants, and accept the readings which he establishes. But the interpretation which we are going to offer, will be based on the results at which we arrived in our independent researches on Biblical philology. A hyphen divides the readings

of the Codex Severus (right) from those of the Bible text then in authority (left):

Gen. 1.31: מֵאֵד (טוב) — מוֹת; cf. TRL, paragraph XXXI 1.

“ 3.21: עוֹר (כתנות) — אֹר; cf. HPT § 3.

“ 18.21: הַכְּצַעְקָתָם — הַכְּצַעְקָתָה; cf. HPT § 32 6.

“ 25.33: בְּכִרְתּוֹ (את) — מְכִרְתּוֹ; cf. HPT § 12; on the nominal form of the variant spelling מְכִירְתּוֹ, cf. HPT § 70a.

Gen. 27.2: יוֹם מוֹתִי — יוֹם מוֹתִי; cf. HPT § 37a, and here the preceding paragraph.

Gen. 27.27: סִדָּה — (כְּרִיחַ) שְׂדֵה; cf. HPT § 8; cf. also Baba Batra 9a the quotation of Isa. 58.7 as: הֲלֹא פָּרוּשׁ לִרְעֵב לַחֲמֵץ. בְּשִׁי"ן כְּתִיב (but in the Bible: פָּרַס).

Gen. 36.5, 14: יַעִישׁ — יַעוּשׁ; cf. HPT § 30.

“ 36.12: בֶּן עֵדָה — בֶּן עֵדָה; cf. HPT § 37a, and here the preceding paragraph.

Gen. 43.15: מִצְרִיִּם — מִצְרִיִּם; cf. HPT § 108c. It is noteworthy that our Bible exhibits here מִצְרִיִּם. This shows that the Bible text which served as basic text for the comparison with the Codex Severus, can not be identified with our Bible.

Gen. 48.7: שֵׁם — שֵׁם; cf. HPT § 37a, and here the preceding paragraph.

Gen. 46.8: מִצְרִיִּם — מִצְרִיִּם; cf. HPT § 108c.

Ex. 12.37: מִרְעָמִים — מִרְעָמִים; cf. HPT § 34.

Lev. 4.34: מִדָּם — מִדָּם; cf. HPT § 37a, and here the preceding paragraph.

Lev. 14.10: תְּמִימִים — תְּמִימָה; cf. HPT § 32 6.

Num. 4.3: הַבָּא — (כָּל) בָּא; cf. HPT § 93b.

“ 36.1: בֶּן יוֹסֵף — בְּנֵי יוֹסֵף; cf. HPT § 34.

Deut. 1.26: אֲבִיתָם — אֲבִיתָם; cf. HPT § 37a, and here the preceding paragraph.

Deut. 3.20: **הם — המ**; cf. HPT § 37a, and here the preceding paragraph.

Deut. 22.6: **האבנים — הבנים**; cf. HPT § 38a.

“ 32.25: **אף איהם — אפאיהם**; cf. HPT § 37.

C. THE MASORA PARVA (מסרה קטנה) EXAMINED IN THE SOURCES

VII. THE CODEX PETROPOLITANUS

§ 1. *The Masora Originates in Masoretic Lists*

It seems most plausible that the original sources of the marginal Masoretic notes (Masora parva) in our manuscript have been Masoretic compilations in the form of lists. They contained uncommon phenomena in the spelling or the pronunciation of certain Hebrew words, grouping them according to these unusual features which they exhibit:

Jer. 7.32: **חִי. כנמרד. היום. עוד. בספר. כעת. ולציון. יאמר:**
לעם הזה. עוד. התפת. שוע. עזובה. שנ. בת.
מספר. שנ. בת.

This list offers references to 14 instances only and is, therefore, incomplete; for **חִי** states that the word occurs 18 times. The Tiberian vowel-signs **..** under **חִי** are an addition, presumably from another source, since the genuine vocalization of the Masora to this manuscript applies the Babylonian system; cf. § 5. The addition of the vocalization **..** results in a disagreement between the list and MT; for **יאמר** in connection with **כנמרד** (Gen. 10.9), **בספר** (Num. 21.14), and **ולציון** (Ps. 87.5) is vocalized **יֶאֱמַר** in MT. But of by far greater importance for us here is the fact that, incomplete though this list is, it contains a reference to **התפת** as item number 9; and **התפת** refers to the very same verse, Jer. 7.32, where this note is found. The Ma-

sorete substantiated his statement ח'י by adding the catchwords of the list, the heading of which was ח'י.

The following examples are similarly excerpts of lists; we indicate the respective headings by extra spacing:

Hos. 1.2: זנה ל. אלה. נדמה. פנה. כהה. הלין דכת הי :זנה
בס מלתא וק וא.

After remarking that זנה occurs only here in this spelling, the Masoretic note mentions four more verbs of the *tertiæ* ה group in the absolute infinitive which are spelled with ה at the end; this ה serves as *mater lectionis* for the vowel *o* which elsewhere is indicated by *waw*.

Ezek. 40.4: ל מל. ב. את כחי: הראותך כת. הלין: הראותכה
הראותכה. והוא מן כ מלין דכת
הי בסוף תיב.

The brief note ל מל: the word does not occur any more in this *plene* spelling, is followed by an elaborate statement: Twice this verbal form occurs in the Bible: in Ex. 9.16 ending in ך, but here in כה; and this is one of the twenty words which have (in connection with כ) a ה as *mater lectionis* in final position.

Ezek. 37.22: יו ק. והוא מן יד מלין הי כת בסוף :יהיה
יו ק.

The structure of this note closely follows the pattern which we described in the preceding example: First a short remark on the word under consideration (יו ק); and then an abstract of the pertinent list: this is one of the 14 cases, in which ה is written but *waw* (as *mater lectionis* for *u*) is heard in the pronunciation.

In the examples which we discussed till now, the respective Masoretic notes at least take cognizance of the somewhat peculiar spelling or pronunciation of a given word. The Masoretic lists which are quoted — in full or merely by their headings — in this connection, show further instances of the same grammatical phenomenon. But our assertion that such Masoretic lists were

the original basis of all marginal Masoretic notes will become even more convincing, when we turn to the following examples:

Isa. 48.15: מן ז מלין ג ג אתין בהון :אני.

This is one of the seven trilateral words (which are repeated).

Isa. 57.1: מן כט הפסוקין דסופיהון כרישיהון :הצדיק.

There are 29 verses, in which the first and the last word are identical; this is one of them.

Isa. 10.13: א ל ק. מן מח דנס א בימצע תיב :כאביר.
ולא קר.

There are in all 48 cases in which (like here) **א** is spelled in medial position, but not pronounced.

It seems that the Masorete had a number of Masoretic lists in front of him. He must have felt that somehow he had to dispose of them and make their contents available to those who might use the manuscript.

§ 2. *The Text Contradicts the Masoretic Note*

In many instances, where the marginal Masoretic note points to some detail of the spelling or pronunciation of the word in question, this statement is in open contradiction to the actual text of the manuscript. This proves that the compilers of the Masoretic lists, whence these notes emanate, had as *Vorlage* the Hebrew Bible in a different textual type before them, and that this fact had remained unnoticed by the author of the marginal Masora in our manuscript:

Ezek. 37.3: לת מל ובתרין יו"ד :התחינה.

The Masoretic note asserts that nowhere else but here does this word occur in *plene* spelling, namely with two ' . Still, the text offers a *defective* spelling, exhibiting only one ' .

Jer. 27.3: **לֹא כֹה הִי וְכִּי הַמִּלֵּאכִים**.

Though the letter ה does not appear in the spelling, it is nevertheless heard in the pronunciation. But the text offers ה in the spelling, too.

Jer. 5.22: **בֹּחַסִּים הָאוֹתִי**.

This word occurs twice, and both times its spelling is *defective*. But our text is quite obviously *plene*.

§ 3. *The Text was Revised so as to Conform with the Masora*

Difficulties of a typographical nature make it impossible for us to reproduce in print the way how the scribal changes discussed in this paragraph are accomplished in the manuscript.

a) BY ELIMINATING A CONTRADICTING VOWEL-LETTER.

Isa. 10.16: **חֹסֶךְ כֹּחַ כְּבוֹדוֹ**.

The original reading **כְּבוֹדוֹ** in *plene* spelling was changed into **כְּבוֹרֵוֹ** by putting a circle round the first *waw*, so as to conform with the Masoretic note which states that the spelling of the word is *defective*. A circle around a letter indicates that this letter was erroneously written and, hence, should be deleted. Similar instances for this procedure are:

Isa. 10.17: **חֹסֶךְ כֹּחַ וְקִדְוָשׁוֹ**

Isa. 24.16: **חֹסֶךְ כֹּחַ זְמִירוֹת**

Jer. 32.41: **חֹסֶךְ יוֹד קֹדֶל לְהִיטִיב**

This formula indicates wherein the defectivity of the spelling consists: the first ' is missing.

Ezek. 37.7: **חֹסֶךְ יוֹד קִדְמָה גִּידִים**

Ezek. 13.20: **קֹדֶל וְחֹסֶךְ מִצֻּדְדוֹת**

b) BY ADDING OR CHANGING A VOWEL-LETTER.

Jer. 44.8: **יֵא דַכַּת בִּיּוֹד : בַּמַּעֲשֶׂה**

The first hand wrote here **בַּמַּעֲשֶׂה**. The reviser found herein an open contradiction to the Masoretic note: that this word is one of the eleven occurrences in a spelling with י'. Consequently he drew a line through the ה in such a manner that a י' actually resulted above the line.

Isa. 3.2: **וּמַל : שִׁפֹּט**

The Masoretic note: that this passage is one of six, in which the word occurs in *plene* spelling (as **שִׁפֹּט**), has induced the reviser to add a ו in the space between the letters ש and פ. The graphic picture which the word now offers, makes it evident that the reviser accomplished his task prior to the vocalizer, since the vowel ' is added to the ו (**שִׁפֹּט**).

Jer. 26.6: **הָ לָךְ : הַזֹּאת**

The Masoretic note remarks: the letter ה appears merely in the spelling, but not in the pronunciation of the word. The word as written down by the first hand (**הַזֹּאת**), actually has a ה in the initial position. But the reviser evidently realized that this ה, being the article, has its place in the pronunciation of the word, and therefore added a final ה. This fact here combined with our observation on the preceding example may lead to the assumption that the reviser and the vocalizer were one and the same person.

Ezek. 11.6: **י לָךְ : וּמִלֵּאחִים**

The reviser must have had a model codex in front of him, while going through this manuscript. For how else could he have known that the Masoretic note refers to י' as an indicator of the vowel *i* and not of the preceding vowel *ē*?

§ 4. *The Masora Based Upon Different Sources*

Thus far, our examples demonstrate contradictions between the text and its marginal Masoretic notes. Consequently, the *Vorlagen* of the Masoretic notes must have been drawn up on the basis of a different textual type of the Bible. Now the question arises: Do they all spring from one and the same source, or were these *Vorlagen* merely a compilation of Masoretic material, originating in and based upon various textual types of the Bible? In other words: are the Masoretic notes consistent within themselves, and do their cross-references agree with one another, so as to corroborate the manuscript's Masoretic statements?

One example will bring clarity into this problem: The word מנחתו occurs twice in the Bible: in Isa. 11.10 and Zech. 9.1. In Isa. 11.10 the manuscript reads: בַּחֶם וְדִמְשֶׁק מְנוּחָתוֹ. We see that the scribe wrote the word *plene*, but the reviser eliminated the first vowel-letter ם (by inserting a circle, cf. § 3a), in accordance with the Masoretic note which says: this word occurs twice in the Bible, both times in *defective* spelling, the second instance being in connection with the noun וְדִמְשֶׁק. This is a cross-reference to Zech. 9.1. But here the manuscript offers: מְנוּחָתוֹ: לַחֶם. According to this note, the instance here is the only one, in which the word occurs in *defective* spelling (note the contradiction between בַּחֶם and לַחֶם!). Hence, in the Bible upon which this second Masoretic note is based, the Isa.-passage must have been spelled *plene*; cf. the original of that spelling by the scribe of our manuscript as מְנוּחָתוֹ!

This internal disagreement between the *Masoretic notes* themselves proves that they do not form a unity reflecting only one Bible text with all the peculiarities of its spelling, but that they *reflect a variety of sources*.

§ 5. *The Terminology*

While discussing the instance from Jer. 7.32 (in § 1) we stated that the Tiberian vowel-signs ֿ ֿ are an addition from another source, since the basic character of the manuscript is Babylonian. In order to prove the correctness of this assertion, I wish to refer to a few cases, in which it is even more obvious that their Tiberian vowel-signs were added later, since they result in a doublet:

Isa. 44.15: $\text{בֿ קֶמֶ} : \text{וּשְׁתַּחֲוִי}$

This note originally read: $\text{בֿ קֶמֶ} : \text{וּשְׁתַּחֲוִי}$ is vocalized with קֶמֶ . The addition of ֿ under the בֿ made קֶמֶ superfluous; as it stands now, the note offers a doublet.

Jer. 10.8: $\text{יֵבֶ פֶּתַח} : \text{מוֹסֵר}$

The components of this doublet are: יֵבֶ פֶּתַח and יֵבֶ . It is noteworthy that the text has a ḵameš ; on the discrepancy between text and Masoretic note cf. § 2.

Isa. 19.20: $\text{הֶ בְּתָרִין קֶמֶ} : \text{וּרֵב}$

A combination of הֶ בְּתָרִין קֶמֶ and הֶ בְּתָרִין .

Our regarding these Tiberian vowel-signs as later additions by no means implies that they were added to our manuscript at a later period. It is quite feasible that the Masorete of our manuscript found them already in his sources. This would lead us to the assumption that these sources already were of a mixed type. There is nothing startling in such an assumption; we even have additional proof for it in the fact that one and the same grammatical phenomenon is described in this Masora by different terms:

Isa. 3.2: $\text{זֶלַע} : \text{שִׁפְט}$;

ib. 10.13: $\text{נִבְנוּתִי כַחַּת} : \text{נִבְנוּתִי}$

The fact that the vowel *o* is indicated by *waw* as a *mater lectionis* is termed once: מלא, and once: כתיב.

Isa. 28.2: חס כח: ואמץ

Jer. 13.2: שים ק: ואשם

In either case the Masora dwells on the fact that the vowel *i* is spelled without a *mater lectionis*. It is quite clear that קרי here cannot mean: read (as against the spelling of the word), since there can be no doubt as to the pronunciation of ואשם, no matter whether with or without י. We do not wish to press this point, we merely argue: As a rule, the terms כתיב and קרי are used to exclude one another. Thus, חס כח: ואמץ implies: but the קרי is with י. On the other hand, שים ק: ואשם means: but the כתיב is without the י. Now, if the terminology were uniform, we would have either

חס כח: ואשם and חס כח: ואמץ

שים ק: ואשם and שים ק: ואמץ.

But, as it stands, these Masoretic notes reflect a different terminology, and this implies: different sources of origin.

This result is being corroborated by the doublet in

Jer. 2.9: עוד ק. || יב דכח חס: עד

This Masoretic note is a combination of עוד ק and יב דכח חס into one note. Thus, the terms קרי and חס, כתיב and מלא, are interchangeably used here.

§ 6. The Terms לא קרי and קרי and their Equivalent in Other Masoretic Sources

a) THE TERM קרי. We have thus far realized that the Masoretic notes in our manuscript go back to different sources, and employ a different terminology for the very same phenomena. Our in-

terest is now focussed on the term קרי: Does this term possess a *unique* significance of its own, or is it merely one of the *several* possibilities of terming certain phenomena? To this end we shall compare a few passages exhibiting this term in our manuscript, with the respective Masoretic notes in BHKK and Ven, which aim at the establishing of the very identical readings. We thus base our investigation on three sources, which are independent of one another:

Isa. 3.8: ל חס: עני; cf. BHKK and Ven: עני ק;

Jer. 13.2: ג חס: ואשם; cf. BHKK and Ven: ואשם ק;

These examples uphold our findings at the end of the preceding paragraph that קרי and חסר are interchangeably used.

Isa. 10.33: ל כת א: פארה; cf. BHKK: פארה ק;

Jer. 30.16: ל ויתיר א: שאסיך; cf. BHKK: שאסיך ק;

Here קרי is interchangeably used with the terms כתיב (אלף) and יתיר (אלף), respectively. Note that in the first instance it is BHKK, and in the second instance Ven, which exhibit this term; cf. also later *bβ*.

b) THE TERM קרי לא. *α)* Often, when the Masorete wished to indicate that a letter, though contained in the spelling of the text, should not be pronounced, he remarked on it: this letter to be לא קרי. The same result is achieved in BHKK and Ven by a somewhat different procedure: here the remaining letters of the word in question are termed קרי. The difference in the Masoretic practice consists therein that our manuscript directs the reader by לא קרי: what to omit, while in BHKK and Ven the reader is told by קרי: what to retain.

1. Jer. 4.5: ק ותקעו; ו ל ק; cf. BHKK and Ven: ותקעו ק
Jer. 8.1: ק ויצאו; ו ל ק; cf. BHKK and Ven: ויצאו ק
(in Ven both the text and the Masoretic note are spelled *plene*: ויצאו ק ויצאו ק).

2. Jer. 2.33: למדתי: ל ק; cf. BHKK and Ven: למדת ק
 Jer. 3.4: קראת ק: קראתי: ל ק; cf. BHKK and Ven: קראת ק
 Jer. 4.30: ואת ק: ואתי: ל ק; cf. BHKK and Ven: ואת ק
 3. Jer. 3.7: ותראה ק: ותראה: ה ל ק; cf. BHKK and Ven: ותראה ק

β) With the results of our discussions in §§ 5 and 6 in mind: that קר does not signify a term of unique importance, but is interchangeably used with such other terms as חסר and יתיר, the following instances find their explanation:

Jer. 1.5: אצורך ק: אצורך: ו ל ק; cf. BHKK: אצרך ק; Ven: ל ומל
 Jer. 5.7: אסלוח ק: אסלוח: ו ל ק; cf. Ven: אסלח ק; BHKK: ו יתיר

§ 7. Each Masoretic Source has קר-Readings of its Own

α) READINGS TERMED קר IN OUR MANUSCRIPT ONLY. On a number of passages, in which the textual reading of our manuscript agrees with that of BHKK and Ven, there is a marked disagreement in the respective Masoretic notes. The marginal Masora on our manuscript exhibits a textual variant termed קר, but in the other sources which are made use of here for comparison (BHKK and Ven) the Masora merely emphasizes the characteristic feature of the spelling of the text, thus endowing it with additional authority, and — possibly — silently rejecting as incorrect the very קר-reading of our manuscript:

Isa. 41.18: שפאים ק: שפיים; cf. BHKK and Ven: שפיים: מל

The note מלא refers to the spelling of the ending יים with two *yod*; in our manuscript the additional א of the קר is *mater lectionis* for the vowel *a* in פ, cf. HPT § 38a.

Isa. 25.6: ממוחאים ק: ממחים; cf. BHKK: חס: ל, Ven: ל

The term חסר (in BHKK) may indicate the absence of *waw* as *mater lectionis* for *u*, or even the spelling of the ending ים with

only one *yod*; cf. the preceding example, where יים is termed מלא. The note לית is — as always — an abbreviation for לית כן: the word does not occur any more in this spelling; cf. also:

Isa. 30.5: להבאיש ק: הוביש ק; cf. BHKK and Ven: להבאיש ק

Here, too, לית כתיב כן upholds the spelling of the word as offered in the text.

Isa. 53.4: חלינו ק: לאי ק; cf. Ven: חלינו ק; BHKK: no note.

This example shares with the first two instances a certain tendency of the קרי-readings to make use of א as *mater lectionis* for the vowel *a*. But our manuscript is far from being consistent in this point, as the following example will show:

Jer. 40.1: באוקים ק: א ל ק; cf. BHKK and Ven: באוקים ק

While the note אלף לא קרי eliminates this vowel-letter from the קרי-reading of our manuscript, the לית in the other sources represents an effort to preserve it.

b) READINGS TERMED קרי IN OTHER SOURCES.

Isa. 28.15: שוט ק; cf. BHKK and Ven: שוט ק שיט

Isa. 47.13: הברי ק; cf. BHKK and Ven: הברו ק

Isa. 57.19: ניב ק; cf. BHKK and Ven: נוב ק

Isa. 60.21: מטעי ק; cf. BHKK and Ven: מטעו ק

§ 8. Readings of the Text Termed קרי

Marginal Masoretic notes sometimes offer two different readings, terming one כתיב and the other קרי. A comparison of these variants with the actual word in the text reveals it to be identical with the form termed קרי in the Masoretic note.

We arrange the material according to the parallel evidence from BHKK and Ven on the words under consideration:

a) BHKK AND VEN HAVE THE IDENTICAL TEXTUAL READING, BUT NO MASORETIC NOTE TO IT.

Isa. 18.2, 7: קו קו: קר ובתרין כר. The כתיב is as one word,
but the קרי as two.

Isa. 22.18: צנוף כח צנוף ק: צנוף

Jer. 4.30: כח וך ק: בפוך יך

Jer. 22.14: כח ו ק: וספון י

Jer. 26.24: בני כח בן ק: בן

Jer. 29.7: הגילתי כח הגילתי ק: הגילתי

b) BHKK AND VEN HAVE THE SAME MASORETIC קרי NOTE ON THE PRESUPPOSED כתיב TEXT.

Jer. 2.27: ילדתנו ק: תני כח תנו ק;

cf. BHKK and Ven: ילדתני ק

Jer. 8.6: רצות כח רוצת ק: במרוצתם

cf. BHKK and Ven: במרוצתם ק

Jer. 13.20: שאו ק: אי כח או ק;

cf. BHKK and Ven: שאי ק

Jer. 13.20: וראו ק: אי כח או ק;

cf. BHKK and Ven: וראי ק

Jer. 17.10: כדרכיו ק: כו כח כיו ק;

cf. BHKK and Ven: כדרכו ק

Jer. 21.12: מעלליכם ק: הם כח כם ק;

cf. BHKK and Ven: מעלליהם ק

Jer. 32.4: עיניו ק: נו כח ניו ק;

cf. BHKK: עיניו ק. Ven has here עיניו as reading of the text; but cf. there the preceding ועיניו ק.

Jer. 49.30: הם כח כם ק: עליכם;

cf. BHKK and Ven: עליכם ק: עליהם

Ezek. 46.19: תם כח תים ק: בירכתים;

cf. BHKK and Ven: בירכתם ק: בירכתים

c) BHKK AND VEN OFFER THE PRESUPPOSED כתיב TEXT, WITH MASORETIC NOTES UPHOLDING THESE READINGS.

Hos. 4.6: ואמאסאך כך כח ולא ק א תלתא: ואמאסאך

The word is spelled in the כתיב with three א, but the third א is omitted in the קרי; cf. ואמאסאך: BHKK: א; יתיר: Ven: א. The note in Ven is a doublet; cf. later § 17c 23.

Zech. 8.20: עד כח עוד ק: עוד;

cf. עד: BHKK: חס; יב חס: Ven: יד חס.

The same difference יב — יד occurs also in the note on עד in Hos. 12.10.

d) VARIOUS OTHER CASES

Jer. 48.21: מי כח מו ק: מופעת

This identification of the reading with *yod* as כתיב, and that with *waw* as קרי is reversed in BHKK and Ven: מופעת ק: מופעת.

Jer. 32.19: אדם כח האדם ק: האדם

But BHKK and Ven have as text אדם, i. e. the presupposed כתיב, without any Masoretic note. Similarly in

Jer. 28.13: מוטת כח: מטות

This מוטת form is the text-reading of BHKK and Ven: מוטת: ל כתיב כן. But in

Isa. 27.6: ופ ק: יפרח,

it is the קרי form, which is the text-reading in BHKK and Ven: ופרח, with no note to it.

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§ 9. *Errors are Not Considered*

No conclusions will be based in this study upon such discrepancies between the text and the Masora, which can best be explained as scribal (or printer's) mistakes. The human eye is not infallible!

Isa. 47.7: גְּבַרְתִּי לֵ; mistake for: לֵ.

The word does not occur any more in this vocalization with .

Isa. 51.2: וְאֶבְרַכְהוּ לֵ; mistake for: לֵ.

Isa. 53.7: זֶ זָקַף; mistake for: זָ זָקַף.

Cf. ib. verse 11: זֶ זָקַף קִמַּץ: יִשְׁבָּע. The second occurrence of זָ זָקַף is Hos. 10.6.

Ps. 136.1: כֹּז אֵילוּ; mistake for: כֹּז.

This Psalm has only 26 verses.

Ezek. 39.9: לֵ בִקְשָׁת; mistake for: בֵּ.

Cf. Hos. 1.7: בֵּ בִקְשָׁת.

§ 10. *The Masora Originates in Masoretic Lists* (cf. § 1)

Gen. 50.9: ז פסוק בתור: גם וגם ומלה חדה ביניה : גם

1 Sam. 18.5: זא פסוק: וגם ובתור תלת מלין : וגם

Ezek. 5.13: ז פסוק: במ במ : במ

Judg. 12.4: ז פסוק אית בהון: בתור בתור : בתור

2 Sam. 19.7: ז; cf. the identical note on Josh. 17.18. In both instances the context excludes an error of misspelling זכּי into זכּי.

Esth. 3.13: זכּו פסוק אית בהון אלף בית. This is obviously the heading of a list; it has been rephrased in Isa. 5.25 and Zech. 6.11 to read: זכּו בפסוק אלף בית.

Num. 7.20: בָּכ פִּסּוֹק דְּלִי בָהוֹן לֹא וּלֹא י: כֶּף

Lev. 13.9: יֹא פִסּוֹק רֹאשׁ נוֹן וְסוֹף נוֹן: נִגַּע

1 Sam. 20.29: הַ פִּסּוֹק דֹּאִית בָּהוֹן חֲמֵשׁ מִלִּין מִן בֹּ אֲחִין: עֵל

1 Sam. 13.19: אִמְרוּ ק. וְ פִסּוֹקִין: שְׁבַעַה מְכָה. וְשְׁבַעַה מְכָה. אִמְר: *ומציעי כח*. There are 7 verses consisting of 15 words each, the middle word of which has a Masoretic note referring to כְּתִיב and קָרִי.

§ 11. *The Text Contradicts the Masora*

a) THE MASORETIC CROSS-REFERENCES REFLECT A DIFFERENT TEXTUAL TYPE OF THE HEBREW BIBLE

1 Sam. 18.10: יֹא: כְּיֹום; but Isa. 9.3: יֹא: כְּיֹום.

The text of BHKK offers the word כְּיֹום ten times only, but according to the text of Ven, it occurs eleven times; for Ezek. 30.9 which reads in BHKK: כְּיֹום, has יֹום in Ven. Hence, both notes יֹא and יֹא are correct in themselves, but refer to two textual types as represented by BHKK and Ven respectively.

The following cases are to be explained in a similar way:

2 Ki. 18.31: בֹּ חֵד מֶלֶךְ: בּוֹרוּ. The word occurs twice, once in *plene* spelling. But Isa. 36.16: בּוֹרוּ is *plene*, too! And the Masora remarks on it: לֶמֶל: it does no more occur מֶלֶךְ, thus presupposing that in 2 Ki. 18.31 the word is in *defective* spelling.

Neh. 7.4: וְגִדּוּלָה: בֹּ חֵד מֶלֶךְ. But in the other passage, where this word occurs, namely Eccl. 9.13 it is *plene*, too: וְגִדּוּלָה.

2 Ki. 23.29: בֹּ חֵד חֶסֶד: כִּרְאָתוֹ; cf. in the other passage, 2 Ki. 6.21: כִּרְאָתוֹ, which is equally חֶסֶד, and the Masoretic note there: בֹּ חֶסֶד plainly states that this word is both times spelled *defective*. Similarly

Zech. 9.1: מִנְחָתוֹ: בֹּ חֵד חֶסֶד; but Isa. 11.10: מִנְחָתוֹ: בֹּ חֶסֶד.

Cf. our discussion of this word in connection with Codex Petropolitanus in § 4.

Ex. 19.13: סקול : חס וחד מל ; cf. the other passage referred to: Ex. 21.28: סקול, equally in *plene* spelling.

Ex. 14.14: תחרישון : חס וא מל, as compared with the *plene* spelling in Job 13.5: תחרישון.

Eccl. 11.3: שיפול : חס וחד מל ; but ib. 4.10 equally: שיפול.

Ps. 64.5: לירות : חס וחד ; but ib. 11.2: לירות.

Ezra 9.12: שלמם : חס וחד ; but Deut. 23.7: שלמם.

b) THE MASORA CONTRADICTS ITS OWN CATCHWORD.

Ex. 16.7: תלינו : י קרי. But the text actually has a *yod*! (Cf. Lev. 13.20: הוא : י קרי, where the text offers a *waw*). Our Masoretic note presupposes a textual type like that of Ven; cf. there: תלונו (with *waw*): תלינו ק (with *yod*). Similarly reflecting the Ven textual type:

Ezra 10.44: נשאו ק : נשאו ; cf. Ven, where the text נשאי (with *yod*) has this Masoretic note: נשאו ק.

Ps. 99.6: אלף ל יתיר א : קראים. The vocalization shows that the *אלף* is not superfluous, but on the contrary belongs to the root; cf. Neh. 5.7: יתיר א : נשאים. Hence, our Masoretic note was meant for Ven, where the word is vocalized: קראים. The following examples are to be explained in the same way as based upon a different type of the Bible text:

2 Ki. 10.5: נמליך : ל וחס.

Jer. 2.17: מוליכך : ל וחס.

Esth. 2.3: תמרוקיהן : ל וחס.

1 Chron. 9.40: וּמְרִיבֵעַל מלה : ל וחדה.

Ex. 17.16: בְּסִיָּה : בְּסִיָּה. This presupposes a division of בְּסִיָּה into two words of two letters each: בְּסִיָּה, against the text offered here.

§ 12. The Terminology (cf. § 5)

Throughout this Masora two distinctly different terminologies are in use. Since the Masora goes back to Masoretic lists (cf. § 10), it is very plausible that in these various Masoretic terms we have the original headings of those lists before us. Sometimes one item is indicated by a combination of two terms, thus forming a doublet.

a) GENERAL TERMS

1. Gen. 3.24: כּוֹל אֹרִית חֵט : הֶכְרֵבִים

Gen. 3.17: בִּלְבַד בְּתוֹר : צִוִּיתִיד

Similarly we find the Pentateuch referred to as אֹרִיתא and תּוֹרָה, respectively, in an otherwise identical note:

Lev. 22.16: לֹט מֵל בְּאוֹר : אֹתָם

Lev. 23.43: לֹט מֵל בְּתוֹר : אֹתָם

2. 1 Chron. 25.4: ל שֵׁם אִנֹּשׁ : הוֹתִיר

1 Chron. 25.28: ל שׁוֹם גִּבֹּר : לְהוֹתִיר

3. 1 Chron. 11.31: ל וְכָל לִשׁוֹן אֶרֶמִית כּוֹת : אִיתִי

Dan. 2.10: ל בִּלְשׁוֹן תְּרַג : יוֹכֵל

4. Num. 32.42: ג לֹא מִפֶּקֶד : לָה

Ruth 2.14: ג רֶפֶק : לָה

b) VOCALIZATION AND ACCENTUATION

5. The *ḵameš* is indicated by קמצא or ֿ :

Ex. 15.2: ג קמצ : עֲזִי

Josh. 3.5: ג קמצ : הִתְקַדְּשׁוּ

Ex. 27.16: ג מְסָרֶה : מְסָרֶה

Josh. 2.15: ג יוֹשֶׁבֶת : יוֹשֶׁבֶת

The combination of both terms results in a doublet:

Esth. 1.5: **קָמְ הָ**; the components are: **קָמְ** and **הָ**.

If two *ḵameš* come in succession, the Masora indicates it by **קמצין דסמיכין** or **ֿֿ**:

Eccl. 4.3: **ב קמצ דסמ: הָרַע**

Eccl. 1.7: **לֿ: לֿלָכַת**

Combined with the indication of the accentuation (**זקפא**), the Masoretic note on *ḵameš* is phrased thus:

Lam. 3.53: **ל זק קמ: חָיִי**

Lam. 3.35: **לֿ זק: גָּבַר**

6. The *pataḥ* is indicated by **פתחא** or **ֿ**:

Judg. 16.5: **ב פתח: פָּתִי**

Judg. 19.11: **לֿ: רָד**

Prov. 1.8: **יב פת: מוֹסֵר**

Prov. 1.3: **יב: מוֹסֵר**

In connection with the accentuation (**אתנחתא**), we get:

Ps. 107.35: **ג באתנח פת: מִים**

Ps. 137.6: **לֿ: יְרוּשָׁלַם**

7. The *segol* is indicated by **מנוקד בתלת** or **ֿֿֿ**:

1 Chron. 15.1: **ב מנוקדים בתלת: וַיֵּט**

2 Chron. 18.15: **גֿ: בָּמָה**

8. In case the identical word is vocalized sometimes with *ḵameš* and some other times with *pataḥ*, the Masora indicates it thus:

Ps. 78.50: **ז ו פת וא קמ: חָשַׁךְ**; the word occurs all in all seven times; six times it is vocalized with **פתח**, and once with **קמץ**.

Ps. 72.7: **ד בֿ וּבֿ: יִפְרַח**; occurs four times; twice **ֿֿ**, and twice **ֿֿֿ**.

9. The **אתנחתא** is indicated:

Ps. 35.20: **דְּ בַאתְנַח: אָרָץ**

Prov. 30.21: **דְּ: אָרָץ**

10. A doublet in connection with the indication of the **גרישא** appears in

Ps. 78.17: **לְ גריש: לְ מְרוֹת**; the components are: **לְ גריש** and **לְ**; cf. Ps. 104.3: **לְ: הַמְקָרָה**.

c) DETAILS OF SPELLING

11. The fact that a certain letter remains silent in the pronunciation of the word is indicated by the terms **קרי** and **יחיר**:

Eccl. 6.10: **שְׁתַּקִּיף ק: שְׁהַתְּקִיף**

Eccl. 10.3: **ל יתיר ה: בְּשֶׁהֶסְכַּל**

Ps. 119.147: **לדברך ק: לְדַבְּרִיךְ**

Ps. 119.161: **יתיר י: וּמְדַבְּרִיךְ**

Esth. 8.7: **ביהודים ק: בִּיהוּדִיִּים**

Esth. 4.7: **יתיר י: בִּיהוּדִיִּים**

Jer. 3.4: **קראת ק: קְרָאתִי**

Jer. 3.5: **יתיר י: דְּבַרְתִּי**

Prov. 28.16: **שנא ק: שְׁנָאִי**

Prov. 8.35: **יתיר י: מְצָאִי**

2 Chron. 13.14: **מחצרים ק: מְחַצְצָרִים**

2 Chron. 29.28: **יתיר צ: מְחַצְצָרִים**

2 Ki. 16.17: **את ק: וְאַחַת**

Neh. 9.17: **יתיר ו: וְחֶסֶד**

Judg. 9.12: **מלכי ק: מְלֹכֵי**

1 Sam. 28.8: **יתיר ו: קְסוּמִי**

1 Chron. 18.10: לשאל ק: לשאול

Prov. 22.8: יתיר ו: יקצור

The combination of both terms results in a doublet:

Isa. 26.20: יתיר י || דלתך ק: דלתיך

2 Chron. 34.22: יתיר ו || תקהת ק: תוקהת

Ezek. 47.8: ונרפו ק || ל ויתיר א: ונרפאו

12. The omission of a letter of the root from the spelling is indicated by קרי and חסר:

2 Ki. 21.29: אביא ק: אבי

Micah 1.15: ב חס א: אבי

The ב (=twice) in the Masoretic note on the Micah passage refers to 2 Ki. 21.29; accordingly, this occurrence is classed as חסר, too.

A combination of both terms leads to a doublet in

Jer. 32.35: החטיא ק || ב חס: החטי

13. The spelling of the nominal suffix of the 3. pers. sing. masc. with ה is annotated on with: קרי and כתיב כן or כתיב:

Ps. 42.9: שירו ק: שירה

2 Ki. 20.13: ב כת כן: נכתה

Jer. 2.3: ב כת ה: תבואתה

Both terms are combined into a doublet in

Ezek. 48.21: בתוכו ק || ב כת ה: בתוכה

14. The use of א to indicate the vowel *a* in medial position is termed מלא and כתיב:

2 Sam. 12.1: ג מל: ראש

Prov. 10.4: ג כת א: ראש

15. The spelling of the nominal plur. ending as ם without the vowel-letter *yod* is termed חסר and כתיב כן:

Num. 6.5: חס: הַיָּמִם ב

Num. 7.10: כת כן: הַנְּשִׂאִים ד

Both terms are combined to a doublet in

Gen. 17.20: ד חס בתור || כת כן: הַנְּשִׂאִים

d) THE TERM חדר

16. It refers to the very passage, in which the Masoretic note belongs to (meaning: this one):

Ezek. 38.7: ב חדר חס: הַכֶּן

Amos 4.12: ב חדר מל: הַכּוֹן

Dan. 12.4: ב חדר חס: יִשְׁטָטוּ

Amos 8.12: ב חדר מל: יִשְׁוֹטָטוּ

Ps. 78.28: ב חדר חס: לְמַשְׁכְּנֹתָיו

Ps. 132.7: ב חדר מל: לְמַשְׁכְּנֹתָיו

Similarly in Ps. 112.10: ב חדר קמ: וְכָעַס, and Isa. 28.28: וְהָמָם: ב חדר פת, the term חדר refers to these passages, since their respective other occurrence (as indicated by ב) is vocalized: Eccl. 5.16: וְכָעַס (with *pataḥ*) and Deut. 7.23: וְהָמָם (with *kameṣ*).

17. It refers to the other occurrence of the word in question (the cross-reference):

Dan. 10.12: ב חדר חס: בְּדַבְּרֶיךָ

Ps. 119.42: ב חדר מל: בְּדַבְּרֶיךָ

Jer. 23.15: ב חדר מל: וְהִשְׁקֵיתִים: refers to Jer. 9.14: וְהִשְׁקֵיתִים.

Ps. 139.23: ב חדר פת: שְׂרַעְפִּי: refers to Ps. 94.19: שְׂרַעְפִּי.

Ps. 60.4: ב חדר כת א: רָפָה: refers to Num. 12.13: רָפָה.

e) THE IDENTICAL NOTE ON PASSAGES IN A DIFFERENT SPELLING. This uncertainty of the meaning of the term **חד**: whether it refers to the word under consideration or to the cross-reference may best be explained as a result of the fact that these Masoretic notes originate in different sets of Masoretic lists headed by **ב חד מל** and **ב חד חס**, respectively. The later Masorete, in utilizing these lists so as to adorn a Bible manuscript and thus give it additional authority by making it "Masoretic," added his notes to whatever passage he chanced to come across. Little did he concern himself over the implication of the term **חד**; to him, **חד** was merely a word, and not a scientific term with a well-defined connotation.

In order to establish beyond doubt the fact that these Masoretic notes were not meant to serve any practical purpose (as e. g. to direct the scribe or reviser), but that they represent merely annotations from Masoretic lists with corresponding headings, we wish to call attention to the following examples: According to our interpretation they go back to lists, the headings of which were complete. They indicated how often the word under consideration occurs in any spelling, e. g. **מלא** and **חסר**, and not, as heretofore, bringing only one indication: **מלא** or **חסר**, thus leaving it to us to guess at the other missing item:

1 Sam. 26.21: **ב חד כת ס וא ש: הקפלתתי**,

Ps. 119.99: **ב חד כת ש וחד כת ס: השפלתתי**

Here we might be tempted to explain **חד** in the first part of each note as referring to the same passage (cf. above under 16), and the second part of each note (**וחד כת ס** and **וא ש**) as later additions, since they are self understood. But how then could we account for the identical notes in the very identical arrangement in cases like:

Lev. 14.6: **ב חד מל וחד חס: השחטתה**

Lev. 14.51: **ב חד מל וחד חס: השחוטתה**

Ex. 9.4: וְהִפְלָה: כַּחַד אֶחָד כַּחַד הֵ

Deut. 28.59: וְהִפְלָא: כַּחַד אֶחָד כַּחַד הֵ

Nothing but utmost confusion could have been the outcome, if any scribe or reviser would have felt inclined to follow the lead of such directions. They were truly never meant to "guide" them!

IX. THE BIBLIA RABBINICA, VENICE 1524/5

§ 13. *Printer's Mistakes Not Considered* (cf. § 9)

Num. 23.19: וְהִנֵּה הוֹלִיד בֶּן: יַעֲשֶׂה

This is a reference to Ezek. 18.14. In both instances the word is vocalized יַעֲשֶׂה; hence, בֶּן is a misprint for בָּן.

Jer. 12.3: תִּרְאֵנִי: בֶּן; misprint for בָּן; cf. Job 10.18.

Isa. 49.2: לֹחֵץ: לֹחֵץ: לֹחֵץ: לֹחֵץ; refers to Thr. 3.12: לֹחֵץ: לֹחֵץ: לֹחֵץ: לֹחֵץ; consequently, our note is a misprint for: לֹחֵץ: לֹחֵץ: לֹחֵץ: לֹחֵץ.

Prov. 17.17: לֹחֵץ: לֹחֵץ: לֹחֵץ: לֹחֵץ; misprint for: לֹחֵץ: לֹחֵץ: לֹחֵץ: לֹחֵץ; cf. Eccl. 4.8: לֹחֵץ: לֹחֵץ: לֹחֵץ: לֹחֵץ.

Ezra 10.8: יִחָרֵם: יִחָרֵם: יִחָרֵם: יִחָרֵם; misprint for: יִחָרֵם: יִחָרֵם: יִחָרֵם: יִחָרֵם; cf. Ex. 22.19: יִחָרֵם: יִחָרֵם: יִחָרֵם: יִחָרֵם.

Judg. 5.18: מִרְמֵי: מִרְמֵי: מִרְמֵי: מִרְמֵי; mistake for: מִרְמֵי: מִרְמֵי: מִרְמֵי: מִרְמֵי; cf. Prov. 9.3, 14: מִרְמֵי: מִרְמֵי: מִרְמֵי: מִרְמֵי.

1 Ki. 7.36: וּמִסְגֵּרְתִּיהָ: ק; misprint for: וּמִסְגֵּרְתִּיהָ: ק; without the *war*.

2 Ki. 24.14: עֲשֶׂרֶה: ק; mistake for: עֲשֶׂרֶה: ק.

Num. 7.60: The lengthy Masoretic note beginning with לְגִלְגָּלֹתָם is merely a reprinting of the identical note on Num. 1.22: s. v. לְגִלְגָּלֹתָם, and is here out of place.

תלתי הון נמסרו לעיל בדרך שמתחיל: בְּרָכִים וְגַם אֲנָכִי: 2 Sam. 2.5, 6; בלי משיח בשמן. יען כי נשמטו מפה בהדפסה. On the indicated page these Masoretic notes are not to be found in the Masora Parva, but they are included in the Masora Magna.

Lev. 23.17: תָּבִיאוּ; but actually the א has no *dagesh*.

Gen. 11.32: בְּחָרָן; but the text has a regular *nun*.

Josh. 14.11: לָּ וְהוּא מִן אֲבִי רַבְתִּי: but the text has a normal sized כ.

§ 14. The Masora Originates in Masoretic Lists

(cf. §§ 1 and 10)

Gen. 2.14: לָּ וְאֵל חֲדָקָל. אֲבִי מִן חֲדָד. חֲדָד פֶּתַח וְחֲדָד קִמְץ. חֲדָקָל דָּלוּג. Here פֶּתַח obviously means *segol*, unless we assume that this list is of Babylonian origin, where ֶ served as the equivalent for both ֶ and ֶ .

Gen. 32.12: אֲבִי מִן חֲדָד. חֲדָד פֶּתַח וְחֲדָד קִמְץ. דָּלוּג וְהִפְנִי: דָּלוּג.

Gen. 13.9: וְזֶ פֶסוּ דָאִית בְּהוֹן אִם וְאִם בְּאִמְצַע פֶּסוּ: אִם; cf. on

Gen. 31.52: וְזֶ פֶסוּ אִם וְאִם מִצְעוּ פֶסוּ בְּתוֹרָה: אִם; and on

Gen. 24.49: וְזֶ פֶסוּ בְּתוֹרָה וִירְמִיָּה אִם וְאִם מִצְעוּ פֶסוּק: אִם.

Gen. 35.5: בֵּ אֵל רֶפֶא וְאֵל רֶפֶא. וְהוּא חֲדָד מִן כֹּ זִוְגִין אֵל רֶפֶא וְאֵל רֶפֶא: וְנִסְעוּ.

Gen. 23.16: ט פֶּסוּ מִן בֵּ מְלִין. קִדְמָה מִלִּי חֶסֶד: עֲפָרוֹן.

Gen. 17.24: בֵּ זִוְגִין. קִדְמָה לֹא נִסְבֵּ אֶת חֲנִין נִסְבֵּ אֶת: בְּהִמְלִי.

Gen. 49.20: חֲדָד מִן גִּ פֶסוּ מִן זֶ מְלִין. גִּ מְכָא וְגִ מְכָא. וְהוּא בְּאִמְצַע: וְהוּא.

1 Sam. 26.23: גִּ פֶסוּ רִישִׁי וְסוֹפִי אִזְכָּרָה: יְהוֹה.

Isa. 18.13: לָּ פֶסוּ רִישִׁי וְסוֹף זִי"ן: זָה.

Lev. 23.42: וְאֵל פֶּסוּקִים רִישִׁיהוֹן וְסוֹפִיהוֹן חֲדָד: בְּשָׁכַח.

- Ex. 21.29: יד פסו אית בסופיהון וגם ותרין מלין בתרוהי: וְגַם
 Num. 36.8: ג פסוקי אית בהון פ אתין: וְכָל
 Gen. 26.6: חד מן יד פסו כתובי מן ג מלין: יִצְחָק
 Gen. 24.23: שיטה מן כז דכל חד וחד לית דכו: לָלִין Cf. in Codex
 Petropolitanus, fol. 130b, the Masoretic list headed by:
 שיטה כל חד וחד לית דכו.

§ 15. Rabbinic Sources Utilized

- Gen. 18.5: ה מלי עטור סופרי: אַחֵר; cf. Ned. 37b.
 Num. 29.15: חד מן נקודות בתורה: וְעֶשְׂרֹן ed.
 Higger, chapter VI, section ג (p. 166).
 Gen. 33.4: טו מלין נקדו בקרי: וַיִּשְׁקְהוּ; cf. the parallel Rabbinic
 sources listed in Higger's מסכת סופרים, p. 166.
 Gen. 18.22: מדרש תנחומא: יח מלין תקון סופרים: עוֹדְנוּ ed.
 Warsaw on Ex. 15.7; cf. also on Deut. 23.24: מוֹצֵא
 סופרי ביח שמו בריש הדף בספר מוגה. ויש גמגום. ועיין בהגהה
 במיימוני בהלכות ס"ת.
 Gen. 49.7: ה פסוקים בתור שאין להם הכרע: קִשְׁטָה; cf. Yoma
 55a; cf. also on Deut. 31.16: וְנָקַם: ה פסו שאין להם הכרע.
 אי מהאי גיסא אי מהאי גיסא. וסי אוטיבו שבטיא ליהושע
 בנהורא דמשה.

§ 16. The Text Contradicts the Masora (cf. §§ 2 and 11)

a) THE MASORETIC CROSS-REFERENCES REFLECT A DIFFERENT
 TEXTUAL TYPE OF THE HEBREW BIBLE.

- Hab. 3.19: בְּמוֹתִי: ג and Ps. 18.34: בְּמוֹתִי: go
 both back to different texts; cf. BHKK, Ps.
 18.34: בְּמוֹתִי in defective spelling.

- Num. 14.27: ב כתיב כן בתור. שמעתי את: תְּלֹנוֹת
 the passage Ex. 16.12: ב כתיב כן: תְּלֹנוֹת.

- Josh. 2.16: **אָשׁוּב אֶלֶיךָ**; **בַּ חֶסֶךְ**; but Gen. 18.10 referred to here, has **שׁוּב** in *plene* spelling.
- 2 Sam. 7.18: **הִבִּיאֲתָנִי**; **בַּ חֶסֶךְ וְחַד מֶלֶךְ**; cf. the Masoretic note on the second occurrence of this word 1 Chron. 17.16: **הִבִּיאֲתָנִי**; **בַּ חֶסֶךְ**: occurs twice without a *waw*!
- 2 Sam. 19.6: **הוֹבִשְׁתָּ**; **בַּ חֶסֶךְ מֶלֶךְ וְחַד**; cf. the identical spelling in Ps. 74.15: **הוֹבִשְׁתָּ לִישׁ**.
- 1 Ki. 20.31: **בְּרֹאשֵׁנוּ**; **אִם יָד תִּהְיֶה מֶלֶךְ בְּרֹאשֵׁנוּ**; but the passage referred to, Josh. 2.19, reads equally: **בְּרֹאשֵׁנוּ**; **בַּ חֶסֶךְ מֶלֶךְ וְחַד**.
- Jer. 38.22: **שְׁלֹמֶךָ**; **בַּ חֶסֶךְ מֶלֶךְ וְחַד**. Since the spelling of the word here is **חֶסֶךְ**, we expect the **מֶלֶךְ** spelling in the other instance; but cf. Obad. 7: **שְׁלֹמֶךָ**; **בַּ חֶסֶךְ מֶלֶךְ וְחַד**!
- Ezek. 39.3: **שְׁמֹאֲלֶךָ**; **בַּ חֶסֶךְ מֶלֶךְ וְחַד**; but cf. the identical spelling 2 Sam. 2.21.
- Ps. 11.2: **לִירוֹת**; **בַּ חֶסֶךְ מֶלֶךְ וְחַד** and Ps. 64.5: **לִירוֹת**; **בַּ חֶסֶךְ מֶלֶךְ וְחַד** exclude one another. The same is true of
- Ps. 78.28: **לְמִשְׁכְּנוֹתָיו**; **בַּ חֶסֶךְ מֶלֶךְ וְחַד** and Ps. 132.7: **לְמִשְׁכְּנוֹתָיו**; **בַּ חֶסֶךְ מֶלֶךְ וְחַד**.
- Ps. 76.12: **יֹבִילוּ**; **בַּ חֶסֶךְ מֶלֶךְ וְחַד**; but cf. Ps. 68.30: **יֹבִילוּ**.
- Ps. 106.8: **וַיֹּשִׁיעֵם**; **בַּ חֶסֶךְ מֶלֶךְ וְחַד**; but cf. the *plene* spelling in all the three other occurrences, too: 2 Ki. 14.27; Judg. 3.9; Ps. 106.10.
- Job 40.13: **חֲבוּשׁ**; **בַּ חֶסֶךְ מֶלֶךְ וְחַד**; Ezek. 24.17: **חֲבוּשׁ**; **בַּ חֶסֶךְ מֶלֶךְ וְחַד**; and the third occurrence Isa. 30.26: **חֲבוּשׁ**; **בַּ חֶסֶךְ מֶלֶךְ וְחַד** make it clear that Job and Ezek. with their *plene* spelling exclude one another.

b) THE MASORA CONTRADICTS ITS OWN CATCHWORD.

- Isa. 2.15: **מְגִדֵּל**; **וַיַּעֲזֹקוּהוּ**; **בַּ חֶסֶךְ מֶלֶךְ וְחַד** presupposes a vocalization **מְגִדֵּל**, cf. Isa. 5.2: **מְגִדֵּל כָּל**. The Masoretic notes on these passages refer to one another.

Isa. 26.20: יַעֲבֹר מַלְאָכָיו; but cf. the way the word is vocalized in Isa. 40.27: מַלְאָכָיו.

Josh. 19.8: רָמַת אֶל כְּתִיב, presupposes a spelling רָמַת, cf. BHKK.

Josh. 19.49: דְּאֹרֵייתָ חֵם דִּיהוֹשֻׁעַ מַלְאָכָיו; cf. BHKK: לגבולתיה.

1 Sam. 4.7: שְׁלֹשָׁם חֵם בְּנֵי שָׁלֹשָׁם; cf. BHKK: שלשם.

Isa. 59.19: לֹחֶם נֹסֶסָה.

Jer. 8.5: חֵם בְּתִרְמִית.

Jer. 8.9: חֵם רַחֵם: חֵם רַחֵם; cf. ib. verse 12: חֵם רַחֵם.

Judg. 1.3: בְּגִרְלָךְ; cf. BHKK: בגורלך.

Judg. 9.37: יֹרְדִים; cf. BHKK: יֹרְדִים.

Isa. 59.19: חֵם וְיִירָאוּ.

§ 17. The Terminology (cf. §§ 5 and 12)

a) GENERAL TERMS

1. Gen. 18.33: חֵם אֹרֵי חֵם: לְמַקְמוֹ

Gen. 19.22: חֵם בְּתוֹ: בְּאֵף

Gen. 5.7: חֵם וְשִׁמְנָה

Gen. 3.24: חֵם הַכְּרָבִים

2. Deut. 32.4: חֵם רַבְתִּי: חֵם רַבְתִּי

Deut. 32.6: חֵם רַבְתִּי: חֵם רַבְתִּי

Both terms appear combined in a doublet:

Lev. 13.33: חֵם רַבְתִּי || חֵם רַבְתִּי: חֵם רַבְתִּי

3. The various terms for small letters are contained in the following doublets:

Num. 25.12: חֵם רַבְתִּי || חֵם רַבְתִּי: חֵם רַבְתִּי

Gen. 27.46: חֵם רַבְתִּי || חֵם רַבְתִּי: חֵם רַבְתִּי

4. Ex. 35.34: בַּחֹס וַיִּזְוּ בַּתְּרָא: וְלַהוֹרֹת:
 Lev. 10.11: בַּחֹס וְתַנְיִין: וְלַהוֹרֹת:
 5. Ezek. 7.22: בַּחֹד חֹס: פְּרִיָצִים:
 Jer. 32.29: בַּאֲחֹס: גְּבוּתֵיהֶם:

b) VOCALIZATION AND ACCENTUATION

6. Gen. 32.27: לִקְמֹץ: בְּרִכְתָּנִי:
 Gen. 24.19: לְאִשָּׁאֵב:
 Gen. 27.39: גְּקֹמ: מַעַל:
 Gen. 17.12: דָּבִית:
 7. Gen. 16.13: לִחְטֹף קִמֹץ: רְאִי:
 Ex. 30.23: לְוִקְנָן:
 Jer. 49.28: לִחְטֹף: וְשָׁדְרוּ:
 Ezek. 16.33: לְוִתְשָׁחֲדִי:
 8. Isa. 27.12: זֶפֶתַח: לְאַחַד:
 Isa. 28.28: לְגִלְגֹּל:
 9. Lev. 16.13: דִּחְטֹפִין פִּתְחִין: עֵנָן:
 Isa. 44.13: לְיִתְאַרְהוּ:
 10. Deut. 5.10: גִּבְסַפֵּר בַּסִּגּוּל: וְעָשָׂה:
 Deut. 10.18: גִּעָשָׂה:
 Isa. 8.7: חִסְגוּל: מַעֲלָה:
 Isa. 19.4: חֶקֶשָׁה:
 1 Ki. 16.24: לִסְגּוּל: מֵאֵת:
 Ex. 13.2: לְרַפ: קִדָּשׁ:
 11. Lev. 18.15: כָּל חִסּוּפֵי בָצָרִי: תִּגְלָה:
 Ex. 15.11: חָעָשָׂה:
 1 Ki. 10.25: גִּצִּירֵי בַלִּישׁ: וְנִשְׁקָה:
 1 Ki. 10.1: חָשַׁמֶּעַ:
 12. Gen. 41.43: לִבְנוֹדָה אַחַת: בְּמִרְכָּבָת:
 1 Sam. 29.3: לְוַחַד אַחֲרֵי נִפְלוּ: נִפְלוּ:

עבדך ק: עבְדִּיךָ: 1 Ki. 1.27

יתיר יו"ד: חֲסִידִיךָ: Ps. 16.10

למדת ק: לְמַדְתִּי: Jer. 2.33

יתיר יו"ד: לְמַדְתִּי: Jer. 13.21

הרע ק: הָרַעַה: Jer. 18.10

יתיר ה: וְרַעַה: Prov. 27.10

Both terms combined result in a doublet:

ופי ק || יתיר נון ופְּנִי: Prov. 15.14

19. the terms מלא and קרי; חסר and קרי:

א) וידיו ק: וַיָּדּוּ: Job 5.18

ה חס: יָדּוּ: Lev. 16.21

Both terms appear together in the doublet

ידיו ק || ה חס: יָדּוּ: Ezek. 43.26

1 Sam. 18.22: עבדיו ק: עבְדִּיו; the equivalent term חסר is to be found in the doublet Jer. 22.4: וַעֲבָדּוּ || ב חס: וַעֲבָדּוּ.

Similarly: 1 Ki. 6.38: מִשְׁפָּטּוּ || ב חס: מִשְׁפָּטּוּ.

β) 2 Sam. 23.16: מבר ק: מְבָאֵר; the equivalent term מלא occurs in the doublet ib. verse 15: מְבָאֵר || ג מל אלף: מְבָאֵר.

The third occurrence of the word in this spelling, referred to here, is ib. verse 20: הִבָּאֵר ק: הִבָּאֵר.

וגדל ק: וַגְדֹּל: Nah. 1.3

ב חד מל: וַגְדֹּל: Ps. 145.8

The term חד proves that this note belongs to a different textual type of the Bible, in which one of these two passages had the word in *defective* spelling; cf. BHKK on Ps. 145.8: וַגְדֹּל: ב חד מל.

20. the terms קרי and כתיב כן or כתיב:

א) כסותו ק: כְּסוּתָהּ: Ex. 22.26

ד כתיב כן: אֶהְיֶה: Gen. 9.21

Josh. 15.48: **כו ק**: וְשׁוֹכֶה

2 Sam. 9.4: **י כתיב כן**: אֵיפֶה

β) the equivalent term can now be traced in a doublet only:

2 Ki. 14.13: **וַיָּבֵאוּ ק**: וַיָּבֵאוּ ק; cf. both terms in: 2 Ki. 12.21: **וַיָּבֵאוּ ק**: וַיָּבֵאוּ ק || **ג ככ**.

Jer. 31.39: **וְקוּה**: וְקוּה; cf. 1 Ki. 7.23: **וְקוּה**: וְקוּה || **ג ככ**

Ezek. 16.36: **נָתַתִּי ק**: נָתַתִּי ק; cf. ib. verse 18: **נָתַתִּי ק**: נָתַתִּי ק || **ב ככ**

Ps. 140.13: **יָדַעְתִּי ק**: יָדַעְתִּי ק; cf. Job 42.2: **יָדַעְתִּי ק**: יָדַעְתִּי ק || **ב ככ**

γ) the components of the doublets cannot be traced separately:

Josh. 11.16: **ל וּכְכ** || **תו ק**: וּשְׁפָלְתָה

1 Ki. 14.2: **ה כתי י** || **את ק**: אָמְתִּי

Josh. 3.4: **נִיו ק** || **ב כתי כן**: וּבִינֵנוּ

1 Sam. 24.19: **וַאֲתָה ק** || **ז ככ**: וַאֲתָה

Isa. 9.2: **לו ק** || **טו ככ**: לֹא

21. the terms **כתיב כן** and **חסר**:

The fact that the plural of **יד** in connection with the suffix of the 3. pers. masc. sing. appears in the *defective* spelling **ידו**, is termed as follows:

Ex. 32.19: **דִּיו ק** || **ה ככ**: מִקְדּוֹ

Lev. 9.22: **דִּיו ק** || **ה כתיב ידו וקרינן ידיו**: יָדוֹ

Ezek. 43.26: **דִּיו ק** || **ה חס**: חֹסֶד

Hence, the terms **כתיב כן** and **חסר** are interchangeably used in order to indicate one and the same spelling. They go back to different lists; cf. Deut. 32.35: **ל וּכְתִי כן**. וּבִסְא נְמִסֵּר ל: עֲתִדָּת

22. the terms **מלא** and **יתיר**:

Josh. 18.20: **ז מל**: יִגְבּוֹל

Isa. 11.3: **ז מל**: יִשְׁפּוֹט

Ps. 89.29: **ז מל**: יִתִּיר וי"ו: אֶשְׁמֹר

Isa. 26.20: **ז מל**: יַעֲבֹר

Josh. 6.3: יתיר יו"ד: הַקִּיף

1 Ki. 9.25: ל מל: וְהַקֵּטִיר

23. the terms יתיר and כתיב:

2 Sam. 11.1: יתיר א: הַמְלָאכִים

2 Sam. 12.1: ג כתיב אלף: רָאשׁ

2 Sam. 11.24: יתיר אלף: הַמּוֹרָאִים

Isa. 30.5: ל כתיב כן: הַבְּאִישׁ

Jer. 30.16: ל ויתיר א: שֹׁאֲסִיךְ

1 Ki. 4.11: ד כתי א: דָּאֵר

A combination of both terms results in a doublet:

Hos. 4.6: ל וכתו כן || יתיר א: וְאֶמְאָסָאדְ

Josh. 21.32: ג ככ || יתיר א: דָּאֵר

24. the terms מלא and כתיב:

The absence of a *waw* to signify the vowel *o* is termed as follows:

1 Ki. 8.18: ב חד כתי הטיבות: הִטִּיבֹת

Ezek. 16.7: ב א מל: נִכְנְנוּ

25. the terms כתיב כן and כתיב:

2 Sam. 12.1: ג כתיב אלף: רָאשׁ

Prov. 10.4: ג כתיב כן: רָאשׁ

Lev. 21.6: ט כתי יו"ד: אֲשִׁי

Lev. 21.21: ט כתי כן: אֲשִׁי

2 Sam. 9.4: י כתי כן: אִיפָה; both terms combined: 1 Sam. 19.22:

י כתי כן || בה"א: אִיפָה

Judg. 21.19: ח כתי וי"ו בסוף: בָּשְׁלוּ; both terms: 1 Sam. 3.21:

ח ככ || בוי"ו: בָּשְׁלוּ

26. the terms חסר and כתיב כן:

1 Ki. 21.9: ב חס וי"ו: וְהִשִּׁיבוּ

1 Ki. 21.12: ב ככ ובענין: וְהִשִּׁיבוּ

Gen. 17.20: ד חס י בתר בתו: נשיאם

Gen. 25.16: ד ככ בתור: נשיאם

Lev. 5.16: ד חס י"ד תניין: חמישתו; the equivalent term in the doublet: Lev. 27.13: ד חס י"ד תניין: חמישתו

Ezek. 16.43: ד חס י בתר: תועבתך; the equivalent term in the doublet: Ezek. 5.11: ד חס י בתר: תועבתך

Both terms appear combined in doublets:

Deut. 17.8: ל ככ || חס וי"ו: ריבת

Micah 4.3: ל ככ || חס וי"ו: עצמים

Jer. 2.17: ל וככ || חס י: מולךך

Jer. 2.18: ל ככ || חס י: שחר

Deut. 1.32: ל וככ || חס י"ד בתר: מאמנים

Deut. 4.13: ד חס י"ו קדמ: לחות

Jer. 6.20: ב ככ || חס וי"ו קדמ: עלותיכם

27. specification of the vowel-letter referred to:

From the Masoretic note on the passage Josh. 22.27: דרוּתֵינוּ: ב ובענין. חד מל וחד חס דחס. ובסא נמסר: חד מל וי"ו קדמ וחד חס we learn that while the terms in general use מל or חס had no reference as to which vowel-letter was meant by this remark, certain manuscripts were more specific in their terminology. Cf. the following examples:

a) Lev. 14.4: כל חס וי"ו קדמ: טהרות

1 Ki. 7.2: ב חס וי"ו קדמ: וכרתות

1 Sam. 1.20: ל וחס וי"ו קדמ: לתקפות

£) Lev. 14.37: ל וחס וי"ו בתר: שקערורת

γ) Lev. 23.17: γ ומל ו קדמ: ממושבתיכם

δ) Jer. 33.11: δ חס י"ד קדמ: מבאים

ι) 1 Sam. 20.13: ι חס י"ד בתר: ייטב

2 Ki. 4.44: ב חס י"ד בתר: ניותרו

d) THE TERM **חַד** REFERS TO THE CROSS-REFERENCE

Ezek. 33.25: **בַּחַד מַלְּוֹעֵינֶכֶם**

Mal. 1.5: **בַּחַד חֶסֶד וְעֵינֶיכֶם**

Hos. 5.13: **בַּחַד מַלְּלִרְפָּא**

Eccl. 3.3: **בַּחַד חֶסֶד לִרְפּוּא**

Ps. 39.11: **בַּחַד כְּתִיב אֶבְלִיחִי**

Ps. 119.101: **בַּחַד כְּתִיב יֶבְלֵאֲתִי**

Ps. 51.10: **בַּחַד כְּתִיב אֶדְבִּיתָּ**

Ps. 89.11: **בַּחַד כְּתִיב יוֹדֶבֶאֲתָּ**

Hab. 1.5: **יִסְפָּר בַּחַד פֶּתַח** refers to Ps. 22.31: **יִסְפָּר**.

Job 21.4: **תִּקְצֹר בַּחַד קִמָּץ** refers to Num. 11.23: **תִּקְצֹר**.

With our finding (above under a 5) in mind that **חַד** and **אֶחָד** are interchangeably used, cf. also

Ezek. 16.7: **בִּאֵל מַלְּנִכְנֹו**; cf. Prov. 19.29: **נִכְנֹו**.

Lev. 14.6: **לֵא חֶסֶד וְאֵל מַלְּהִשְׁחֻטָּה**; cf. Lev. 14.51: **הִשְׁחֻטָּה**.

Of the usage of the term **חַד** to indicate the very passage under observation (cf. § 12 d 16), I came across these two instances only:

Hab. 1.16: **בַּחַד חֶסֶד בְּרִאָה**; the cross-reference Num. 16.30: **בְּרִאָה** is in *plene* spelling.

Micah 1.4: **בְּמִוְרָד בַּחַד קִמָּץ**; cf. Josh. 10.11 and Jer. 48.5: **בְּמִוְרָד** with *pataḥ*.

e) THE IDENTICAL NOTES ON PASSAGES IN A DIFFERENT SPELLING (cf. § 12 e).

Jer. 32.8: **גַּב חֶסֶד וְאֵל מַלְּדוֹדִי**

Jer. 32.9: **גַּב חֶסֶד וְאֵל מַלְּדָדִי**

2 Sam. 15.27: בַּחַד מִלּוֹחַד חֶסֶד: הָרֹאֶה

Ezek. 8.6: בַּחַד מִלּוֹחַד חֶסֶד: הָרֹאֶה

2 Chron. 6.25: בָּא חֶסֶד וְאֵל מִלִּ: וְהִשְׁבֹּתָם

1 Ki. 8.34: בַּחַד חֶסֶד וְאֵל מִלִּ: וְהִשְׁבֹּתָם

2^o Sam. 22.30: דָּג מִלּוֹחַד חֶסֶד: אֶרֶץ

Ps. 18.30: דָּג מִלּוֹחַד חֶסֶד: אֶרֶץ

f) THE TERM דִּין

Ps. 78.43: גִּדְּיָן מִלִּ: וּמוֹפְתָיו

Ex. 15.11: בִּדְיָן חֶסֶד: בְּאֵלֵם

Lev. 15.19: בִּדְיָן חֶסֶד: זִכָּה

Ezek. 47.22: בִּדְיָן חֶסֶד: הוֹלְדוֹ

The use of the term דִּין in conjunction with חַד results in a doublet; cf. Lev. 13.45: בַּחַד חֶסֶד: פְּרוּעַ; this note refers (according to subdivision d) to the second occurrence, namely Ex. 32.25 where we actually find פָּרַע in *defective* spelling. On this second passage the Masora notes: בָּא מִלִּ וּדְיָן חֶסֶד. This is obviously a combination of בָּא מִלִּ (referring to Lev. 13.45) and בִּדְיָן חֶסֶד. Similarly we shall have to explain as doublets the following instances:

Ezek. 40.4: בַּחַד חֶסֶד || וּדְיָן מִלִּ: הָרֹאֶתָהּ

Jer. 5.22: בָּא חֶסֶד || וּדְיָן מִלִּ: הָאֹתִי

Ex. 22.19: גִּבְתָּחִי || וּדְיָן קֶם: יִחָרֵם

On Ezek. 3.17: וְהִזְהַרְתָּ the Masora remarks: גִּבְתָּחִי וְאֵל מִלִּ. This might be considered merely as an amplification of an original note: גִּבְתָּחִי חֶסֶד; for now it is self understood that the one remaining instance is in *plene* spelling. However, as the note reads, it does not clearly indicate the way how the instance

In a similar way, the Masoretic note on 1 Ki. 12.27: וַיִּהְיֶה חֵם || דְּרַחְבֵּעַם חֵם was expanded into a doublet on Gen. 20.11: בֹּ. חֵם מֵל וְחֵם חֵם || דְּרַחְבֵּעַם חֵם. For the separate use of the second component cf. similarly Gen. 24.10: בֹּ, דִּמְשֶׁק: טוֹב, a reference to 2 Ki. 8.9. Consequently, 1 Sam. 28.6: בָּאוּרִים חֵם || עַל כֵּן בָּאוּרִים חֵם is a doublet, too; the cross-reference is to Isa. 24.15. The apparent anomaly in the note: חֵם (while בָּאוּרִים is quoted in *plene* spelling!) reflects only carelessness of the scribe or printer; cf. similarly on

Deut. 32.47: **וּבְדָבָר הַזֶּה** the Masoretic note **בְּאִנְכֶם מֵאִמִּינִים**, which refers to Deut. 1.32 where the word occurs in *defective* spelling: **לֹא וּכְכָּ || חֹס יוֹר בְּתָר : מֵאִמִּינִם**.

D. JACOB BEN CHAYIM AS EDITOR

X. THE MASORETIC TEXT IS ECLECTICALLY ESTABLISHED

Jacob ben Chayim does not follow any manuscript or authority in every detail, but uses his own judgment. Though a Spanish manuscript served him as a basis for his work, he nevertheless deviates from it occasionally; cf. on Gen. 19.13. In Num. 5.27 he accepts the vocalization of Ben Asher, but in Jer. 25.29 he follows Ben Naphtali. Similarly he sometimes exhibits the readings of the **מַעְרַבָּאִי** in his text, and on other occasions those of the **מְדִנְחָאִי**. He thus proceeds according to the eclectic method. But we are at a complete loss, when searching for the underlying principles.

§ 18. *Authorities Quoted for Doubtful Readings*

a) REFERRING TO THE SPELLING-TEXT

Gen. 19.13: **וּבְסֵפֶר אֲסַפְמִיָּא אֲשֶׁר נִסְמַךְ עָלָיו נִמְצָא: אֵל : אֶת הַמָּקוֹם**
הַמָּקוֹם

Gen. 25.14: **וּבְסֵפֶר אֲסַפְמִיָּא אֲשֶׁר נִסְמַךְ עָלָיו: דּוּמָה בִּה"א. : וְדוּמָה**
וְכֵן אוֹמַר בְּעַל הַמִּסּוֹר. וּבְרֹב סִפְרֵי נִמְצָא: דּוּמָה
בְּאַלְף

Gen. 27.3: **הָ יִתִּיר. אֲבָל פְּלוּגָת דְּרַב נַחֲמָן. וְהִיא חֵד מִן : צִידָה**
כֹּא תִיבִין כְּתִי הָ בְּסוֹף תִּיבוֹת וְלֹא קָרִי

Ps. 105.22: **לְפִי דַעַת רַב אִידִי בְּבָר שָׂרוּ כְּתִי שָׂרִיו ק' : שָׂרִיו**

Deut. 32.6: **לְסוּרָאִי הָ לַחּוֹד לִי"י לַחּוֹד. לְנַהֲרָדְעִי הֵל : הִלְהִיחוּהוּ**
לַחּוֹד י"י לַחּוֹד. לְסִפְרֵי אַחֲרֵי חֵדָּא מִלְתָּא

b) REFERRING TO THE VOCALIZATION-TEXT

Gen. 26.35: כן נמצא בספרי אספמיא ובשם החר שמשון ונתהיין, וכן דינו

Gen. 18.15: כל הנקדנים מנקדים בפתח. והר"ר משה ונתפחש: מלונדרש אמר: שהוא בקמץ. לפי שלא היתה רגילה לכחש

Num. 7.85: ל. ופליג רב יוסף: הקערה: הקערה

Ezek. 18.11: בקצת ספרים מצאתיו קמוץ. אבל ר' יוסף זרקא: אָכַל כתבו פתוח. ומסר עליו: דאכיל פתח פומיה. דלא אכל קמץ פומיה

Lev. 4.35: כן נמצא בחומש אחד. שכתב ונקד רבינו: יוסר חָלַב גרשם מפרי"ו: כאשר יוסר אזלא וב מונחים

c) DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BEN ASHER AND BEN NAPHTALI

Ex. 21.19: פלוגתא דבן אשר ובן נפתלי. דין אליבא דבן: וְהִתְהַלֵּךְ אֲשֶׁר

Num. 5.27: לבן אשר כן ניקודו: הִמְאָרְרִים

Jer. 25.29: לבן נפתלי: אֲשֶׁר-יִנְקָרָא

d) מדינחאי AND מערבאי

α) the text exhibits the מדינחאי-reading:

1 Ki. 16.1: ל. למערבאי: אל בעשא: עַל-בְּעֵשָׂא

1 Ki. 3.20: למערבאי מל. למדנחאי ב חס: ולבי ער. ודין: יִשְׁנָה

1 Ki. 3.12: למדנחאי חס: כִּדְבָרְךָ

β) the text exhibits the מערבאי-reading:

1 Sam. 1.3: למערבאי חס. למדנחאי מל: וּפְנָחָס

2 Sam. 6.23: למדנחאי כתי ולד: יָלַד

Jer. 34.2: סָא יכניהו: יְכַנְיָהוּ: (cf. § 22γ) למדנחאי: צדקיה: צִדְקִיָּהוּ:
 Micah 6.5: מדינהאי: מי כתי. מה קרי: מָה:
 Isa. 3.17: ל. מדנחאי פתהן: פִּתְהֶן:

§ 19. *The Masoretic Tradition at Variance*

Cf. Jacob ben Chayim's statement in his *Introduction*: ובמקומות
 שמצאתי הפרש בין ספרי המסרה. זה אומר בכה. וזה אומר בכה.
 הבאתי דעות שניהם.

Ex. 16.13: ב וכז. ובסא נמסר: ל מל השליו: הִשְׁלִיו:
 Ex. 26.5: דין חס תניין מל. ובמסר אחרת נמסר: ב וכתי כן: מִקְבִּילָת:
 Judg. 10.6: ל מל. ובסא נמסר: ב מל: עֲבְדוּהוּ:
 Judg. 19.17: סא נמסר עליו: ב חס בליש: בְּרָחוּב:
 1 Sam. 1.28: ל. ובסא נמס: ל וחס: הִשְׁאֲלֵתִיהוּ:
 Isa. 31.4: ל. סא נמסר: ב: וּמִהֲמוֹנָם:
 Jer. 6.19: ב מל. סא: ל מל: מִחֻשְׁבוֹתָם:
 Jer. 29.11: ל חס. סא: ב חס: הִמְחֻשְׁבַּת:
 Ex. 4.12: ל ומל. ובסא: והורתיך. ונמסר עליו: ל וכז: וְהוֹרִיתִיךָ:
 Gen. 36.7: ד ג חס ו ודין מל. ויס: דין חס וא"ו: מְגוֹרִיָּהֶם:
 2 Sam. 17.14: חס. ופלוגתא עליה. אית סיפרי דמסר: (2°) אֲבָשָׁלָם:
 נמסר: טו חס. ואית סיפרי נמסר: יד
 חס. ואין מונין זה מן המנין
 Josh. 21.11: כול כן: חס יו"ד. ובסא זקן ומדוייק: כול חס י: מְגִרְשָׁה:
 במב: חברון. לבנה
 Gen. 49.21: חד מן ה מל(ו). ובסא נמסר עליו: ד חס. וכן: הִנָּתַן:
 הוא בתיקון סת חס וברוב הספרים
 Gen. 26.22: כן כתוב. ובתיקון סת ראיתי: רחבת חס. רְחֻבוֹת:
 ומוגה חס
 Josh. 8.12: כן כתי וקרי מכח מסה: לָעִיר:
 עשית ק. וברוב הספרים בדקתי ולא מצאתי: עָשִׂיתִי:
 2 Sam. 14.21: זה קרי וכתי כי אם אחד מני אלף

Isa. 38.14: בקצת ספרי כתי כסיס וקרי כסוס. אמנם לא :כסוס
מצאתיו שנמנה עם אות הכתובי יו"ד באמצע
תיבות וק וי"ו

Ps. 24.4: נפשי ק. ותימא דלא נמנה במסורה גדולה מאינן :נפשו
דכתיבין וי"ו בסוף תיבות וקריין יו"ד

§ 20. Masora and Text-Tradition at Variance

On Prov. 23.5: עשה the marginal Masora states: במסר רבת
עשו מה דקשה. In the Masora *finalis* referred to we read
ד ככ. וסימ נמסר בירמיה סי ככ. ועיין שם מה דאקשינן :עשו
s. v. (we re-arranged here the somewhat confused word-order of the
statement). In a note on the passage Jer. 22.4 referred to, the
problem is clearly formulated: עשו: ד כתיב ו בסוף. וסימ: דרכך.
ומעלליך. כי אם הטיב תטיבו. כי אם עשו תעשו את הדבר הזה.
ואתנהו ביד איל גוים. ויש ספרים נמסר: בזנותך אחר גוים. במקום:
אם עשו תעשו. דסיפרא. ובדקתי אחל בספרים מדוייקים ומצאתי
בה"א. ותמיה לי: אם כן למה לא נמנה עם אותם ד עשה שהם כתובים
בה"א. ואם נאמר: שהוא בוי"ו. אם כן נשבש כל הספרים המדוייקים.
שבכלם נמסר על כל אחד מהד עשו: ד כתיב וי"ו. וגם ספרי המסר.
ועוד תמיה לי: למה נמנה הסכלת עשו דאורייתא עם הד כתיב ה.
מאחר שהוא בוי"ו. ונמסר עליו: לית כתיב וי"ו. ימנה אותו עם אותם
שהם בוי"ו. ונתקשיתי בהאי ענינא טובא. ולא ידענא מה למימר ביה.
"The word עשו occurs four times in this spelling, with *waw* as
final letter. These passages are: Jer. 4.18; ib. 7.5; ib. 22.4 and
Ezek. 31.11. In some manuscripts the Masora substitutes
Ezek. 23.30 for Jer. 22.4 of our list. I, therefore, examined
manuscripts which are reputed as correct, and found the instance
Ezek. 23.30 spelled with ה. But now I wonder. Since Ezek. 23.30
is spelled עשה with ה, why is this passage not enumerated
together with the four other occurrences of עשה in this spelling
with ה? (According to our Bible, עשה with ה at the end occurs
eight times!). This argument might be taken as a proof that in

Ezek. 23.30 עשו should be spelled, with *waw*. But if so, then all those manuscripts which are reputed as correct turn out to be incorrect, for in all of them there occurs a Masoretic note on each of the four passages (mentioned above) stating: עשו occurs 4 times with ו. The same is true of the Masoretic compilations. There is even another fact that puzzles me: why is עשו in the passage Gen. 31.28 enumerated among the four occurrences of עשה with ה? This passage is not only spelled with ו in the text, but also has a Masoretic note saying: this is the only occurrence of this form (construct infinitive) with ו! Let the Masora enumerate this passage together with the other instances of spelling עשו with *waw*! I did much hard thinking on this subject. Still I do not know how to explain it."

§ 21. *The Text is Made to Conform with the Masora*

Whenever feasible the reading of the text is selected — or revised — in such a manner as to conform to the respective Masoretic list:

Gen. 25.25: ברוב הספרי חס. ולפי המסורה מלא. וכן: אַדְמוֹנִי
ראיתי בתיקון ס"ת

Gen. 26.25: בתיקון ס"ת וגם בספרי מדוייקי ראיתי: אהלו. אֶהְלֶה:
בו. אבל בעל המסר אומר אהלה. בה"א. ויש
חילוק גם במסר. שיש קצת ספרי שאינם מונין
זה בחשבון

Gen. 46.3: ובתיקון סופרים ראיתי: מרדה מצרים. מְרָדָה מְצָרִימָה
אבל בעל המסר אומר: מרדה
מצרימה

Jer. 21.6: ל. ובקצת ספרי כתי: את האדם. ושעות. כי: וְאֵת הָאָדָם
הוא נמנה במסר רבת עם אותם ואת. דלית
להון זוגא

Ezek. 22.18: בהרבה ספרים הוא בוקף. וטעות. כי אינו: בן אָדָם: ממנין הל"א שמונה המסרה בטע זקף

Ezek. 39.28: יפה וכך דינו. כי לא נמנה במסר כי אם: אֶל אֲדָמָתָם: ד' על אדמתם בסיפ. וזה לא נמנה בכללם. ומטעי ביה ספרי

Ezek. 45.10: כן דינו. כי בקצת ספרי מצאתיו: יהיה. ובמקצת: יְהִי: יהי. וטעות. כי לא נמנה עם אותם דחס ה' בסוף תיבות וקרי. אלא דינו: יהי הכתיב והקרי

Ps. 88.10: ג. וראיתי בספר מדויק כתוב: בכל עת. בְּכָל יוֹם: ולולי המסורה הייתי מגיה כך

Ps. 144.2: רש"י פי' כי בספר מוגה ועליו מסורה שהיה לו. תַּחֲתִי: היה כתוב תחתי. וקרי תחתיו. ונ"ל כי הוא טעות. שבמסר רבת לא נמנו כי אם י"ב חס וי"ו בסוף תיבות וקריין. ובדקתי בד' ובה ספרי מסר ואינ' מונים כי אם י"ב. וזה לא נמנה עמהם

Prov. 4.15: בקצת ספרי כתו יעבור. וקרי ועבור. אמנם לפי: וְעָבַר: דעת בעלי המסרה לא יתכן. כי לא נמנו כי אם כב' דכתי יו"ד בריש תיבות וקרי וי"ו. וזה לא נמנה עמהם

Ex. 14.25: כב' בקמ'. כי לא נמנה במסור במספר הי"ב פתחי: נִלְחָם: יש ספרי מוגה בהם: וממטה ראובן את בצר וגו' ובכל Josh. 21.35: הספ' המדויקים הישנים לא נמצא. ועיין בפי הקמחי. וגם במסר עיין. כי כשמונה כ"ח את. לא נמצא בכללן. וזו ראיה גדולה

The only instances I am aware of, in which Jacob ben Chayim wittingly deviates from what he considers to be implied by the Masora, are the two following passages, in one of which he yields to the authority of Kimḥi:

Gen. 16.12: כן בכל הספרים. אבל לפי המסורה לא יכול: וְעַל פְּנֵי
להיות ובתיקון ס"ת ראיתי: על פני

Ezek. 43.26: יכפרו ק. אמנם בקצת ספרים מדויקים ישנו: וְכָפְרוּ
מצאתי שהכת והקרי: יכפרו. וגם המסרה
מוכחת כן. כי לא נמנה עם אות שהם כתובים
וי"ו בריש תיבות וקרי יו"ד. לולי שראיתי
לרד"ק בפירושו שאמר: שהכת וכפרו. והקרי
יכפרו.

§ 22. *The Selecting of a Reading in the Absence of Masora*

In all of those numerous cases, in which Jacob ben Chayim found himself confronted with the problem of selecting his reading among the variants offered in the source-manuscripts which he consulted, and where no Masoretic note was at hand to guide him in his choice, he seems not to have followed any fixed rules as to which manuscript deserves greater credence in every detail, but decided each case on its own merits, according to his judgment. In a note he records the variant reading which he rejected:

Ex. 19.4: חלוקים הספרים. ויש הרבה ספרי: במצרים. לְמִצְרַיִם
ובספרים מדויקי גם בקצת סת מדויקים
נמצא: למצרים

Ezek. 29.2: כן דינו לדעת הקמחי. ובספרים מדויקים ישנים: כָּלָה
מצאתי כתו כלה בחולם

1 Ki. 20.20: וינס ארם בספרים מדויקים וישנים: וַיִּנְסוּ אֲרָם

Josh. 24.26: ל חס. ובסא מדויק מלא: וַיִּקְמָה

1 Sam. 23.4: בקצת ספרים חס. ובס מוגה מל: קָעִילָה

Jer. 22.2: סא שמעו. ובס מוגה: שָׁמַע: שָׁמַע

Job 15.17: בספ מוגה דגש: אֶחָד

Judg. 9.35: כן בספ מוגה: הַמְאָרֵב

Jer. 9.22: כן בספ מוגה: אַל (3°)

Jer. 13.7: כן בספ מוגה: לא

Jer. 51.46: כן בספ מוגה: מַשֵּׁל (1°)

Ezek. 46.6: כן בסיפ מוגה ויפה: בָּקֶר תְּמִימִם

Ps. 109.18: כן בספ מוגה: וְהִשְׁמֵן

In these cases Jacob ben Chayim decided according to the evidence of the ספר מוגה; but in other instances he rejected this evidence:

Isa. 15.2: בספ מוגה: ודיבן כתי: וְדִבּוֹן

Jer. 44.8: בספר מוגה: להם: לָכֶם

Ezek. 14.23: בספר מוגה: לה: בָּהּ

Job 9.8: ובספר מוגה: במתי עב: בְּמִתִּי יָם

Josh. 19.34: סא מוגה: אזנו: אֲזֵנוֹת

Josh. 9.21: סא ישן מצאתיו מוגה: אלהם: לָהֶם

Josh. 19.15: ל. סא ויראלה בריש: וִירְאֵלָה

Isa. 34.16: סא ואשה: אִשָּׁה

Jer. 6.27: סא לבם: דֶּרֶכָם

Jer. 9.15: סא ידעום: יִדְעוּ

Jer. 14.14: סא לכם: לָהֶם

Jer. 24.1: (cf. § 18 d β) סא יכניהו: יִכְנִיָּה

Ezek. 23.5: סא ותעגב: וַתַּעֲגֹב

Ezek. 36.4: ל. סא השממות: הַשְּׁמָמוֹת

Isa. 51.5: סא חס: חֵס

Josh. 8.21: מצאנו בספר ישן: העיר: הָעִיר

Isa. 63.15: ברוב הספרים חס: מְבֹול

Ezek. 40.4: ל וככ. ובקצת ספרי חס ה בחר: הִבְאֵתָהּ

Gen. 36.7: יש ספרים חסר: רְכוּשָׁם

Isa. 27.4: ל. ויס שי"ן בחטף קמץ: אֶפְשָׁעָה

1 Sam. 25.22: יש ספרים: אור: עֵד הַבָּקֶר

Lev. 10.12: כ ספר ירוש. ובסא נמצא: וְאֵל אֶלְעֹזֶר: וְאֵל אֶלְעֹזֶר

E. CONCLUSIONS

XI. HOW TO EDIT THE BIBLE

§ 23. *The Problem*

1. The Hebrew Bible is the basic source for our knowledge of Hebrew grammar. In this relationship between Bible and grammar, the Bible occupies the first place, being of primary importance, while the grammar can best be described by the Talmudic term of a *תולדה דידה* (an offspring thereof). Thus, a reliable Bible text is an indispensable prerequisite for all grammatical researches; but on the other hand: no grammatical theories must be permitted to influence in any way the shaping of the Bible text. For else, the grammar based upon such a Bible text would merely demonstrate to what extent our own preconceived grammatical theories were actually applied in the editing of the aforesaid Bible, instead of revealing any genuinely Hebrew grammatical laws.

2. It is lamentable that this fundamental consideration has obviously not been the guiding principle of the Bible editions hitherto published:

a) The Bible editions which at present are in common use, as those published by S. Baer, C. D. Ginsburg, R. Kittel (first and second edition of his *Biblia Hebraica*) and M. Letteris, are based upon Jacob ben Chayim's first Masoretic Bible. Though they claim to be faithful reproductions thereof, they very frequently changed the vocalization in its many aspects (cf. HPh § 7) as well as the accentuation, so as to make their text the better conform with what they considered "correct" Hebrew grammar, but which we would more adequately term as *their* respective conception of Hebrew grammar. The many differences which exist between these editions — all of which claim to be

carefully revised according to the Masora — reflect solely the corresponding differences in the grammatical views held by the respective editors. Cf. the post-script of the “*Neu revidirte und verbesserte*” Bible edition, published in מנגצא תרנ”ד under the auspices of the Jewish Orthodox Bible Institute in Germany, which reads: הוגה על פי המראה אשר ראיתי בספרי דפוס קדמונים וועל משפט דקדוק הלשון. It goes without saying that our scientific Hebrew grammars, being based upon one or the other of these Bible editions, are basically valueless.

b) Jacob ben Chayim’s Bible is, according to his own statement in his *Introduction*, a revision of the then extant Bible texts: ואחר שראיתי בספרי המסרה והתבוננתי בהם. ראיתים מבולבלים בתכלית ומשובשים. עד שאין בהם בית אשר אין שם מת... וכשראיתי כל זה... הייתי מתקנם על נכון. ובמקומות שמצאתי הפרש בין ספרי המסרה: זה אומר בכה וזה אומר בכה. הבאתי דעות שניהם... ובמקומות שהיה קשה לי על לשון ספר אחד מהמסרה. שלא הייתי מוצא כדבריו ברוב הספרים. ובמסרה אחרת באופן אחר. ולא היה קשה. ובמקומות שהיה קשה מדידיה אדידיה... הייתי חוקר עד שהייתי מוצא האמת לעניות דעתי... והשם יודע כמה טורח עבדתי על זה. In establishing his text, Jacob ben Chayim proceeded according to what might be called the eclectic method — provided we consent to call his procedure a method. Thus, some times he follows Ben Naftali, but on some other occasions he gives Ben Asher the preference; on two occasions he refers to Spanish codices as שאנו נסמכין עליהם, but elsewhere he frequently adopts the reading found in ברוב הספרים as against that of במקצת ספרים. Jacob ben Chayim thus used his own judgment in choosing one and discarding another reading.

c) Amongst the many authorities, which Jacob ben Chayim quotes by name in order either to accept or to reject their readings, Ben Asher and Ben Naftali rank very high as Masoretic

scholars. But even their work as editors of the Bible was of the same type as has just been characterized for the later generations, namely: basing their editions on preconceived grammatical theories. At least for Ben Asher's work we have explicit evidence for this rôle of his, in a colophon to ms. Adler 1701 of our Seminary Library, which reads: **הכל על תקון הספר הידוע במצרים. שהוא כולל כד ספרים. שהגיהן בן אשר ודקדק בן אשר שנים רבות**. In other words: The fame of the well-known Egyptian codex (**הספר הידוע במצרים**) rests on the fact that Ben Asher spent many years of his life (**שנים רבות**) in correcting it (**שהגיהן**) and revising every detail (**ודקדק**). By this procedure, an otherwise common Bible ms. became an authoritative Model Code. But in order to correct and carefully revise the ms., Ben Asher must have worked out beforehand his own grammatical laws as to what is correct in Hebrew, and what is not. These laws he then painstakingly applied to the ms., which thus became a Model Codex, since Ben Asher's reputation as a grammarian imbued it with authority. But the relationship between Bible and grammar was thus reversed: for the Bible of Ben Asher was an offspring of his grammar!

3. Thus, Bible editors till now made the fundamental error to approach their task as grammarians, anxious to eliminate and correct what in their eyes plainly were "errors." By this procedure they achieved that grammatical studies finally became hopelessly entangled in inner contradictions, resulting from the attempts to put on a common denominator different Hebrew forms, which in reality represent the remnants of the many hands which had been at work editing the Bible throughout the generations. These problems will be dealt with in detail in my forthcoming Hebrew Grammar.

4. In order to free ourselves from these many layers of editorial débris, we have to search for such Bible texts, the

readings of which do not exhibit systematic revisions of this kind. We emphasize: "systematic" revisions; because it would be too much to hope to find texts which entirely escaped such editorial changes. But inconsistency in their application will permit us to arrive at general conclusions as to the characteristics of their genuine *Vorlage*. We, therefore, turn to *incunabula* and old Bible manuscripts, which up to now have been entirely disregarded by grammarians and Bible editors alike, since the text they present was considered utterly incorrect.

§ 24. *The Basic Bible Text*

As specimina for our new approach we first publish, both in facsimile reproduction and in transcription, two pages from the famous *Codex Reuchlinianus* (written in 1105) in Karlsruhe, and one page from a very rare *Spanish incunabulum* of our Seminary Library. The facsimiles from the *Codex Reuchlinianus* are taken from Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. I (1887), and William Wright, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions*, vol. II (1883), respectively.

The transcription aims at faithfully reproducing all the details of the vocalization. However, a few external changes in the position of certain vowel-signs in the *Codex Reuchlinianus* had to be introduced in order to simplify their reproduction in print. Thus, we indicate *kamez* here by τ , while the Ms. has τ ; \beth in final position is vocalized \beth in the Ms., but here \beth ; instead of \beth and \beth of the Ms. we print \beth and \beth , respectively; the *dagesh* in \beth and \beth we put above these letters: \beth and \beth , instead of \beth and \beth , as the Ms. presents.

Codex Reuchlinianus

(Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe)

fol. 83b

1 Sam. 30.27–31.9

27: לְאִשֶּׁר בְּבֵית־אֵל וְלְאִשֶּׁר בְּרֶמֶת נָגַב וְלְאִשֶּׁר בְּיָתִיר:
 28: וְלְאִשֶּׁר בַּעֲרֵר וְלְאִשֶּׁר בְּשַׁפְמוֹת וְלְאִשֶּׁר בְּאַשְׁתִּמֶּע:
 29: וְלְאִשֶּׁר בְּרָכָל וְלְאִשֶּׁר בַּעֲרֵי הִירְחָמָאֵלִי וְלְאִשֶּׁר בַּעֲרֵי
 הַקְנִי:

30: וְלְאִשֶּׁר בְּחֶרְמָה וְלְאִשֶּׁר בְּבֵר עֶשֶׂן וְלְאִשֶּׁר בַּעֲתָד:
 31: וְלְאִשֶּׁר בְּחֶבְרוֹן וְלִכָּל הַמְּקוֹמוֹת אֲשֶׁר הִתְהַלֵּךְ שָׁם דָּוִד
 הוּא וְאֲנָשָׁיו:

1: וּפְלִשְׁתִּים נִלְחָמִים בִּישְׂרָאֵל וַיָּנָסוּ אָנָּשִׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִפָּנָי
 פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיִּפְּלוּ חֲלָלִים בְּהָר הַגִּלְבָּע:
 2: וַיִּדְּבְּקוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים אֶת שְׂאוֹל וְאֶת בָּנָיו וַיָּכּוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים אֶת
 יְהוֹנָתָן וְאֶת אַבְיָתָר וְאֶת מַלְכִּישׁוּעַ בְּנֵי שְׂאוֹל:
 3: וַתִּכָּבֵד הַמֶּלֶחֶמָה עַל שְׂאוֹל וַיִּמָּצְאוּהוּ הַמּוֹרִים אָנָּשִׁים
 בַּקֶּשֶׁת וַיַּחַל מָאֵד מִהַמּוֹרִים:
 4: וַיֹּאמֶר שְׂאוֹל לְנָשָׂא כֶּלֶיךָ שְׁלֵף חֶרֶבְךָ וַיִּקְרַנִּי בָּהּ פֶּן
 יָבֹאוּ הָעַרְלִים הָאֵלֶּה וַיִּקְרוּנִי וְהִתְעַלְלוּ בִּי וְלֹא אָבִה
 נָשָׂא כֶּלֶיךָ כִּי יֵרָא מָאֵד וַיִּקַּח שְׂאוֹל אֶת הַחֶרֶב וַיִּפֹּל
 עָלֶיהָ:

5: וַיֵּרָא נָשָׂא כָלִין כִּי מֵת שְׂאוּל וַיִּפֹּל גַּם הוּא עַל חֻבּוֹ
וַיָּמָת עִמּוֹ:

6: וַיָּמָת שְׂאוּל וּשְׁלֹשֶׁת בָּנָיו וְנָשָׂא כָלִין וְגַם כָּל אֲנָשָׁיו בַּיּוֹם
הַהוּא יַחְדָּן:

7: וַיֵּרְאוּ אֲנָשֵׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר בְּעֶבֶר הָעֶמֶק וְאֲשֶׁר בְּעֶבֶר
הַיַּרְדֵּן כִּי נָסוּ אֲנָשֵׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְכִי מָתוּ שְׂאוּל וּבָנָיו וַיַּעֲזְבוּ
אֶת הָעָרִים וַיָּנוּסוּ וַיָּבֹאוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיֵּשְׁבוּ בָהֶן:

8: וַיְהִי מִמַּחֲרָת וַיָּבֹאוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים לַפֶּשֶׁט אֶת הַחֲלָלִים וַיִּמָּצְאוּ
אֶת שְׂאוּל וְאֶת שְׁלֹשֶׁת בָּנָיו נָפְלִים בְּהָר הַגִּלְבָּע:

9: וַיִּכְרְתוּ אֶת רֹאשׁוֹ וַיִּפְשְׁטוּ אֶת כָּלִין וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ בָאָרֶץ
פְּלִשְׁתִּים סָבִיב לַבָּשָׁר בֵּית עֲצָבִיהֶם וְאֶת הָעֵם:

fol. 382b

Mal. 3.19–24:

19: כִּי הִנֵּה הַיּוֹם בָּא בָּעַר בְּתַנּוּר וְהָיוּ כָּל זָדִים וְכָל עֲשֵׂי
רָשָׁעָה קָשׁ וְלֹהֵט אֹתָם הַיּוֹם הַבֹּא אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת
אֲשֶׁר לֹא יַעֲזֹב לָהֶם שְׂרֵשׁ וְעִנְיָה:

20: וְזָרְחָה לָכֶם יִרְאִי שָׁמַי שְׁמֵשׁ צִדְקָה וּמִרְפָּא בְּכַנְפֶיהָ
וַיִּצְאָתָם וַיִּפְשְׁתָם כְּעֹגְלֵי מִרְבֵּק:

21: וְעֲשׂוּתָם רָשָׁעִים כִּי יִהְיוּ אַפֵּר תַּחַת כַּפּוֹת רַגְלֵיכֶם בַּיּוֹם
אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת:

22: זָכְרוּ תוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה עַבְדִּי אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי אֹתוֹ בְּחֶרֶב עַל כָּל
יִשְׂרָאֵל חֲקִים וּמִשְׁפָּטִים:

23: הִנֵּה אֲנֹכִי שֹׁלַח לָכֶם אֶת אֱלֹהֵי הַנִּבִּיא לִפְנֵי בֹא יוֹם יְהוָה
הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא:

24: וְהָשִׁיב לִבְ אֲבוֹתַ עַל בָּנִים וְלִבְ בָּנִים עַל אֲבֹתָם פֶּן אָבוּא
וְהִבִּיתִי אֶת הָאָרֶץ חֶרֶם:

23: הִנֵּה אֲנֹכִי שֹׁלַח לָכֶם

Pentateuch with Targum

Spanish Incunabulum (Library, Jewish Theological Seminary,
shelf mark 72050)

Deut. 29.2–19

הַגְּדֹלִים הָהֵם:

3: וְלֹא נָתַן יְהוָה לָכֶם לֵב לִדְעַת וְעֵינַיִם לִרְאוֹת וְאָזְנוֹיִם
לִשְׁמֹעַ עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:

4: וְאוֹלָךְ אֲתֹכֶם אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה בְּמִדְבָּר לֹא בָלוּ שְׁלֹמִתֵיכֶם
מֵעַלֵיכֶם וְנִעְלָךְ לֹא בָלְתָה מֵעַל רַגְלֶיךָ:

5: לָחֶם לֹא אָכַלְתֶּם וַיֵּין וְשִׁכָּר לֹא שְׁתִּיתֶם לְמַעַן תִּדְּעוּ כִּי
אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם:

- 6: וַתֵּבֹאוּ אֶל הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה וַיֵּצֵא סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ חֲשִׁבוֹן וְעוֹג מֶלֶךְ
הַבָּשָׁן לִקְרָאתָנוּ לְמַלְחָמָה וְנִכְבָּם:
- 7: וְנִקַּח אֶת אֶרֶצָם וְנִתְּנָה לְנַחֲלָה לְרֵאוּבֵנִי וּלְגָדִי וּלְחִצִּי
שִׁבְט הַמְּנַשִּׁי:
- 8: וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת דְּבָרֵי הַבְּרִית הַזֹּאת וַעֲשִׂיתֶם אִתָּם לְמַעַן
תִּשְׁכִּילוּ אֶת כָּל אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשׂוּן:
- 9: אַתֶּם נִצְבִּים הַיּוֹם כָּלְכֶם לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם רָאשֵׁיכֶם
שְׂבָטֵיכֶם וְקִנִּיכֶם וּשְׁטָרֵיכֶם כָּל אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל:
- 10: טַפְכֶּם נְשִׁיכֶם וְגֵרְךָ אֲשֶׁר בְּקֶרֶב מַחֲנֶיךָ מִחֹטֵב עֲצִיךָ עַד
שֹׂאב מִימֶיךָ:
- 11: לְעִבְרְךָ בְּבְרִית יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ וּבְאֻלָּתוֹ אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ
כָּרַת עִמָּךְ הַיּוֹם:
- 12: לְמַעַן הַקִּים-אִתָּךְ הַיּוֹם לוֹ לְעַם וְהוּא-יְהִי לָךְ לְאֱלֹהִים
כְּאֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּךְ וּכְאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע לְאַבְרָהָם לְאַבְרָהָם
לְיִצְחָק וּלְיַעֲקֹב:
- 13: וְלֹא אַתְּכֶם לְבַדְכֶם אֲנֹכִי כָרַת אֶת-הַבְּרִית הַזֹּאת וְאֶת-
הָאֱלֹה הַזֶּה:
- 14: כִּי אֶת-אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁנוּ פֹה עִמָּנוּ הַיּוֹם לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
וְאֶת אֲשֶׁר-אֵינָנו פֹּה עִמָּנוּ הַיּוֹם:
- 15: כִּי-אַתֶּם יַדְעֶתֶם אֶת-אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁבְּנוּ בָאָרֶץ מִצְרָיִם וְאֶת-
אֲשֶׁר עִבְרָנוּ בְּקֶרֶב הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר עִבְרָתֶם:

16: וַתֵּרְאוּ אֶת שְׁקוּצֵיהֶם וְאֶת־גִּלְלֵיהֶם עַץ וְאֶבֶן כֶּסֶף וְזָהָב
אֲשֶׁר עִמָּהֶם:

17: פָּרִישׁ בָּכֶם אִישׁ אִישׁ אוֹ אִשָּׁה אוֹ מִשְׁפָּחָה אוֹ שְׁבֵט אֲשֶׁר לְבָבוֹ
פָּנָה הַיּוֹם מֵעַם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְלָכֶת לַעֲבֹד אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי
הַגּוֹיִם הָהֵם פֶּן יֵשׁ בָּכֶם שֹׂרֵשׁ פָּרָה רָאשׁ וְלַעֲנָה:

18: וְהָיָה בְּשִׁמְעוֹ אֶת דְּבָרֵי הָאֱלֹהִים הַזֹּאת וְהִתְבָּרַךְ בְּלִבּוֹ
לֵאמֹר שָׁלוֹם יְהִיָּה לִי כִּי בִשְׂרֹתַי לִבִּי אֵלַי לְמַעַן
סְפוֹת הָרָחָק אֶת־הַצִּמְאָה:

19: לֹא־יֵאבֹדָה יְהוָה סֶלֶח לֹא כִּי־אָז וְקִנְאָתוֹ
בְּאִישׁ הַהוּא וּרְבִצָּה־בוֹ כָּל הָאֱלֹהִים וּמָחָה יְהוָה
אֶת־שְׁמוֹ מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם:

§ 25. *The Significance of these Specimens*

a) In order to fully appreciate the importance of these texts for Hebrew grammar, it is essential that we free ourselves from the established grammatical views as expressed in the current works on this subject. For it is not our aim to compare the vocalization of any given word in these texts with that of the so-called Masoretic text and note deviations. Such an approach would imply our silent admission of the validity of the Masoretic grammatical laws even for our texts, though they may not have been punctiliously enough observed here. We on the other hand decline to commit ourselves *a priori* neither to admitting, nor to denying it. Solely the way how the vowel-signs are applied in the texts themselves, shall decide this problem (cf. HPh § 9).

b) *dagesh* and *raphe*

1. The *Codex Reuchlinianus* applies *dagesh* indiscriminately to almost all the letters of the alphabet (the sole exceptions being ן and ע), regardless of the position of the letter (whether at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of a word) and of the nature of the preceding vowel-sign (whether ך or ךּ ; ך or ךּ ; or ך). Those letters of a word, which for no apparent reason at all have no *dagesh*, get a *raphe* instead. But neither α) *dagesh* nor β) *raphe* follow any rules; they are irregularly put:

α) 1 Sam 30.31: הוּאֹ	1 Sam 31.7: אֲנֹשִׁי (1°)
31.5: הוּאֹ	“ : אֲנֹשִׁי (2°)
β) 1 Sam. 31.5: וַיָּקָם	1 Sam. 31.7: וַיָּבֹאוּ
6: וַיָּקָם	8: וַיָּבֹאוּ
1 Sam. 31.8: וַאֲתָ	Mal. 3.19: כָּל
9: וַאֲתָ	22: כָּל

The complete disregard of the Masoretic laws concerning *dagesh* and *raphe* is further evidenced by the fact that these signs are used here γ) interchangeably or even δ) combined:

γ) 1 Sam. 31.4: לְנִשָּׂא	1 Sam. 31.6: וְשָׁלַחְתָּ
“ : נִשָּׂא	8: שָׁלַחְתָּ
Cf. also 1 Sam. 30.27: וְלֹאֲשֹׁר	with verse 28: וְלֹאֲשֹׁר.
δ) 1 Sam. 31.6: שְׁאוּל	Mal. 3.23: הַנְּבִיאַ

2. The *Spanish incunabulum* has only very, very rarely a *dagesh* or *raphe*. But the inconsistency of their application becomes clear, when we consider the following cases:

α) Gen. 41.5: שְׂבָלִים	Gen. 41.4: וְהִבְרִיאֲתָ
6: שְׂבָלִים	20: הִבְרִיאֲתָ
Gen. 41.4: הִפְרוֹת	
20: הִפְרוֹת (2°)	

β) Gen. 41.37: עֲבָדָיו	Deut. 30.2: אֱלֹהֶיךָ
38: עֲבָדָיו	1: אֱלֹהֶיךָ
Deut. 29.4: (לֹא) בָּלוּ	Deut. 29.13: הָזֹאת (1°)
" (לֹא) בָּלְתָהּ :	" הָזֹאת: (2°)

c) the vowel *a* is indicated by the indiscriminate use of *ַ* and *_* :

1. in the *Codex Reuchlinianus*:

1 Sam. 31.3: הַמּוֹרִים	1 Sam. 30.31: וְאִנְשֵׁיוֹ
" מִהַמּוֹרִים :	" 31.6: אִנְשֵׁיוֹ
1 Sam. 31.1: הַגִּלְבָּעַ	1 Sam. 31.5: וְגַם
8: הַגִּלְבָּעַ	6: וְגַם
1 Sam. 31.1: יִשְׂרָאֵל	Mal. 3.23: אֲנֹכִי
Mal. 3.22: יִשְׂרָאֵל	" אֲנֹכִי

2. in the *Spanish incunabulum*:

Gen. 41.5: שָׁבַע	Gen. 41.14: פָּרְעָה
6: שָׁבַע	16: פָּרְעָה
Gen. 41.18: בָּשָׂר	Gen. 41.4: הַפְּרוֹת
19: בָּשָׂר	20: הַפְּרוֹת (1°)
Gen. 41.21: קִרְבָּנָה (1°)	Gen. 41.17: בְּחִלְמִי
" קִרְבָּנָה (2°)	22: בְּחִלְמִי
Gen. 41.31: הַשָּׁבַע	Gen. 41.35: כָּל
34: הַשָּׁבַע	37: כָּל
Deut. 29.11: הַיּוֹם	Deut. 30.3: אֱלֹהֶיךָ (1°)
12: הַיּוֹם	" אֱלֹהֶיךָ: (2°)
Deut. 29.22: יְהוָה	
" 30.1: יְהוָה	

d) similarly $_$ and $_$ are interchangeably used:

1. in the *Codex Reuchlinianus*:

1 Sam. 31.4: כָּלִין (1°)	Mal. 3.19: אֲשֶׁר
“ : כָּלִין (2°)	22: אֲשֶׁר

2. in the *Spanish incunabulum*:

Gen. 41.26: הָנָה	Lev. 11.4: נָה
27: הָנָה	5: נָה
Deut. 29.26: הָנָה	
27: הָנָה	

e) The material at our disposal, especially from the so highly important *Codex Reuchlinianus*, is very limited; the two pages which form the basis for our discussion are all we possess. There are abundant indications that an examination of the entire ms. would reveal startling results; cf. e. g. 1) the absence of *ṣataḥ furtivum* as evidenced by forms like בְּאֶשְׁתִּמֵּךְ, הַגִּלְבֵּעַ, מְלִכִּישׁוּעַ, שִׁלַּח (bis); 2) the vocalization of *waw* in final position with *shewa*, as f. i.: כָּלִין, בְּנִין, יַחֲדוֹ, אֲנִשִּׁין; 3) the fact that *holem* is affixed to the consonant to which it belongs, and not to the following *mater lectionis waw*, thus resulting in a two-ways vocalization of the word: first by the *mater lectionis waw* (cf. HPT § 40), and subsequently by *holem*, e. g. הַמְקֹמוֹת; הַמּוֹרִים, הַיּוֹם, הַכּוֹפֵת. But these details will have to wait for their clarification until normal peace conditions return, and the contents of European libraries will again be made accessible to Americans.

§ 26. Towards a New Bible Edition

The results at which we arrived in the foregoing paragraph, incomplete though they are due to the scarcity of material, are of the utmost importance for the New Edition of the Hebrew

Bible, which we plan to publish. No matter whether we adopt the procedure of the *Codex Reuchlinianus* and use *dagesh* indiscriminately throughout, or whether we follow the lead of the *Spanish incunabulum* and put the *dagesh* into the discard altogether, the final outcome remains the same: the *dagesh* has outlived its existence! It ceases to be a *dagesh*, i. e. a *crux grammaticarum* (cf. HPh §§ 11–35), and is reduced to its original insignificance of a mere dot, inserted at random in curved letters for the sole purpose of their beautification.

Since $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ and $\text{◌}_$ are promiscuously used, and there is not the slightest semblance of evidence that they were meant to indicate two distinct vowels, there could be no objection from the scholarly point of view to simplify matters by substituting one single vowel-sign for both of them. The same procedure is here-with advocated with regard to $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ and $\text{◌}_$, which are used interchangeably, too.

I emphasize: these are merely temporary and incomplete results; and a thorough examination of the hitherto neglected “incorrect” manuscripts in the old European libraries will no doubt round up and bring to a conclusion this *tendency towards simplification*, which is based solely on a careful study and an unbiased interpretation of old texts, the soundest bases a philologist can think of. In conclusion I wish to state that the results outlined here fully substantiate the “General Conclusions” (HPh, chapter C), which were formulated after an examination of the laws of Masoretic Hebrew Phonology, and at a time, when the basic texts of this investigation here still were *terra incognita* to me.

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18.7 [53]	2.17 [57], [74]	32.35 [61]	48.21 [61]
18.13 [65]	2.18 [74]	32.41 [45]	
19.4 [69]	2.27 [53]	33.11 [74]	
19.20 [48]	2.33 [51], [71]	34.2 [80]	HOSEA
22.18 [53]	3.4 [51], [60]	38.22 [67]	1.2 [43]
24.16 [45]	3.5 [60]	39.12 [8]	2.6 [70]
25.6 [51]	3.7 [51]	40.1 [52]	4.6 [54], [73]
26.20 [61], [68], [72]	4.5 [50]	44.8 [46], [85]	5.13 [75]
27.4 [85]	4.30 [51], [53]	48.21 [54]	12.10 [54]

AMOS	88.10 [83]	LAMENTATIONS	11.39 [13]
4.12 [62]	89.11 [75]		14.1 [15]
8.12 [62]	89.29 [72]	3.35 [59]	14.10 [15]
	95.5 [24]	3.53 [59]	14.15 [12]
	99.6 [57]		15.1 [59]
MICAH	105.22 [78]	ECCLESIASTES	17.9 [23]
	106.8 [67]		17.16 [67]
1.4 [75]	107.35 [59]	1.7 [59]	18.3 [10]
1.15 [61]	109.18 [85]	3.3 [75]	18.10 [15], [61]
4.3 [74]	112.10 [62]	4.3 [59]	19.10 [15]
6.5 [80]	119.42 [62]	6.10 [60]	20.7 [12]
	119.99 [63]	10.3 [60]	21.13 [13]
NAHUM	119.101 [75]	11.3 [57]	21.23 [13]
1.3 [71]	119.147 [60]		25.4 [58]
	119.161 [60]	ESTHER	25.28 [58]
HABAKKUK	132.7 [62]	1.5 [59]	
	136.1 [55]	2.3 [57]	2 CHRONICLES
1.5 [75]	137.6 [59]	3.13 [55]	
1.16 [75]	139.23 [62]	4.7 [60]	4.2 [13]
3.19 [66]	140.13 [72]	8.7 [60]	6.17 [13]
	144.2 [83]		6.25 [76]
ZECHARIA	145.8 [71]	DANIEL	6.38 [13]
8.20 [54]		2.10 [58]	7.22 [14]
9.1 [47], [56]	PROVERBS	10.12 [62]	8.4 [14]
	1.3 [59]	12.4 [62]	9.4 [14]
MALACHI	1.8 [59]		10.3 [14]
1.5 [75]	4.15 [83]	EZRA	10.7 [14]
3.19 [95], [97]	8.35 [60]		10.12 [14]
3.22 [95], [96], [97]	10.4 [61], [73]	9.12 [57]	11.1 [14]
3.23 [95], [96]	15.14 [71]	10.8 [64]	12.2 [14]
	17.17 [64]	10.44 [57]	13.14 [60]
	22.8 [61]		18.8 [15]
PSALMS	23.5 [81]	NEHEMIA	18.12 [14]
11.2 [67]	27.10 [71]		18.15 [59]
16.10 [71]	28.16 [60]	7.4 [56]	18.33 [15]
18.30 [76]	30.21 [60]	9.17 [60]	21.5 [14]
24.4 [81]			22.2 [28]
35.20 [60]	JOB	1 CHRONICLES	22.10 [14]
39.11 [75]	5.18 [71]	9.40 [57]	22.11 [14]
42.9 [61]	9.8 [85]	11.2 [12]	23.1 [14]
51.10 [75]	15.17 [84]	11.11 [12]	23.9 [14]
60.4 [62]	21.4 [75]	11.12 [12], [13]	23.14 [14]
64.5 [57]	40.13 [67]	11.15 [13]	23.17 [14]
68.27 [25]	42.2 [72]	11.17 [13]	25.1 [14]
72.7 [59]		11.18 [13]	25.17 [15]
76.12 [67]	RUTH	11.20 [13], [15]	25.22 [14]
78.17 [60]		11.22 [13]	26.21 [16]
78.28 [62], [67]	2.11 [8]	11.23 [13]	29.28 [60]
78.43 [76]	2.14 [58]	11.31 [58]	33.13 [23]
78.50 [59]	3.12 [21]	11.37 [15]	34.10 [15]
			34.22 [61]

PLATES

על אבותיהם וילקח את נ
 ואסבה את ארעא בחוץ לא
 ואחיהם גמר
 חנה אמר כל שלח לכם
 ואת ק

סכום פסוקים דספרא הדין אמי
 פסקות דספרא ח' תטמוז - יסכו - משפטי
 ויטעו - חוק - טעו - שברי - ואספס
 נוסבות מבד מאפרים חצי נביאם

נשתלם והספר נביאים תרצומא וקרא
 על יד ורחב יחודה ווטר ספרא
 בשעת דא תתמוז ליצור
 ובתגלה לחורבן בית הבחור
 שייבנה בימינו במהרה
 ויביט למור בהם ולמד כל פגועה
 ותקיים כי הסעוב לא ימוש ספר השנה
 הזה מפך וחצית ס' יומם וילח העש
 תטמוז לעשות ככל הסעוב כי
 או תצלה את דיכר
 ואו תסמל

כי חנה היום בא בעד בתגור
 והיו כל היום וכל עשרי רשעה קש ודעו
 אתם היום הכא אמר יהוה צבאות אפס
 לא יעוב להם עד ש ונעם אריהא
 את בעד בתגור ויהיו כל רשעיהם
 עבדי חסידה תלשין בקטא ורחוק
 תחזו ויבא דאלי אמר ין צבאות דא
 ישקן לחזו בר ובר בר ורחוק לבסידא
 שמי שמיש עדקה וירפא בבגד
 ויצאתם ופשתם בעגלי מרסק ודעו
 לבן דחיל שמי שמיש ארחו ואסמא
 בבגדא ותפחן ותילסן בעת
 ריבא ועשותם רשעים כי יהוהא
 תחת כפות רגליכם ביום אשר או
 עשה אמר יהוה צבאות ותרוסון
 רשיעין ארי יהוה קיטמא תחת פות
 רחליון ביוםא ראנא עלי דא צב

וכו' תורת משה עבדי אפס פיר
 אתו בחרב על כל ישראלי חק
 ומפסקים אידברו אורחא דמסח
 עבדי הפסידות תתח בחרב על כל
 ישראלי קמין ורצון חנה אמר
 שלח לכם את אלה הנביא לפי בא
 וס יהוה העריל וחננהא הא אמר
 שלח לבן את אלה נביא קדם מיר
 אמר רעיד למימי מן קדם לרבא
 ורחילא ומפג לב אבות על פנים
 ולב בעם על אבות פן אבוא ומכר
 את החר

ותיב לב אבות על פנים ולב בעם

אֵתֶם נִצְּצִים הַיּוֹם כִּלְכֵּם לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם רֹאשִׁיכֶם
שִׁבְטֵיכֶם זֶקֶדְכֶם וּשְׁטָרֵיכֶם כֹּל אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל מִטַּעֲמֶם גְּשִׁיכֶם
וְנִרְדָּה אֲשֶׁר בִּקְרֹב מִחֲנִיד מִחֻטְב עֲצִיד עֵד שֹׁאֵב מִמִּיד
עֲבָדְךָ בְּכִרִית יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ וּבִאֲלֹתַי אֱלֹהֵי הַחֵדֶךְ כִּרְת
עִמָּךְ הַיּוֹם : לִמְעַן הָקִים אֶתֶּךָ הַיּוֹם לֹא לָעַם וְהוּא יִהְיֶה לְךָ
לְאֱלֹהִים כְּאֲשֶׁר דִּבַּר לְךָ וְכֹאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע לְאַבְתִּיךָ לְאַבְרָהָם
לִיִּצְחָק וְלִיעֶקֶב : וְלֹא אֶתְכֶם לְבָרְכֶם אֲנִי כִרְת אֶת־הַבְּרִית
הַזֹּאת וְאֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים הַזֹּאת : כִּי אֶת־אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁנֶה פֹה עִמָּנוּ עִמָּךְ הַיּוֹם
לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאֶת־אֲשֶׁר־אֵינֶנּוּ פֹה עִמָּנוּ הַיּוֹם : כִּי־אֵתֶם
יִרְעֲתֶם אֶת־אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁבְּנוּ בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וְאֶת־אֲשֶׁר עֲבָדְתֶם
בִּקְרֹב הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר עֲבָדְתֶם : וְתִדְּאוּ אֶת־שְׁקִוְצֵיהֶם וְאֶת־
גִּלְלֵיהֶם עַיִן נֹאכָן כִּסְף וְזָהָב אֲשֶׁר עִמָּתָם : פְּרִי יְכֻלְכֶם אִישׁ אוֹר
אֲשֶׁר אוֹ מִשְׁפַּחְתּוֹ אוֹ שִׁבְט אֲשֶׁר לִבְכוֹ פָּנָה הֵימָּן מִעַם יְהוָה
אֱלֹהֵינוּ לִלְכֵת לַעֲבֹד אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי הַגּוֹיִם הָהֵם פֶּן יֵשׁ בְּכֶם שָׂרֵשׁ
פְּרֵה רֹאשׁ וְסַעֲנָה : וְהָיָה כִשְׁמַעְךָ אֶת־דְּבַר הָאֱלֹהִים הַזֹּאת
וְהִתְבָּרַךְ בְּלִבְכוֹ לֵאמֹר שְׁלוֹם יִהְיֶה לִי כִּי בִשְׂרָרִי לִבִּי אֵלֶךְ
מִעַן יִפְתָּ תִּתֶּנֶּה אֶת־הַצִּמָּח : לֹא־יֵאָכֵל יְהוָה סֶלֶח לֹא כִי־אֵנִי
וְקִנְיָנוּ בְּאִישׁ הַהוּא וְרִבְצָה־בוֹ כָּל הָאֱלֹהִים
יְהוָה יְהוָה אֶת־שְׁמוֹ מִתְחַנֵּן הַשָּׁמַיִם

AKIBA, "RESCUER OF THE TORAH"

ALEXANDER GUTTMANN, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati

OUR present study will pivot upon a passage in Sifre to Deut. 48.¹ This passage relates that one of the three personages who, at various periods, snatched the Torah from oblivion was Akiba, the other two having been Shaphan and Ezra. Tradition credits Shaphan with exerting a marked influence upon King Josiah at the time the Torah was restored by Josiah to its pristine status of law book, while the merits of Ezra are so well known as to need no explication.

Assuredly there must be some warrant underlying a remark so momentous. For the encomium bestowed upon Shaphan, the basis is a tradition which interprets II Ki. 22 to Shaphan's honor in the way just mentioned. But such interpretations carry little historical significance. The praise accorded Ezra, on the other hand, is justified by facts and rests upon a solid foundation, that is to say, upon reliable accounts both in the Bible and in subsequent lore. Nonetheless, it is with regard to Akiba that the author of the passage in Sifre must have possessed the amplest information, he and Akiba having almost been contemporaries. Of course, a precise knowledge of events and a correct appraisal of those same events need not necessarily go hand in hand, and we shall keep this fact in mind as we ferret out the grounds for the reference to Akiba in the passage just cited. In what sense then, we ask, did Akiba save the Torah from oblivion?

Foremost among the considerations which might occur to one would be Akiba's activity as a teacher immediately after the insurrection of Bar Kokba, despite the Roman interdict. Yet Akiba was not the only teacher to bid Rome defiance. Judah b.

¹ Ed. Finkelstein, p. 112: מה אילו לא עמד שפן בשעתו עזרא בשעתו רבי עקיבה: . . . בשעתו לא היתה תורה משתכחת . . .

Baba and many others also defied Rome.² We must therefore seek further for our explanation.

Happily our context, here as elsewhere, points the direction. And what does that context indicate?

In the same chapter of *Sifre to Deut.*, a few lines further down, oblivion is construed to mean: confusion, chaos in matters of practice.³ Significant also is the warning, in the same chapter,⁴ against studying only one section of the Torah and neglecting the others.

Thus, possessing at least a hint as to the direction we have to take, we must ask: What did Akiba do to save the Torah from oblivion?⁵ What, to the benefit of Jewish tradition, were his outstanding achievements?

We consider the following criteria as indispensable to a correct reply:

1. The result must be something of basic importance, excluding mere details no matter how excellent.
2. The result must be something that distinguishes Akiba from all others of his period.⁶

² Sanh. 14a, Aboda Zara 17b-18a etc.

³ ... ר' שמעון בן יוחי אומר אם לומר שהתורה עתידה: Ed. Finkelstein, p. 113: להשתכח מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל והלא כבר נאמר כי לא תשכח מִפִּי ורעו אלא איש פלוגי אוסר איש פלוגי מתיר איש פלוגי מטמא איש פלוגי מטהר ולא ימצאו דבר ברור.

... שלא תאמר למדתי הלכות דיי הלמוד לומר מצוה המצוה כל המצוה למוד מדרש הלכות והגדות.

⁵ "Torah" is to be taken in its broadest sense, including oral tradition חורה שבעל פה.

⁶ Similar praise was uttered occasionally for other outstanding personalities of other periods because of exceptional accomplishments in the field of study. Cf. f. i. Suk. 20a where, besides Ezra, Hillel I and Rabbi Ḥiyya and his sons are praised as rescuers of the Torah: דאמר ריש לקיש הריני כפרת רבי: חייא ובניו שבתחלה כשנשתכחה תורה מישראל עלה עזרא מבבל ויסדה חורה ונשתכחה עלה הלל הבבלי ויסדה חורה ונשתכחה עלו רבי חייא ובניו ויסדות.

In the case of R. Ḥiyya the statement has a personal note, for it was inspired by R. Simeon b. Lakish's high regard for R. Ḥiyya (cf. Yer. Kil. 9.4) and was probably uttered by Resh Lakish only a short time after R. Ḥiyya's death (cf. Kid. 31b).

Cf. further the report (B. B. 21a) concerning the High Priest, Joshua b. Gamla, who is praised because he introduced, all over the country, compulsory attendance at school for every boy of six or seven. דאמר רב יהודה אמר רב ברם זכור אותו האיש לטוב ויהושע בן נמלא שמו שאלמלא הוא נשתכחה תורה מישראל שבתחלה

The method we shall follow shall be to let sources which have actual bearing on our subject decide the issue. No forced interpretation shall be attempted, and the rules of grammar and of context shall not be ignored.

The sources which seem to hold essential importance for our problem are the following:

I

Abot d. R. Nathan 18, 1⁷ יהודה הנשיא מונה שבחן של רבי חכמים של רבי טרפון של ר' עקיבא ושל ר"א בן עזריה ושל ר' יוחנן בן נורי ושל ר' יוסי הגלילי. לרבי טרפון קרא לו גל אבנים. וי"א גל של אגוזים כיון שנוטל אדם אחד מהן כולן מתקשקשין ובאין זה על זה. כך היה ר' טרפון דומה בשעה שת"ח נכנס אצלו וא"ל שנה לוי. מביא לו מקרא ומשנה מדרש הלכות והגדות. כיון שיצא מלפניו היה יוצא מלא ברכה וטוב.

לר' עקיבא קרא לו אוצר בלום. למה רבי עקיבא דומה לפועל שנטל קופתו ויצא לחוץ מצא חטים מניח בה מצא שעורים מניח בה כוסמין מניח בה פולין מניח בה עדשים מניח בה כיון שנכנס לביתו מברר חטים בפני עצמן שעורים בפני עצמן וכוסמין בפני עצמן פולין בפני עצמן עדשים בפני עצמן. כך עשה ר' עקיבא ועשה כל התורה טבעות טבעות.

לר"א בן עזריה קרא לו קופה של רוכלים. ולמה היה ר"א דומה לרוכל שנטל קופתו ונכנס למדינה ובאו בני המדינה ואמרו לו שמן טוב יש עמך. פליטון יש עמך. אפרסמון יש עמך ומוצאין הכל עמו. כך היה ר"א בן עזריה בזמן שת"ח נכנס אצלו. שאלו במקרא אומר לו במשנה אומר לו במדרש אומר לו בהלכות אומר לו באגדות אומר לו. כיון שיצא מלפניו הוא מלא טוב וברכה.

איסי בן יהודה מנה שבחן של חכמים . . . ר"ע אוצר בלום.

Abot d. R. Nathan 18, 1 describes the methods of three authorities. R. Tarphon taught everything in one lecture — Bible, Mishna, Midrash, Halakot, and Aggadot — whenever a

מי שיש לו אב מלמדו תורה מי שאין לו אב לא היה למד תורה מאי דרוש ולמדתם אותם ולמדתם אתם התקינו שיהו מושיבין מלמדי תינוקות בירושלים מאי דרוש כי מציון תצא תורה ועדיין מי שיש לו אב היה מעלו ומלמדו מי שאין לו אב לא היה עולה ולמד התקינו שיהו מושיבין בכל פלך ופלך ומכניסין אותן כבן ט"ו כבן י"ז ומי שהיה רבו כועס עליו מבעיט בו ויצא עד שבא יהושע בן נמלא ותיקן שיהו מושיבין מלמדי תינוקות בכל מדינה ומדינה ובכל עיר ועיר ומכניסין אותן כבן שש כבן שבע.

בידקוט אבות כ"י איתא מטביעות מטביעות (ה) Ed. Schechter, p. 66 f. Note 7. Rashi on Git. 67a s. v. אוצר בלום gives a distinctly different version, but the effect is the same as in the version above.

student came to him requesting instruction. With reference to R. Elazar b. Azariah, the notice states that, whenever a student called, the student would ask about Bible, Midrash, Mishna, Halaka, and Haggada, and would receive all the answers in one sitting. Akiba was otherwise. Akiba would gather all that he could find, would then classify the materials, and arrange them in proper order, that is, each in its separate compartment. Akiba's work therefore is characterized as *'Ozar Balus*, "a packed warehouse," the goods of which are well arranged, in contrast to the "heap of stones or nuts" and the "spice-peddler's basket" that respectively characterize the efforts of R. Tarphon and R. Elazar b. Azariah.⁸ It was Akiba's special merit, according to this source, that he separated the fruits of Jewish learning and arranged them according to their species. He did not, like the other sages, mix the different kinds. The phrase *ועשה כל מטבעות מטבעות* can not in our context, mean anything except: He arranged the entire Torah (i. e. traditional materials) in separate divisions according to its several species.⁹

II

Yer. Sheḡ. V. beginning (48c) reads: *אמר ר' יונה כתיב לכן אחזק* *או* *שהתקין מדרש הלכות והגדות*. *או* *ברבים ואת עצומים יחזק שלל זה ר"ע* *שהתקין מדרש הלכות והגדות*. *(התקין = סדר)*.

The Palestinian Amora, Rabbi Jonah, finds in Akiba the fulfilment of Is. 53.12, Akiba having "arranged *Midrash*, *Halakot*, and *Haggadot*."

III

Mekilta de R. Ishmael, Mishpatim I relates:¹⁰ *רבי עקיבא אומר*, *לפי שהוא אומר דבר אל בני ישראל ואמרת אליהם*, *ואלה המשפטים למה נאמר*, *לפי שהוא אומר דבר אל בני ישראל ואמרת אליהם*.

⁸ The versions vary and read *בלום* or *בלום*. We are inclined to accept the reading *בלום* = *βλῦω, βλῦσω* = "completely filled *warehouse*." (See Kohut, *Aruk*, s. v.) The emphasis lies on the *warehouse*, because its goods are well arranged, in contrast with the heap of stones and the peddler's basket (see Rashi *ibid.*).

⁹ See Rashi *ibid.*

¹⁰ Ed. Horovitz-Rabin, p. 246.

אין לי אלא פעם אחת מנין שנה ושש ורבע עד שילמדו, תלמוד לומר לומר ולמדה
 את בני ישראל, יכול למדין ולא שוין, תלמוד לומר שימה בפיהם; יכול שוין
 ולא יודעין, תלמוד לומר ואלה המשפטים וגו', ערכם לפניהם כשלחן ערוך,
 כענין שנאמר אתה הראית לדעת.

These are the words of Akiba himself. He expressly requires the intensive study of the material, as well as understanding and proper arrangement — like a table that has been set — for the benefit of the disciples.¹¹

IV

Tos. Zab. I, 5 reads¹²: כשהיה ר' עקיבא מסדר הלכות לתלמידים אמר: כל מי שמע טעם על חברו יבוא ויאמר . . . אמר לפניו ר' שמעון . . . הואיל
 ו. . . חזר ר' עקיבא להיות שונה כדברי ר' שמעון. What are the im-
 plications of this report?

1. Akiba arranged Halakot. It were well to notice that this passage does not emphasize the role of Akiba in the redaction of the Mishna. כשהיה מסדר הלכות simply means, "on the occasion when he arranged Halakot," and does not contrast this with Akiba's activities in connection with other domains of tradition.

2. Akiba made inquiries and asked for proofs, and accepted the versions of R. Simeon who supplied the proofs.

3. The context proves that what was being sought was the *correct version* of a controversy. On that occasion Akiba was eager to establish the right version; thus, חזר ר' עקיבא להיות שונה indicates that Akiba abandoned the version he had previously accepted in favor of the correct version.

Another possibility open for our consideration is that היה מסדר may mean here merely "as he lectured in proper order (systematically)," just as the phrase סדר אגדתא is understood to mean "he recited Aggadot in proper order."¹³

¹¹ Mekilta de Rabbi Simeon, ed. Hoffmann, p. 117, has a different version, but is in effect identical with our version.

¹² Ed. Zuckerman, p. 676.

¹³ See references and literature in Strack, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midraš*, p. 197.

V

Sanh. 86a informs us: דאמר ר' יוחנן סתם מתני' ר' מאיר סתם תוספתא ר' נחמיה סתם ספרא ר' יהודה סתם ספרי ר' שמעון וכולהו אליבא דר' עקיבא.

It is at once obvious that this passage may be of significance for our problem. Thus, it is necessary to try to discover its real meaning. There is no other Talmudic sentence dealing with literary phenomena that has been discussed so often and explained in so many contradictory ways. What is the reason for this? Wherein lies the difficulty? There are no linguistic obstacles, necessitating correction; the sentence is grammatically simple and apparently uncorrupt.

All of the trouble lurks in the contents.

1. In the first place, Rabbi Johanan's opinion in Yer. Yeb. IV. 11 כל מקום ששנה סתם משניות דרבנן seems to contradict his view in Sanh. 86a, מאיר ר' סתם מתני' while it apparently agrees with Resh Lakish's opinion in Yer. Yebamot, כל סתם משניות דר"מ.

2. The second difficulty is that R. Johanan's opinion in Sanhedrin contradicts obvious facts. What are these facts?

R. Johanan, although he had many opportunities (since he participated in numerous *Sugyot* in which the author of an anonymous view is sought), never uses this rule given in Sanhedrin to establish the authorship of an anonymous Mishna, no matter whether that authorship is disputed or undisputed. He states, for example, in Yeb. 27b with regard to an anonymous Mishna: אהיות איני יודע מאן שניא.

3. A further difficulty is that סתם מתני' ר' מאיר contradicts other principles of R. Johanan. In 'Erub. 46b he gives the following rules for making decisions: — ר' מאיר ור' יהודה הלכה כר' יהודה ר' מאיר ור' יוסי הלכה כר' יוסי. The effect of these rules is that R. Johanan rejects R. Meir's views in most controversies, for R. Judah is the chief opponent of R. Meir, while R. Jose also engaged in numerous controversies with R. Meir.

It would be more than strange if the same R. Johanan would both credit R. Meir with the authorship of the anonymous Mishna (which may not mean of course more than recognizing a fact) and, in addition, favor him by giving a normative

character to such a Mishna through his principle: הלכה כסתם משנה.¹⁴

We undertook a comparison of the Mishna with the Tosefta which gave full evidence regarding the invalidity of the opinion סתם מתניתין ר' מאיר. We saw that the anonymous views of our Mishna more frequently represent the views of R. Judah and others than those of R. Meir.¹⁵ The numerous Talmudic Baraitot confirm this fact, as is so often evident in the Gemara.

The obvious great importance of our passage for Tannaitic literature inspired many students of the Talmud to seek its real meaning. It is not our intention to review all the explanations from Sherira down to our own time. Rather shall we try to find the proper solution with a minimum of polemics. The following premises are, in our opinion, basic for establishing a conclusion possessing some probability:

1. The sentence in Sanh. 86a is a unit. Thus each part must be understood in the same way and always in connection with the concluding clause, i. e., סתם מתני' ר"מ אליבא דר"ע must be understood in the same way as סתם תוספתא ר' נחמיה אליבא דר"ע etc. Explanations that are suitable for one link of the chain only but are not applicable to the others must be rejected.

2. Translation as well as interpretation must not violate the text. Explanations based upon meanings read into the text cannot be accepted.

¹⁴ See references in Shab. 46a. The authenticity of this statement is not refuted by the fact that R. Johanan sometimes made exceptions. There is no Amora who questions R. Johanan's authorship of this view. Rashi, commenting on Hul. 43a s. v. אמראי וינהו, explains how R. Isaac holds the opinion that R. Johanan did not give his rule explicitly but stated in each case specifically that the Halaka was according to such and such a Mishna, if he agreed with it. We emphasize that this is Rashi's view. We have to consider the fact that the opposing passages are both anonymous. As a consequence, the principle was effective with regard to the one view. More could not have been done. But even if the situation were as in Men. 52b, it would not mean more than one of the exceptions, under which R. Johanan had some reason to suspend the application of his principle.

¹⁵ A. Guttman, *Das redaktionelle und sachliche Verhältnis zwischen Mišna und Tosephta*, p. 35-57.

3. The various contexts in which our sentence occurs must not be neglected.

4. The true meaning of the sentence must be in line with established facts, must at least not be contradicted by them.

Our first step in searching for the true meaning will be to compare the different versions of our sentence and to investigate their significance. Where necessary, we must try to establish the original reading if such be possible.

The versions of the printed Talmud editions we possess are all in accord with one another. The Munich Manuscript also has the same wording, namely, the text quoted above (p. 400).

But there are yet other versions.

Rashi, Bek. 30a reads: סתם הנהגין בא"ר הן הנחמין סתם. מתני' ר"מ סתם ברייתא ר' נתן וכולהו אליבא דר"ע. It is obvious that this is a shortened version. *Rashi* quotes only one part of the sentence, since there is no need for all of it; just as in Meg. 2a he quotes only סתם מתני' ר"מ סתם תוספתא ר' נחמיה סתם ספרא ר' יהודה סתם ספרי ר' עקיבא. That *Rashi* knew the clause סתם ספרי ר' עקיבא שמעון is evident, since he comments on it in Sanh. 86a. Here as elsewhere, he merely did not care to repeat all of the unnecessary items.

We wish to emphasize that *Rashi* could not have added the words סתם ברייתא ר' נתן as an arbitrary conjecture, since there was no need for them in this context.

Meiri, Introduction to Pirke Abot¹⁶ reads: סתם מתני' ר"מ סתם ברייתא רבי נתן סתם תוספתא רבי נחמיה סתם ספרא רבי יהודה סתם ספרי רבי שמעון וכולהו אליבא דר"ע.

Estori Farhi,¹⁷ כפתור ופרח, reads סתם ברייתא ר' חייא in place of סתם תוספתא ר' נחמיה.

Samuel b. Meir in B. B. 124b relates: סתם מתני' ר' מאיר סתם ספרא ר' יהודה סתם ספרי ר' שמעון סתם סדר עולם ר' יוסי סתם תוספתא ר' נחמיה וכולן אליבא דר' עקיבא.

This version with סתם סדר עולם ר' יוסי occurs frequently. It was certainly known already to *Rashi*, as indicated in Nid. 46b s. v. מאיר. סתם סדר עולם ר' יוסי, דהוא סתמה כי היכי דסתם מתני' ר' מאיר.

¹⁶ Ed. Gottlieb, p. 15a.

¹⁷ Ed. Luncz, p. 50b.

and was the accepted version of a number of other authorities up to *Seder Hadorot*.¹⁸

What is the effect of these different versions¹⁹ on the solution of the problem? Apparently none! These versions do not seem to eliminate any of the difficulties mentioned above, nor do they seem to differ essentially. Therefore, we shall not, at this point, attempt to establish a "correct" or "critical" text in order to continue with our investigation.

Our next step will rather be to investigate the contexts in which our sentence occurs. How does the Talmud itself understand our sentence? When does the Talmud quote it?

The Talmud uses our sentence as follows:

1

Sanh. 86a. A *Tanna*²⁰ recites a Baraita (85b, bottom, a passage from *Sifre Deut.*) before Rab Sheshet. Rab Sheshet asks the *Tanna* to emend that anonymous Baraita because, according to his knowledge, R. Simeon holds the opposite view. An anonymous section in the Talmud now follows. Some unnamed *Amora* considers the possibility of eliminating the contradiction by ascribing the opposing Baraitot to different authorities. But this attempt is nullified by the quoting of our passage which states that the anonymous passage from *Sifre* represents the view of R. Simeon. This concludes the Talmudic section. What does this passage prove? Rab Sheshet himself did not correct the *Tanna* on the basis of the rule סתם ספרי ר' שמעון but on the basis of something that Rab Sheshet possessed in the way of tradition.

¹⁸ See Heilprin, *Seder Hadorot*, II, under "Akiba." List of references s. Ratner, *Seder Olam*, Introduction, p. 9.

¹⁹ The version סתם ספרא ר' ישמעאל (oldest source: Samson of Chinon in *Sefer Keritut*, 5, 2) may be disregarded. See Israel Lewy, *Ueber einige Fragmente aus der Mischna des Abba Saul*, p. 11, and *Seder Olam* under "R. Simeon," ed. Warsaw, 1883, II, p. 366. The version ישמעאל ר' סתם ספרא in *Seder Hadorot* under אבא אריכא II, p. 7, represents merely an erroneous resolution of the abbreviation ר' i. e., יהודה ר'. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 308 and 366.

²⁰ Expert memorizer of Tannaitic sources in the Amoraic period.

Some later *Amora* uses our sentence to defend Rab Sheshet against the force of another possible solution — possibly one that existed in the mind of the same *Amora*.

It may be well to notice that the rule שמעון ר' סתם ספרי, though taken in its literal sense, was not used to solve the problem, i. e., to establish the authorship of the anonymous passage from Sifre.

The entire of the anonymous concluding section impresses one as being a later addition, affixed after completion of the original Talmudic *Sugya*.

2

'*Erub. 96b*. The discussion, beginning with 96a ומאן שמעת ליה is concluded on 96b with the statement . . . שמע מינה . . . שבת זמן תפילין וגשים חייבות. Thereupon a new anonymous objection is raised beginning with . . . ודיקמא סבר לה . . . only to be rejected by the use of our sentence סתם מתני' ר"מ . . . סתם סיפרא מני ר' יהודה. Thus, the discussion is terminated. The situation and consequently the implications are the same here as they were for Sanh. 86a.

3

Gil. 4a. After the discussion is concluded with the statement . . . רב אשי א' הא מני ר' יהודה . . . an anonymous question is raised ומעיקרא מאי טעמא לא מוקמינן לה כר' יהודה סתם. The answer quotes סתם מתני' ר' מאיר in order to justify the attempt to bring the Mishna into accord with R. Meir.

We must pay special attention to the following fact: When the Talmud tries to establish the authorship of that Mishna, it does not so much as mention our sentence. Only after the question is settled, is the sentence introduced as an excuse by some unnamed *Amora* younger than Rab Ashi.

4

Joma 41a. On 39b, bottom, a discussion is started א' ר' ינאי א' ר' ינאי גורל מתוך קלפי מעכבת הנחה אינה מעכבת ור' יוחנן אמר אף עלייה מעכבת. Here, as so often, the Talmud tries to find the Tannaitic parallel to the Amoraic difference of opinion. Thus it

is shown that both Amoraic opinions may be based on R. Nehemiah and R. Judah, respectively. In the case of Nehemiah, such is quite easy, but is more difficult in the case of Judah, though at last "successful."

After having interpreted several Baraitot without coming to a decision, the Talmud finally quotes a Baraita from Sifra that is in accordance with R. Jannai's view.

The discussion ends with the words (41a) *אלמא הגרלה מעכבת תיובתא דמאן דאמר הגרלה לא מעכבת תיובתא*.

The following words are inserted between the Midrash and this conclusion: *סתם סיפרא מני ר' יהודה וקתני הגורל עושה חטאת ואין השם עושה חטאת*. These words, however, are not only superfluous, they also disturb the context. Moreover, the authorship of the deciding Baraita was neither asked for, nor was it needed in the discussion. Thus we see once more the same fact. The principle of *Setam* does not settle anything and is superfluous.

5

Kid. 53a. Abaye and Raba, each quotes a Baraita. Abaye quotes Sifra to support R. Johanan. After the passage from Sifra we find the words: *סתם ספרא מני ר' יהודה*. This statement is superfluous, since authorship is neither searched for nor required. Our sentence does not have any effect on the discussion and looks like an interpolation.

6

Sheb. 13a. Abaye applies the rule: *סתם ספרא ר' יהודה*. Then follows: *רמי סתם ספרא אסתם ספרא . . . א' אביי לא קשיא הא רבי והא רבי סתם ספרא אסתם ספרא*. But no attempt is made to say *רבי יהודה* — *רבא אמר הא והא ר' יהודה* not even by Abaye who utilizes our sentence *סתם ספרא ר' יהודה*. The authorship of another contradictory passage from Sifra, Abaye prefers to cede to Rabbi. Raba, the greater of the opponents, ignores our sentence completely, neither utilizing nor rejecting nor even mentioning it.

7

Bek. 61a. Our passage starts on 60b: יצאו שנים בעשירי. The authorship of three Tannaitic views is sought. One of them is ascribed to R. Judah. But thereupon two Baraitot are quoted that seem to refute this ascription. The second Baraita, introduced by ועוד constitutes an objection only under the rule: סתם ספרא ר' יהודה. Now R. Simeon Berabbi Abba, in the presence of R. Johanan, explains the view under discussion in a new way, completely avoiding its connection with the two Baraitot that caused the difficulty. Thus, the Sifra passage, superfluous from the outset, (for it constituted a second objection which added nothing to the first one) was completely eliminated as an influential factor.

8

Ker. 22a. By expounding a Biblical passage, R. Eleazar indicates that R. Judah must agree with the anonymous Mishna in a certain case. Then R. Nahman b. Isaac quotes an anonymous "Sifra" to the same effect as the Biblical passage previously expounded and concludes: סתם ספרא מני ר' יהודה. Whether or not these last words were spoken by Nahman b. Isaac is doubtful. His intention may have been to add a second proof of the same type as the first one. That is, the weight of the biblical passage itself may have been considered by Nahman b. Isaac as proof. But the whole second proof is superfluous, inasmuch as no objection was raised against the first one.

The fact that in the parallels (*vide* references in Keritot) Sifra is not used is also of interest. See a Baraita of similar content (*Ker. 4b*) in which R. Judah is expressly mentioned as the author. Here again the situation is the same. Our sentence occurs at the end of the section, as in some of the examples quoted above (p. 403-4) and has no effect whatsoever.

9

Shab. 137a. In *Shab. 136b* R. Shezbi declares, in the name of Rab Hisda, that R. Judah could not have made his statement without allowing for exceptions, because of the implication of

the verse, as expounded in an anonymous "Sifra," וסתם ספרא ר' יהודה. Following this, Rab H̱isda's explanation is confirmed by R. Naḥman b. Isaac who quotes Mishna Para. V, 4. The "Setam Sifra . . ." sentence is superfluous, because the issue is decided on the authority of the Bible as in the previous passage (Ker. 22a). It may be of interest to notice the fact that, in the Munich Codex, the words וסתם ספרא ר' יהודה are missing!

This analysis reveals to us some significant facts:

1. The Talmud takes our sentence in its literal sense.
2. The Talmud does not use it to determine authorship, whenever that is sought, except in Sheb. 13a for a "Sifra" passage. But even Abaye, who applies it here, is inconsistent, for he does not use it in interpreting another passage from Sifra in the same discussion. Abaye is opposed by Raba who ignores this rule completely. The natural function of our sentence, however, seems to be its application as a rule for determining the authorship of anonymous sayings!
3. The only *Amora* mentioned by name, who evidently makes some use of it, is Abaye (279 or 299-339 C. E.). He applies it only to the Sifra (twice), and then with limitations, as shown above.

In addition we must consider the frequency, position and effectiveness of our sentence.

1. The Palestinian Talmud ignores it completely. This is significant because R. Johanan, author of our sentence, is the greatest of the Palestinian Amoraim. It is true that not all of Yerushalmi was preserved; therefore, our sentence may have been mentioned in some lost section. But in the sections preserved, there are numerous occasions on which its use might be expected as the most convenient way to establish authorship.

2. In the Babylonian Talmud, our sentence is mentioned only twice, with reference to the Mishna, in spite of numerous occasions for its use. Once ('Erub. 96b) it appears after the result is established, and here merely to refute a final objection against this result; once (Giṭ. 4a) it occurs after the discussion is concluded, merely as an excuse for having tried to ascribe the authorship of an anonymous Mishna to R. Meir.

This sentence is not used in any place in which the Talmud searches for the authorship of an anonymous Mishna. In no other instances where authorship is ascribed to R. Meir is our rule cited as evidence for this. The evidence is usually furnished by another passage of related contents that expressly mentions his name.

3. Once our rule is applied to Sifre Dt. (Sanh. 86a), at the end of the *Sugya*, to refute a final objection.

4. With reference to the Sifra, it is mentioned *seven* times, but only once is it effective (Sheb. 13a). In all the other cases mention of it is superfluous, and the impression gained is that some of these passages are later additions or interpolations, as shown above.

5. This principle is never mentioned with reference to Sifre Exodus (Mekilta),²¹ or to Sifre Numbers.

After having presented these facts, we shall now proceed with our search for their reasons. Why is R. Johanan's principle, which is apparently of such paramount importance, not at all used in Yerushalmi and mentioned only ten times in Babli? The following alternatives may be considered:

a) Its authenticity may have been denied because it contradicted other established principles of R. Johanan, as shown above (p. 400-1).

b) The Palestinian as well as most of the Babylonian Amoraim may have understood it otherwise than we do.

The fact that, in all the ten passages from the Talmud in which our sentence occurs, its authenticity and correctness is never questioned makes the first alternative extremely doubtful. Therefore we shall try to investigate the second possibility, keeping in mind our four premises.

Adolf Schwarz,²² aware of the fact that the literal meaning could not have been the intention of the author, found another literal, i. e., adequate meaning. Schwarz explains that סתם מתני' סתם

²¹ Sifre in the Talmud includes the Mekilta. The term "Mekilta" is not used here. See J. Z. Lauterbach, *The Name of the Mekilta*, in *JQR*, N. S., XI, p. 169 ff.

²² *Die Tosifta des Traktates Nesikin Baba Kama*, p. V ff.

means here *מתניתין סתם* i. e., "allgemein, schlechthin" — "Mishna generally spoken." (p. v) "Mischnah im engeren Sinne oder, um mit R. Jochanan zu sprechen, eine *מתניתין סתם*." — "Mishna in the narrower meaning of the word" is the Mishna collection of R. Meir etc., (p. vi). What was R. Johanan's intention in saying that? R. Johanan wished to inform us about the sections into which the Mishna of Akiba, i. e., this whole complex of teachings, was divided. Thus far Schwarz.

This conclusion can not be accepted:

1. For grammatical reasons. The sentence as a whole proves that, from the point of view of its author, the first part is the essential one, while the second, *וכולדו*, has a secondary character much like a footnote.

2. Because that conclusion contradicts the facts. Schwarz relates *וכולדו אליבא* to the contents, but the following evidence should be considered against this view:

It is a well known fact that R. Meir and R. Judah most frequently oppose one another. R. Meir and R. Judah occasionally oppose R. Akiba. Numerous also are controversies between R. Simeon, R. Meir and R. Judah. R. Simeon is likewise a frequent opponent of R. Akiba.²³

According to Schwarz, the literary works mentioned represent individually arranged compilations, the contents of which, originating in Akiba's Mishna, were taken over by the compilers. But Schwarz also contends that the views pronounced by Meir, Judah, and Simeon in their works are in accordance with their own convictions. Therefore, "*Setam*" is also true in its secondary meaning. The anonymous Mishna gives the view of R. Meir etc. Schwarz states that, for the Tosefta, however, this secondary meaning is impossible (p. v). The effect of Schwarz's opinion is that R. Meir, R. Judah, and R. Simeon list in their compilations only the views concerning which all agree with one another and with Akiba.

Besides the high improbability of such a conception, the further question arises: Whence came all of the numerous

²³ References for R. Meir's opposition to Akiba, see in: Zuri, *רבי עקיבא*, p. 246; for R. Judah: *ibid.*, p. 252; for R. Simeon's opposition, see Israel Lewy, *ibid.*, p. 11.

opposing views of the Tannaim as mentioned, if they were not included in their basic works? Is it at all conceivable that all of the important issues in which Akiba, Meir, Judah, Simeon disagree, were not included in their outstanding works? If so, where were they preserved? There is no doubt that R. Judah had, in addition to his Sifra, a Mishna collection in which he recorded opposing views.²⁴ If R. Judah could consider controversial views in his Mishna, why could not R. Meir do the same in his? The following fact, too, should be borne in mind: Akiba is praised because of his endeavor to arrange the material properly. According to Schwarz, Akiba's Mishna must have been a conglomerate, a chaotic mass of traditions.

It was necessary to discuss Schwarz's view in detail, because Schwarz started off in the right direction, only to abandon it after the first step. Our intention was to show why we can not follow him further. His correct insight was that another literal, i. e., adequate meaning may be expressed in our sentence. Schwarz in fact, found another literal meaning, simply by taking *Setam* in its primary sense, "allgemein, schlechthin" (ibid., p. v). Thus he held that our sentence denotes: "Mishna, generally spoken, is the Mishna of R. Meir etc." and not the Mishna of Rabbi, "Es kann und darf mithin auch nicht einen Augenblick daran gezweifelt werden, dass die Worte מִתְּנִיתִין ר' מַאִיר auf R. Meir's eigene Mischna sich beziehen," (p. vi). But in the explanation, Schwarz substitutes for "generally spoken" (that is, "if undefined"), the phrase "im engeren Sinne" — "in its narrower meaning," that is "strictly spoken"; but that is approximately the opposite of his first interpretation and is thus the first step toward his unacceptable conclusions (see above).

Keeping our premises constantly in mind, we shall now attempt to prove the superiority of this other literal meaning of our sentence and to indicate its implications.

Setam in the Mishna always means "in general," or "if unknown," or "something unknown," or "something undefined,"

²⁴ Bassfreund in *MGWJ*, vol. 51, p. 319, note 1 tries to prove this.

i. e., indifferent to or ignorant of details or specifications. A few examples are:

Nedarim II, 4	סתם נדרים להחמיר ופירושם להקל
	סתם תרומה ביהודה אסורה
Nazir I, 3	סתם נזירות שלשים יום
Ḳiddushin III, 8	המקדש את בתו סתם
Para I, 1	כך שמעתי סתם

There is no Mishna in existence in which *Setam* means "anonymous" (see Mishna concordance) and certainly no Baraita. We have to concede, of course, that there is not much opportunity in the Mishna for using *Setam* in the sense of anonymous. (Eduyyot I and V are most suitable passages for such use.) But this fact indicates that the problem of anonymity was not discussed very much in this period. The natural consequence is that the use of *Setam* to mean anonymous must have been very rare in the Tannaitic period, if indeed such ever occurred at all.

R. Johanan was, in his youth, among the disciples of R. Judah, the Prince.²⁵ There can be no doubt that the meaning of *Setam*, as used in the Mishna, was at least as familiar to him as its more specific meaning, anonymous. Thus, R. Johanan may have meant to say: "Mishna, if not specified, is the Mishna of R. Meir; Tosefta, if not specified etc." And what does that mean? It means that if there is no indication or knowledge as to the author of a Mishna collection, then it is the collection of R. Meir etc.

What could have been R. Johanan's intention in saying this? It is an established fact that, in R. Johanan's time, there was more than one collection of each literary branch of Tannaitic literature. Mishna, Tosefta, Sifra, Sifre and Baraita²⁶ existed in a number of collections. R. Johanan tried to explain a *literary* problem: Since we have so many collections with the same title, such and such a collection is meant when there is no specifica-

²⁵ Cf. Z. Frankel, מבווא הירושלמי, p. 96a.

²⁶ With regard to the *Seder Olam*, there is no clear evidence so far proving the existence of more than one book with this title, but there are a number of indications. Cf. Ratner, *Seder Olam*, Introduction.

tion. The important point, however, is not the use of *Setam* in its primary sense, "if not specified" or "if unknown." The main point is that "Mishna, Tosefta, Sifra, Sifre" do not refer to our Mishna, etc., and this must be specifically emphasized.

As a matter of fact, we come very close to the same result, if we understand *Setam* to mean "anonymous," keeping in mind the primary meaning of "Mishna, Tosefta, Sifra, Sifre" in our context, i. e., not individual passages of a collection but the whole collection. The sentence may thus mean: "The anonymous Mishna collection," i. e., the old collection that still circulated in R. Johanan's time, whose authorship may have been forgotten or become uncertain after two or three generations, or the collection referred to without specification "is that of R. Meir etc."

Our sentence is not the only one in which R. Johanan shows interest in clearing up literary problems. See, for instance, his statements: Yer. Yoma II, 39d *מאן תנא תמיד ר' שמעון איש המצפה* הוא. Yoma 14b, *מאן תנא סדר יומא ר' שמעון איש המצפה*, Nid. 46b; Yeb. 82b, *מאן תנא סדר עולם ר' יוסי*.

We quoted these passages to demonstrate R. Johanan's deep interest in literary problems, though we are aware of the fact that this interest may have been for him of secondary importance compared with the practical consequences of the respective statements.

Having explained our sentence and having shown its primary literal meaning in accordance with all the premises we laid down (p. 401-2), the question must be raised: Since the matter seems to be so simple, why those numerous discussions and views about it? There may be several answers to this question.

1. In the Amoraic period, *Setam* became a frequently used technical term meaning "anonymous," since the anonymity of Tannaitic statements constituted a most important problem.²⁷

2. R. Johanan's sentence was not preserved in its original wording. This may be inferred from the fact that the Palestinian Talmud, for instance, never uses "Sifra," only "*Torat Kohanim*"; nor does it use "Sifre."²⁸ We certainly may assume that R.

²⁷ Cf. A. Guttman, in *HUCA*, vol. XVI, p. 137 ff.

²⁸ Cf. D. Hoffmann, *Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midraschim*, for the Sifra, p. 21, for the Sifre, p. 47.

Johanan, the Palestinian Amora, employed Palestinian terms just as in the passage quoted above from Yer. Yeb. (p. 400) he uses *Mishnayot*, but not *Matnitin*, the word appearing in our sentence.

What may have happened was that when the Palestinian sentence was translated into the Babylonian idiom, instead of substituting the equivalent term *Matnita* for "Mishna" or "Mishnayot," it was replaced by "*Matnitin* = "our Mishna," (i. e., Rabbi's Mishna), either because "Mishna" at that time usually referred to "our Mishna," or because the current meaning of *Matnita* in the Babylonian Talmud was Baraita. Nevertheless, we have no evidence that the sentence was misunderstood previous to the time of Abaye.

It is significant that, while our sentence is used only twice in connection with the Mishna and only once with Sifre, it is mentioned with reference to Sifra seven times, and this, in spite of the fact that anonymous Sifra passages occur in the Talmud very rarely as compared with the great number of anonymous Mishna passages. One reason probably lies in the special character of the Sifra. Just as the tractates of the Mishna with archaic contents preserved their original form to a very large degree,²⁹ so too did the Sifra of R. Judah. Thus the current Sifra was closer to R. Judah's Sifra than the other current basic works of more practical contents were to their older equivalents. Another reason may be the high esteem³⁰ in which the Sifra was held. This greater respect had the effect of restricting the scope of arbitrary and extensive changes. Leviticus consists predominantly of legalistic matter which, like the Mishna, offers less opportunity for Haggadic amplifications than do the other books of the Pentateuch which contain fewer laws and more history. As a result, the erroneous application of R. Johanan's statement to the Sifra did not lead so often and so obviously to contradictions and to confusion as did its application to the Mishna.

Now we have to say a word about the version *Setam Baraita* . . . (p. 402). Almost all explanations ignore this clause,

²⁹ Cf. L. Ginzberg, in *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy*, vol. I, p. 38.

³⁰ Cf. D. Hoffmann, *ibid.*, p. 20 f.

although three independent authorities mention it. The reason is obvious. The clause could not be adjusted to any of the explanations. Israel Lewy, for instance, who mentions it in a note³¹ does not attempt to explain it. We can not decide whether or not the clause represents a genuine version. There are, however, some indications of its genuineness. One is the existence of three independent sources. More important, however, is the fact that Rashi considers this version to be a genuine one, although he is not averse to correcting the text if something seems to be wrong. The basis of his corrections is usually his acquaintance with many Talmud versions. Rashi's version, maintained in spite of difficulties, therefore equals an established version based upon many sources. The tendency in such matters is to make corrections or interpolations, only where their originators think that such corrections or interpolations may be of some use or interest, but not if the corrections or interpolations cause difficulties. If difficulties arise because of some clause or word, the general tendency is to remove that clause or word.

Since Abaye's literal understanding of our sentence made the clause *Setam Baraita* . . . inexplicable — for it was obvious that the numerous contradictory anonymous Baraitot could not have been the view of one Tanna — the tendency to eliminate this obstacle prevailed. The genuineness of this version which states that the Baraita collection, if not specified (or whose author is not known, i. e., anonymous) is that of R. Nathan,³² is thus favored by sound criteria.

As to the version . . . סתם סדר עולם, its genuineness is likewise possible since it is quoted in a number of independent sources. Some difficulties, however, arising as a consequence of its literal meaning, may have contributed to its elimination. Such difficulties reside in the fact that many of the views of R. Jose

³¹ Ibid., p. 11.

³² The version of Estori Farhi is undoubtedly corrupt. It obviously represent a version "corrected" on the basis of the fact that we know much of R. Hiyya's Baraita collection by contrast with that of R. Nathan. Concerning the missing phrase, *Setam Tosefta* . . . there is the possibility that it was omitted by mistake only; the phrase *Setam Baraita* . . . does not represent its substitute.

contradict the *Seder Olam*.³³ The *Seder Olam* is almost completely anonymous. As a consequence, there is not much sense in stating, "the anonymous views of the *Seder Olam* etc." Further, explicit mention of R. Jose in the *Seder Olam* (about 10 times) is superfluous, if the anonymous sections always reflect R. Jose's views.

Our statement with regard to a tendency in matters of interpolation and omissions has here the same significance as it has with regard to the *Setam Baraita* (see above).

The concluding clause of our sentence וכולהו אליבא דר"ע is grammatically or from the viewpoint of its author of secondary character, although of primary importance for our problem. We saw above (p. 409–10) that this clause can not refer to the contents. It must therefore refer to the method that is characteristic of these collections i. e., to their literary character. "... All these following (or in accordance with) R. Akiba" would be an adequate translation.

Thus R. Johanan's sentence is in line with the aforementioned statements which praise Akiba for organizing the tradition. But it goes a step farther. It proves that Akiba's plan of organizing the tradition was carried out.

Of further interest is the question whether אליבא refers to a spontaneous action or to the result of some agreement among the students of Akiba. Or it may have been on Akiba's advice that his outstanding students³⁴ divided the different sections of tradition among themselves and created basic reliable collections.

Still another possibility to be considered is that Akiba's students merely continued and finished the great work that Akiba had begun. That Akiba himself did not complete his great undertaking, i. e., the arrangement of the tradition in special collections, appears to be indicated by the following facts: The sources merely state that he arranged but do not

³³ See Ratner, *ibid*.

³⁴ This was certainly not the case with R. Nathan, since we do not have any indication that he studied under Akiba. His connection with Akiba's disciples, however, is a well-known fact.

refer to the completed work. The nature of his משניות גדולות³⁵ is uncertain. It probably means important teachings without referring to any collection.³⁶ Secondly, we do not find that a single *Tanna* completed collections in all branches of tradition. Moreover, there seems to have been an established practice previous to Akiba to specialize in some smaller section. This may be inferred from the fact that R. Judah Hanasi in his compilation of the Mishna, paid special attention to certain authorities in certain tractates such as R. Joshua ('Erub. 11b) who was expert in *Kil'ayim*, R. Eliezer b. Jacob who compiled *Middot* (Yoma 16a); R. Simeon Ish Hamizpa who compiled *Tamid* and *Yoma* (Yoma 14b).

The most obvious fact revealed by all of the sources which refer to Akiba's special merit in connection with Tannaitic literature is that Akiba organized it. But they reveal other facts, too, which should not be neglected.

Much of interest is to be discovered by an examination of the materials or branches which Akiba classified. The following branches are mentioned explicitly: הגדות, הלכות, מדרש, in Yer. Sheḡ. V (48c); הלכות is mentioned also in Tos. Zabim I, 5. (סדר עולם), חספתא, ספרא, ספרי, (בריתא, סדר עולם) occur in Sanh. 86a. In Abot de Rabbi Nathan 18, 1 the following five branches of study are enumerated without direct reference to Akiba. מקרא, משנה, מדרש, הלכות, הגדות. However, the reference to Akiba mentions five kinds of produce. The context permits the conclusion that the five kinds of produce are probably no accident but metaphoric substitutes for the five literary groups mentioned twice in the same paragraph.³⁷

At first glance, there seems to be a contradiction with regard to the branches of study Akiba arranged. But this contradiction can not be maintained if we consider the terms involved. According to the inconsistent use of Tannaitic terms for different

³⁵ Shir. R. VIII, 2; Eccl. R. VI, 2.

³⁶ Cf. L. Ginzberg in J. E., vol. I, p. 306.

³⁷ Rashi's version in Git. 67a mentions only four kinds of produce, and correspondingly only four branches of literature: Sifra, Sifre, Halakot, Haggadot. It is doubtful, however, whether Rashi intends to present an exact literal quotation.

literary types "Halaka" may include, among others, "Mishna, Tosefta, Baraita" or only two or only one of them.³⁸ "Mishna" may refer to Mishna in our current use of the word, but also to any Halaka or Baraita or even to the Midrash.³⁹

Thus in our case, *Halakot* in Yer. Shek. V may include: Mishna, Tosefta (Baraita) which are both expressly mentioned in Sanh. 86a; but on the other hand, may mean only Tosefta (Baraita) as in current editions of Abot de Rabbi Nathan, 18. However, according to Rashi's version of the same which mentions "Halaka" but not "Mishna," "Halaka" has the same range of meaning as it has in Yer. Shek. V. On this basis we may conclude that while Yer. Shek. V mentions the main categories, Abot de Rabbi Nathan 18.1 and Sanh. 86a give a more detailed enumeration of the various branches of learning considered by Akiba.

Most significant is the fact that no basic Tannaitic Haggadic Midrash collection is ever mentioned, although Akiba arranged the Haggada too. This is an indication that Akiba did not complete such a collection and is further a hint that the same may have been the case with the other branches. What the real nature of his *Mishnayot Gedolot* was is not clear, as we mentioned above (p. 416). This much, however, is obvious: it did not include a Haggadic collection, for we do not have any proof that there ever existed a Tannaitic collection of Haggadot which may have superseded Akiba's collection and shoved it into oblivion, as happened to various older collections in other branches of Tannaitic literature.

An examination of the Halakic Midrashim of Akiba's school shows us that Akiba's idea of separating Midrash and Haggada was not realized. There appear, however, different degrees in this violation of his principle. Much of the Haggada is incorporated in Mekilta and Sifre, but comparatively little of it is found in the Sifra. The same reason mentioned above (p. 413), in another connection is valid also here, namely, that because of its special character, the Sifra preserved a form much closer to the original one than did the other Midrashim. The more

³⁸ Cf. M. Guttman, *Zur Einleitung in die Halacha*, I, 11 ff.

³⁹ Cf. Bacher, *Traditionen und Tradenten*, p. 20, *Terminologie*, p. 122.

original form of the Sifra permits us to draw the conclusion that Akiba's principle of separating different materials was effective with regard to the other Midrashim likewise.

The violation of this principle as far as the Haggada is concerned is another indication that no recognized Tannaitic Haggadic collection existed. The Haggada, segregated by Akiba and his pupils during the process of organizing the whole of the tradition, was again, or at least to a great extent, mixed with other matter. This other matter was the Midrash, the most natural, and certainly the original place for Haggada. As the Torah itself combines Halaka and Haggada, thus likewise did the teachers of *Midrash Hatorah*. Apparently, then, from the failure to create an official collection of Haggada after Akiba's process of separation had taken place, there resulted a return to or a restoration of the original unseparated status of the Midrash collections.

Our investigation may conclude with the following short summary and supplementary remarks:

There is no basis for the usual overemphasis that Akiba's great achievement in Tannaitic literature was the creation of an outstanding Mishna. The sources referring to his accomplishments place Mishna, (Halakic) Midrash, Haggada, (Tosefta, Baraita) upon the same level. Nor does his being mentioned occasionally in connection with the word "Mishna," משנת רבי עקיבא, prove that to Akiba must go special praise for creating a systematic Mishna collection. That belief is merely a consequence of ignoring the extensive use of the word "Mishna" for any type of oral tradition.

There exists, of course, the alternative that Akiba was the first to organize the whole of the Mishna, there being no proof of the creation of a complete Mishna collection by any single *Tanna* previous to Akiba. Some facts indicate, as we saw above (p. 416), that the older *Tannaim* used to specialize in one tractate or the other. The few hints that Akiba may have completed a Mishna collection do not regard such a venture as more than a possibility. Yet this same possibility may be assumed with reference to the other sections of Tannaitic literature. And

all the other excellences attributed to Akiba that have no firm basis in the sources (as for instance his division of the Mishna into tractates and chapters) can as readily be assumed for the other branches.

Of interest are facts which indicate that Akiba most probably did not complete his collections, but that his work, with the exception of the Haggada,⁴⁰ was carried forward by his disciples. Because of this failure to make Haggadic collections, large sections of the Haggada were reincorporated in the Halakic Midrash.

Returning to the starting point of our investigation we may say that the enthusiastic statement in Sifre Deut. 48, praising Akiba for having, like Ezra, saved the Torah from oblivion is, though exaggerated,⁴¹ true in two respects. First, by organizing the whole of tradition, Akiba undoubtedly saved important sections from oblivion. The same chapter in Sifre Deut. indicates that the Halaka became the favorite subject of study by contrast with the (*Halakic*) Midrash and the Haggada. This Midrash, in a collection that came mainly from Akiba's school, reflects the spirit of Akiba who maintained that all of the branches of oral tradition are of equal importance and must be cultivated. The fact that our sentence which demands the same care for all branches of tradition and the other which praises Akiba as the preserver of the Torah are recorded in the same chapter is hardly a mere coincidence. With these facts before us, we cannot help but emphasize that Akiba's merit as a preserver of the Torah, implying Tannaitic literature, was certainly greater with regard to other sections of the literature — especially the Halakic Midrash — than it was for the Mishna.

But Akiba saved the Torah in another respect. He saved it as the basis for the life and the future of his people. R. Simeon

⁴⁰ The *Seder Olam* can be considered as one branch of the Haggada and thus a partial fulfillment of Akiba's plan with regard to the Haggada.

⁴¹ The exaggeration is obvious if we realize how many circumstances from within and without influenced the fate of the Torah. Cf. particularly M. Guttmann, *Zur Einleitung in die Halacha*, and Ch. Tschernowitz, מלדור ההלכה. The natural basis for the exaggeration was Akiba's outstanding personality. Cf. especially L. Finkelstein, *Akiba, Scholar, Saint and Martyr*.

b. Yoḥai, a disciple of Akiba, commenting on Amos 8.12 שׁוֹטטוּ וְלֹא יִמָּצְאוּ לְבַקֵּשׁ אֶת דְּבַר ה' explains that oblivion means chaos in matters of Halaka. It is to be noticed that this Midrash is contained in the paragraph immediately following that which has the statement that Akiba saved the Torah from oblivion. Simeon b. Yoḥai's utterance has special significance for, as Shab. 138b shows, he intends to comment on a Baraita (ibid.),⁴² i. e., to correct it. This famous Baraita, completed in Tosefta 'Eduy. I, 1, reveals the fear of the sages after the destruction of the Temple (71 C. E.) that the Torah might be forgotten. To prevent that, they decided to collect the Halakot. Their method was to collect them author by author. This indicates that they were concerned with saving all the material from oblivion and not preparing a well-arranged code or collection, although the practical method of arranging the material according to subject matter was well known, as some tractates and sections which were already arranged in the time of the Temple (for instance, *Tamid*, *Middot*, *Yoma* etc.) prove. The situation changed in the period of Simeon b. Yoḥai, but Simeon did not realize that. He saw the vast amount of collected material that only caused confusion and chaos and afforded no basis for life. Therefore, he understood "oblivion" as the uselessness of the tradition for the life of the people.

Simeon's teacher, Akiba, saw both. He saw what the sages in the vineyard of Jamnia and what Simeon saw, and he acted accordingly. Akiba's organization of the Halaka, which was but part of his most important scholarly (literary-historical) achievement, the organization of the entire of tradition, gained special importance from a practical point of view because it saved the Torah as a basis for life and helped to eliminate the chaos that menaced the very existence of Judaism. Arrangement according to subject matter alone could not solve the problem. Of more practical value was the classification of the material, that is, its evaluation, by arranging the Halakot in special compilations according to their importance for life. Thus the Mishna represented the code of practice while the Tosefta contains secondary

⁴² A short version of this Baraita is given also in Sifre Dt. ibid.

material (and Akiba's Baraita collection was of value as a literary document rather than as a practical code). Of further importance in this direction was Akiba's endeavor to establish the correct version (p. 399) and to eliminate controversies by giving in most cases only one opinion on each matter.⁴³

Akiba concentrated his entire strength on the saving of his people and on the saving of the Torah. He organized the people and organized the Torah. His effort to save the people by organizing it failed when events brought about the defeat of Bar Kokba. But his effort to save the Torah did not fail. Moreover, it was effective with both of the issues that were at stake. Thus Akiba made an essential contribution to the preservation of the Torah and of the people as well.

⁴³ Compare Zuri, *ibid.*, p. 266.

THE PROPHETIC READINGS ACCORDING TO THE PALESTINIAN, BYZANTINE, AND KARAITE RITES

LOUIS FINKELSTEIN

Jewish Theological Seminary of America

THE prophetic readings of the Byzantine ritual differed fundamentally from those of the other Rabbanite Jews of the diaspora. They have been preserved in the ed. of the *haftarot* published with the Commentary of David Kimhi in Constantinople, 1505; and in the ed. of the Pentateuch and *haftarot*, published in Constantinople, 1522.¹

The ritual represented by these eds. is remarkable not only for its difference from that usual among the Rabbanites, but even more for its similarity to that of the Karaites.² It is certainly astonishing to find a Rabbanite community using the same prophetic readings as the Karaites, rather than their fellow Rabbanites. Yet there can be no doubt that the two eds. represent the Rabbanite, rather than the Karaite, tradition. Both of them give as *haftarah* for the sabbath of the *Sukkot* week Ezek. ch. 38, whereas Karaites read the last portion of the Pentateuch on that day, and use as *haftarah* the first chapter in Joshua. These eds. also contain *haftarot* for the second days of the festivals (יום טוב שני של גליית) which are not observed by Karaites; and a special *haftarah* for the sabbath of Hanukkah, which they do not consider a festival. The *haftarah* of the first day of *Sukkot*, according to these eds. is taken from Zechariah, Chap. XIV, according to Rabbanite custom; the Karaites take their *haftarah* for this day from Isaiah IV-V.

¹ Professor Alexander Marx drew my attention to these eds. when I was preparing my critical edition of *The Commentary of David Kimhi on Isaiah* (New York, 1926). On page LI of the Introduction to that book, I discussed at some length the relation of the *haftarot* found in these eds. to the other material available at the time.

² See Marx, *Zf.H.B.* XII, 29; and Bashiazi, *Aderet Eliahu*, Odessa, 1870, 105c.

A number of years ago, it occurred to me that the curious similarity between the Byzantine and Karaite rituals, might be the result of a common dependence on the Palestinian ritual. This surmise has now been verified through the publication of the lists of *haftarot* according to the Palestinian ritual, in Jacob Mann's, *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue*, Vol. I.³

The Byzantine Jews, living under the same dominion as the Palestinians, were deeply influenced in their ritual by the latter.⁴ Among the customs they adopted from Palestine was

³ I sent this material to the late Professor Mann immediately on receipt of a copy of this work. He wrote me that he would include it in the second volume of the work. In view of his lamented death, and the uncertainty regarding the fate of the rest of the work, I have decided to publish the material in the present paper.

⁴ The vast influence of the Palestinian ritual on that of the Byzantine Jews is evident from a study of *Mahzor Romania* and *Mahzor Kaffa*, both of which represent Balkan rituals. Thus at the end of the first section of the benediction following the *Shema*, *Mahzor Romania* and *Mahzor Kaffa*, read: למען שמך מחר וגאלנו כנאלת אח אבותינו אמה מעולם אתה ושמך הגדול עלינו נקרא באהבה very much as does the Palestinian ritual (See S. Schechter, *JQR* X, 1894, p. 656; J. Mann, *HUCA* II, 1925, pp. 294, 295. See also *JQR*, N S, XIX, 1929, p. 236, where I show that some *piyyutim*, which according to the Palestinian custom, replaced the usual text, were appended to that text according to *Mahzor Romania*). These Palestinian rubrics were also used, and are used today, in many rites, when *piyyutim* were added on festival days. This was because the custom of reciting *piyyutim* derived from Palestine; and with the custom of reciting the *piyyutim*, there came also the custom of using the rubrics associated with them. Thus in the Ashkenazic ritual, whenever *piyyutim* are recited on festival evenings, the rubrics *מלך צור ישראל* and *גואלו* instead of the first benediction following the *Shema*; the doxology reads *מלך צור ישראל* instead of *גואלו* (See Mann, *HUCA* II, 1925, p. 307). This custom is also found in *Mahzor Vitry* (see ed. Horowitz, pp. 576 ff.) and in *Siddur Rab Saadia Gaon* (see ed. I. Davidson, S. Assaf, B. I. Joel, p. 382) for a sabbath when *piyyutim* are recited at the evening service. This use of the Palestinian rubrics for the evening service of the sabbath when *piyyutim* are added occurs also in *Mahzor Turin* (See A. Schechter, *Studies in Jewish Liturgy*, p. 109). Similarly in that *Mahzor*, the Palestinian rubrics were retained in the *Amidah* for the occasions when *piyyutim* were added (see A. Schechter, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 99, 101, where the beginning of the *Amidah* is cited according to the Palestinian rite, because of the addition of *piyyutim*; pp. 97 and 103 where the doxology of the last benediction follows the Palestinian rite, for the same reason; but

apparently the use of the prophetic portions. As the Byzantine Jews, unlike the Palestinians, used the annual cycle of Penta-teuchal readings, they had to adjust the triennial cycle of the *haftarot* to this annual cycle of the Torah. For this purpose they generally chose for each weekly portion of the Torah, that *haftarah* which, in the Palestinian ritual, belonged to the Seder, which formed the first section of the longer Babylonian portion of the week. Thus the *haftarah* for *Bereshit*, according to the Byzantine ritual, was Isaiah 65.17–66.11. This corresponds to the *haftarah*, recorded by Mann,⁵ for *Seder* 1 of the Palestinian cycle, covering Genesis 1.1–2.3. The *haftarot* of the Palestinian cycle for *Seder* 2, covering Genesis 2.4–3.21 (viz., Isaiah 51.6–16),

cf. Texts VII, VIII, IX, X, on pp. 98–102, where the normal doxology of this benediction is retained despite the addition of *piyyutim*). During the Ten Days of Repentance, the Ashkenazic ritual likewise adopts the doxology of the Palestinian liturgy for the final benediction because of the insertion of the Palestinian prayer: *בספר חיים ברכה ושלום ופרנסה טובה נזכר ונכתב לפניך אהנונו ישראל לחיים טובים ולשלום* (see I. Elbogen, *Der juedische Gottesdienst*, p. 147. For the Palestinian origin of the insertion *בספר וכו'*, and similar additions, see Prof. L. Ginzberg, *Ginze Schechter* II, pp. 511–16). Rab Saadia Gaon, likewise, generally uses Palestinian forms of the doxologies when he adds *piyyutim* immediately before the end of a benediction. Thus on p. 379 of the *Siddur Rab Saadia Gaon*, the fifth and seventh benedictions of the sabbath service have the Palestinian forms of the doxology, because of the addition of *piyyutim*; this occurs again on p. 381 and 401; on the other hand the usual forms of the doxology occur in the text cited on p. 380. The inconsistency may, of course, be due to the copyists. It is noteworthy that when the priestly blessing is pronounced, one of the Palestinian forms of the benediction *abodah* is recited according to the rites of Kaffa (*seder tefillot ke-minhag Kaffa*, Mezyrov, 1793, 76b) and Ashkenaz (Baer, *Ashkenazic Prayer Book*, p. 358). See regarding this form Elbogen, *op. cit.*, p. 55. It is interesting to remark that Rashi recognized the doxology of this form of the *abodah* as originating in the Temple (see Rashi, *Berakot* 11b, catchword *ועבודת*; *Yoma* 68b, catchword *ועל העבודה*). Rashi apparently recognized this doxology *לברך ביראה נעבוד* as Palestinian; and indeed he seems to have known other differences between the Palestinian and Babylonian rituals, for he notes that the doxology for the *hodaah* in the Temple service was *הטוב לך להודות* (in accordance with what we now know to be the Palestinian ritual, see S. Schechter, *JQR*, X, 1894, pp. 657–59; Mann, *HUCA* II, 1925, p. 307) instead of the Babylonian form *הודות נאה* (see Rashi, *Yoma*, *loc. cit.*, catchword *ההודאה* ועל ההודאה).

⁵ *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue*, p. 23.

Seder 3, covering Genesis 3.22–4.26, (viz., Ezek. 28.13–19), *Seder* 4, covering Genesis 5.1 ff. (viz., Isaiah 29.18–24 and 30.18), were simply omitted, because the corresponding portions of the Pentateuch were all included, according to the annual cycle, in the one portion of *Bereshit*. Similarly, the *haftarah* listed by Mann⁶ for *Seder* 5 of the Palestinian ritual, viz., that including Genesis 6.9–7.24, or the first part of the *Parashah* of *Noah* according to the annual cycle, is Isaiah 54.9 ff. (In one text it is 54.9–11; in another 54.9–55.5; in a third 54.9–17). The *haftarah* for *Noah* according to ed. 1522 is 54.9–55.5. According to ed. 1505 it is 54.9–55.12.

There can be no doubt that the Karaite ritual of the *haftarot*, which is virtually identical with that included in eds. 1505 and 1522, was likewise based on an adaptation of the Palestinian triennial cycle of prophetic readings to the needs of an annual cycle of Torah readings.

A COMMENTARY ON RASHI'S¹ GRAMMATICAL COMMENTS

HENRY ENGLANDER

INTRODUCTION

R's commentary on the Bible has undoubtedly been the most popular commentary read by the masses. R was interested not only in the exegesis of a passage but also in grammatical forms.

R did not have the benefit of David Ḥayyuj's discovery of the triliterality of the Hebrew root. In consequence R frequently erred in not recognizing the actual root of a form having one or two weak letters. R's main source of grammatical knowledge was Menaḥem b. Saruḡ's Dictionary (מחברת). Both Menaḥem² and Dunash³ were not fully aware of the triliterality of the Hebrew root. When a weak letter in a root falls away (יסוד נופל) such a letter was not regarded as a root letter. In consequence of this fact both Menaḥem and Dunash collocated forms derived from different roots in the belief that they have one and the same root. This view will become apparent in the course of our comments on weak roots.

The commentary on I and II Chronicles is definitely not R's. The commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah is the production of R's disciples.

¹ Hereinafter Rashi will be referred to by the letter R.

² Menaḥem b. Saruḡ will be referred to by the letter M.

³ Dunash will be referred to by the letter D.

GENESIS

- 1.1: R notes that בראשית does not mean to indicate the order of creation, for R notes that if this were so, the word should have been בראשונה instead of בראשית. R notes that בראשית is always in the construct state, therefore R holds the phrase בראשית בריאת שמים וגו' to be equivalent to בראשית ברא.
- 3.15: R incorrectly connects תְּשׁוּפָנוּ with נִשֵּׁף which is an incorrect collocation of an ע"ו with a פ"ן form.
- 4.22: R notes that חֵרֶשׁ is a פֻּעַל form, that is to say, the text word is a participial form, and he specifically notes that it is not a פֻּעַל form, which is equivalent to saying the text word is not a U segolate form.
- 6.3: R holds the form בָּשָׁנוּם to be equivalent to בשנום. The text word however has the meaning of "their going astray." R holds the pataḥ in the text word to be like the pataḥ in שְׁקִמָּתִי.
- 6.9: R notes that הִתְהַלֵּךְ is in the perfect tense (לשון עבר). R observes that this verb is in the "heavy" conjugation (which here refers to the hithpa'el conjugation). R then observes that הִתְהַלֵּךְ may have the force of להבא. In this observation R is actually referring to an imperative form. R then cites וְהִתְפַּלֵּל, which R notes is a perfect tense form, but with the prefixed *waw* the form becomes an imperfect tense form.
- 6.17: R connects בלל בלה with הַמְבוּל, in so doing R brings together a פ"ן (?), ל"ה, ע"ע and a פ"י form.
- 7.23: R on וַיִּמַּח notes that this is a *kal* form (לשון ויפעל). R then specifically observes that the text word is not a niph'al form. To make certain the identification of the text word R notes that it is a form like וַיִּפֶּן and וַיִּבֶן. The pataḥ in the text word is due to the guttural letter.

- 8.12:** R holds that וַיִּחַל is equivalent to ויחל (verse 10). R holds ויחל to be in the *kal* conjugation, whereas the text word is said to be לשון מתפעל. By this term R is actually referring to a niph'al form when R believes that it has a reflexive force. [For niph'al forms being referred by the term מתפעל, see Englander, HUCA, vol. XI, pp. 385, notes: 132, 146, 148.]
- 11.7:** R on נִבְלָה notes that this word has the meaning of נבלבל. The text word is an atypical form for נִבְלָה. The *nun* in the text word is the plural prefix in the first person. R evidently was not aware of the cohortative force. R regards the ה in the text word to be superfluous.
- 13.9:** R notes that אִמִּין אֶת עֲצָמֵי has the force of אִמִּין אֶת עֲצָמֵי.
- 14.10:** R correctly notes that הָרָה is equivalent to להר which implies "to any mountain," whereas the same word with the definite article and the locative ה, namely, הַהֲרָה refers to a flight towards a specific mountain.
- 14.14:** R holds that נִזְרַק has the meaning of זָרַז (to gird) as rendered in the Targum. As a matter of fact the text word has the meaning of "to empty" or "to pour out" or "to draw out."
- 16.5:** R correctly notes that חֲמָסִי עֲלֶיךָ has the meaning of חמס העשוי לי.
- 16.11:** R correctly notes that וַיִּזְלַדָּהּ is equivalent to the form ויזלדח.
- 16.13:** R correctly notes that רָאִי is a nominal form.
- 17.10:** R correctly holds הַמּוֹל to be equivalent to להמול. R then notes that the text word is like עֲשׂוֹת, by which R means to say that the text word is an infinitive construct form.
- 17.11:** R wrongly holds the form וַנִּמְלֹתָם to be equivalent to ומלתם. As a matter of fact the text word is an atypical form for וַנִּמְלֹתָם, the root of which is מלל. R wrongly holds the *nun* in the text word to be superfluous.

- 17.23:** R correctly notes that **וַיִּמַּל** is a *kal* form, whereas **בְּהִמּוּלוֹ** is said to be a *niph'al* form equivalent to **הִפְעִילוֹ**.
- 19.21:** R on **הִפְכִּי** notes that this is equivalent to **אֲנִי הוֹפֵךְ**. R then cites other infinitive construct forms such as **רֹאִי, בֹּאִי**, **דַּבְּרִי**. As a matter of fact **רֹאִי** is not a form like the text word but is rather a participle with a first person suffix.
- 20.13:** R on **הִתְעוּ אֹתִי אֱלֹהִים** notes that the verb is in the plural, whereas a verb in the singular would be in place in view of the fact that God is one. R then points out that there are many instances in which "Lordship" or "Godship" takes a plural form. R then cites such forms **אֱלֹהִים קְרוּשִׁים** (Josh. 24.19). R also cites **אֲדוֹנִי (יוֹסֵף)** (Gen. 39.20). R notes **הַרְבֵּה רַבִּים מְקוֹמוֹת לִשְׁוֹן אֱלֹהִים וּלְשׁוֹן מְרוֹת קְרוֹי בְּלִשְׁוֹן רַבִּים**.
- 21.16:** R on **כְּמַטְחֵי נִקְשָׁתָא**, the root of which is **טחח**, notes that the waw in this form is in place. R compares the text word to **חֲנִי (הַסִּלֵּעַ)**. Both of these two forms have a **ל"ה** root. R notes that **חֲנִי** and **חֲנָא** (Isa. 19.17) have the same root. Both forms are indeed **ל"ה** forms but they have entirely different meanings. **חֲנִי** has the meaning of "places of concealment" and **חֲנָא** (which is an aramaized form for **חֲנָה**) has the meaning of "reeling."
- 21.20:** R on **קִשָּׁת** notes that this word has the meaning of "an archer." R then cites like forms which refer to one's occupation. Thus R notes that **חֲמָר** refers to a driver of camels. **צִיד** refers to a huntsman. R notes the presence of the dagesh in these forms.
- 23.6:** R correctly notes that **יִכְלָה** is to be connected with **כָּלֵא** in view of such a form as **כָּלֵאתִי** (Ps. 119.101).
- 24.20:** R on **וַתַּעַר** (a *pi'el* apocopated form) correctly notes that this word is to be connected with **הַעֲרָה** (Isa. 53.12).
- 24.21:** R on **מִשְׁתַּחֲאָה** notes this word has primarily the meaning of "waste" or "desolation." R then observes that when the first root letter of a form is **ש**, that **ש** changes place with the

letter ת in the hithpa'el form, hence R notes such forms as משתולל, ישתמר, ישתומם [For like observations see on Gen. 24.1; 44.16; Josh. 9.4; Isa. 41.10; 59.16; Mic. 1.8; Ps. 42.6; 73.21; 76.6.]

24.27: R on בִּדְרֹךְ correctly notes that this word refers to a specific "way," because the pointing of ב is with a patach. R then observes that when the letter ב, ל, or ה is prefixed to a noun and is pointed with a patach such a form is in the definite state.

24.45: R on טָרַם אֶכְלָה notes that this is equivalent to טָרַם שֵׁאֲנִי מְכַלָּה. R then observes that a verb which has the force of a customary act may have a perfect tense form or an imperfect tense form.

24.65: R correctly notes that נִתְקַבַּס is a hithpa'el form. R then connects the text word with such forms as וְנִתְקַבֵּר, וְנִתְקַבֵּר. Surely R does not mean to say that the niph'al forms that are cited are like the text word. In all likelihood R's comment means to say that the text word has a passive force.

26.26: R holds נֶאֱחָזְתָּ מֵרֵעֶהוּ to mean "the company of his friends." As a matter of fact אֶחָזֶה is the name of a man. R believes that אֶחָזֶה is not a construct form and holds it to be a form like עֲזָרָה (Ps. 60.13).

27.12: R correctly recognizes יִמְשְׁנִי to be derived from an ע"ע root, because he connects the text word with מִמְשֵׁשׁ.

27.38: R correctly recognizes that the ה in such forms as הִבְרָכָה, הִשְׁמָנָה, הִבְמַחְנִים is the interrogative ה.

28.17: R notes the rendering of נֹרָא by דְּחִילֹ (the Targumic rendering). R then notes that the latter form is like סוּכְלָתְנוּ and כְּסוּ which are Aramaic forms.

29.3: R notes that וְנִלְלוּ has the force of וְגוּלְלִים, that is to say, the text word has the force of a customary act (לְשׁוֹן הוּוּה).

29.15: R correctly notes that וַעֲבַדְתִּי is equivalent to וְתַעֲבֹדֵנִי.

R then generalizes thus: A verb in the perfect tense with a

warw prefixed as in the text word, becomes equivalent to an imperfect tense form.

29.27: R on **מֵלֵא שְׁבַע זֹאת** correctly notes that the pointing of the **ש** in **שְׁבַע** is due to the fact that this form is in the construct state (the absolute form being **שְׁבוּעַ**).

29.27: R notes that the first *nun* in **וְנִתְּנָה** represents the prefix of the first person plural. R probably makes this comment, because the word in question could also be rendered "and there shall be given." R specifically observes that **וְנִתְּנָה** is a form like **נִרְדָּה**, **וְנִבְלָה**, **וְנִשְׂרָפָה**. Incidentally R, so far as we are aware, never notes the cohortative force in the forms cited above. R concludes his comment by noting that **וְנִתְּנָה** is equivalent to **וְנָתַן**.

31.13: R on **הָאֵל בֵּית אֵל** correctly notes that this is equivalent to **אֵל בֵּית אֵל**. The article in the construct violates a well known rule of syntax. The critical commentaries indeed omit the **ה** in **הָאֵל**. R refers to the **ה** as being superfluous. R thus practically emends the text.

32.9: R on **מַחֲנֶה הַמַּחֲנֶה הָאֶחָד וְהַכֹּהֵן** correctly notes that **מַחֲנֶה** is both a masculine and feminine noun. This is evident by the fact that **מַחֲנֶה** takes the feminine **הָאֶחָת** and also the masculine suffix in **וְהַכֹּהֵן** which necessarily means that **מַחֲנֶה** is both a masculine and feminine noun.

33.11: R on **חֲנִי** observes that the dageshed *nun* stands for two *nuns*, therefore the text word is equivalent to **חֲנַנִי**.

33.12: R on **נִסְעָה** notes that this form is like **שְׁמָעָה** and **סִלְחָה**. R notes that these forms are equivalent to **שָׁמַע** and **סָלַח**; therefore R notes the text word is equivalent to **נִסַּע**. As a matter of fact the text word is a first person plural form with the cohortative **ה**. The forms **שְׁמָעָה** and **סִלְחָה** (Dan. 9.19) are imperative forms.

33.14: R holds the **ל** in **לְאִטִּי** to be a root letter. As a matter of

fact the ל in the text word is not a root letter. The text word is derived from the word אט as in I Ki. 21.27, ויהלך אט.

34.15: R on להמל correctly notes that this form is not a ʔal imperative form but is a niph'al infinitive form. To make clear the character of the text word R notes that it is a הפעל form.

34.16: R on ונתנו notes that the *dageshed nun* stands for two nuns, hence the full form would be ונתננו.

34.29: R correctly notes that שבו as accented has reference to "taking captive."

37.4: R on דברו correctly notes that this word is equivalent to לדבר עמו.

37.31: R correctly notes that כתנת in the construct state becomes כתנת.

38.24: R holds the word הרך to be a noun. As a matter of fact this form is an adjective. On Gen. 16.11 and Isa. 7.14, R refers to the text word as being עתיר.

41.35: R on אכל notes that this word is a noun with the accent on the penultimate. R notes that the כ is pointed with a patach ʔatan (i. e., a segol). On the other hand R notes that אוכל is a participle (פועל), with the accent on the ultimate, and is pointed with a קמץ קטן which is R's term for the vowel zere.

42.16: R on האמת notes the pointing of the ה in the text word. R then notes that this letter is the interrogative ה [the interrogative ה followed by a guttural is pointed with a full patach.]

42.21: R on באה notes the position of the accent and therefore correctly observes that this form is a perfect tense form.

43.15: R notes a fine distinction with regard to the Targumic rendering of the verb לקח. R notes that when the taking of a person is referred to, the Targum renders the word in question

by **וְרָבַר** (to lead away), but when the taking has reference to an inanimate object, the Targumic rendering is by the verb **נָסִיב**.

43.16: R on **וְהָכֵן טָבַח וְטָבַח טָבַח וְהָכֵן** notes these two forms are respectively equivalent to **לָטַבַח** and **לְהָכִין**. R then specifically observes that these are not imperative forms. As a matter of fact the form **טָבַח** is an atypical imperative form equivalent to **טָבַח**. The form **וְהָכֵן** is a regular hiph'il imperative. If R were correct in regarding **הָכֵן** to be an infinitive construct form, this form should have been **לְהָכִין**.

44.16: R on **נִצְטָדַק** observes that every verb whose first root letter is a **צ** the letter **ט** takes the place of the characteristic **ת** in the hithpa'el. Furthermore a metathesis occurs in the letters. Hence we find such forms as **וְנִצְטָדְרוּ**, **הִצְטָדְנוּ**. R notes such a metathesis of letters takes place also when the first root letter is a **ס** as in **מִסְתַּחֲלֵל**, **מִשְׁתַּחֲלֵל**, **וּמִסְתַּחֲבֵל**.

46.1: R correctly notes that **בִּאֲרָה שֶׁבַע** is equivalent to **לְבִאֲרָה שֶׁבַע**. [For like observations see on Gen. 28.2; I Sam. 20.20; Jer. 36.20; 52.23.]

46.26: R on **הַבָּאָה** notes that this form is not in the perfect tense, but is a participle, hence the accent is on the ultimate. On the other hand R notes that **הַבָּאָה** (verse 27) is a perfect tense form. This form is held to be correct in that the **ה** functions as a relative pronoun. [For like forms with the **ה** as a relative pronoun see on **הַנּוֹלֵד לוֹ** (Gen. 21.3); **הַהֲלָלָה** (Ezk. 26.17).]

49.4: R notes that **פָּחִי** as accented is a nominal form. R then notes that if the text word were a verb the form would be **פָּחִי**.

49.10: R notes that the *yod* in **יְקָהָת** is **עֵיקָר הִיא בִּיסוּד** and then notes that the text word is a form like **יַפְעַתָּךְ**; when R notes that the *yod* in **יְקָהָת** is **עֵיקָר הִיא בִּיסוּד**, it gives the impression that the *yod* in **יְקָהָת** is a root letter. But R in the latter part of the comment notes that the *yod* in **יְקָהָת** is **עֵיקָר נּוֹפֵל**. The

term **עיקר נופל** is equivalent to **יסוד נופל**. When R notes that a certain letter is **עיקר נופל** or **יסוד נופל** such a letter is never regarded as being a root letter. [For confirmation of this statement, see Englander, *HUCA*, Vol. XI, pp. 371-82.] That this is the correct interpretation is evident by the fact that R holds the character of the *yod* in the text word to be like the *nun* in פ"ן forms; that is to say that when the *yod* and the *nun* fall away at times, such letters are not regarded to be actual root letters. That this interpretation is correct is evidenced by the fact that R compares the character of the letter *yod* in **יקהת** with the **א** in **אחות**, **אבחת** (נחרב) and **אסוך**. That our interpretation of this passage is correct is seen in the fact that R notes that the form **קהית** could be in place of **יקהת**.

49.17: R on **שפיפון** notes that the viper is so called because it "hisses." R then connects the text word with **נוסף** which necessarily implies that R holds the root of the two forms in question to be **שף**. The root of the text word is actually **שפף**.

49.23: R on **ורבו** notes that this word has the meaning of "being adversaries." The text word as a matter of fact means "to shoot." R evidently holds the root of the text word to be **ריב**. R specifically observes that the text word is not a **פעלו** form (an active verb) for, R notes that if it were a **פעלו** form, the form would be **ורבו**. R holds the text word to be a form like **רמו**, **דמו**. R then specifically notes that such forms are passive forms.

EXODUS

1.15: R on **למילדת** (a pi'el form) notes that this form has the force of **מולידות**. R then observes that there are verbs which occur in both the *kal* and "heavy" conjugation (**לשון כבד**) without any perceptible difference in the force of these verbs. By way of illustration R cites **שובר** and **משבר**, **דובר** and **מדבר**.

- 1.17: R correctly notes that the form **נְתַחֲיִין** represents both the second and third plural forms.
- 1.20: Commenting on **נִיטָב**, R observes that when a two letter root like the text word has **—י** at the beginning of a form, it is pointed with a *kameṣ katan* (i. e. a *zere*). By way of illustrating his point, R cites such forms as **נִירָב**, **נִינָל**, and **נִיפָן**. The *yod* is pointed with a *zere*. But according to the current pointing the *yod* in the cited forms has a segol. There can be no doubt that in R's text the *yod* was pointed with a *zere*. Otherwise there is no point in comparing the cited forms with **וִיטָב**. The only solution that can be offered with some probability is that at one time in some code the *yod* in the forms in question was actually pointed with a *zere*. R then observes that in the *kal* the *yod* is pointed with a *hireḳ* as in **נִיטָב**, **נִירָב**, **נִיפָן**. R then observes that the *yod* in such forms as **וִירָב**, **וִירָל**, **וִירָפָן** are not to be likened to the forms previously cited, because, as R notes, the *yod* in these forms is an actual root letter and therefore R holds the respective roots to be **יִרָב**, **יִרָל**, **יִרָפָן**.
- 2.5: R on **אֶמְתָּה** notes that the Rabbis interpreted this form to mean "a hand," but R correctly observes that if this were correct the form should have been pointed **אֶמְתָּה** with a dagesh in the **מ**.
- 2.10: R correctly notes that **מְשִׁיתִּהוּ** (a **ל"ה** form) is not to be collocated with such a form as **יְמִשֵּׁשׁ** (an **ע"ו** form). R specifically observes that the text word is **מְגִזְרָה מְשָׁה**. R frequently employs the term *gizrah* to define one word of a certain root with another form derived from the same root. [See Englander, Vol. XIII, p. 406 ff.] Menaḥem b. Saruḳ has **מִשָּׁה** and **מִשָּׁה** in one division. R, however, perceived a difference and therefore R does not agree with M's collocating these two forms in one and the same division. R correctly notes that **מִשָּׁה** and **מִשִּׁיתִּי** are conjugated differently. R notes that **מִשִּׁיתִּי** belongs to a

class of verbs (biliteral) whose characteristic in the third person, singular masculine in the *kal* is a final ה. R's observation reads מגורת תיבה שפעל שלה מיוסד בה"א בסוף התיבה. This might give the impression that by reason of the words מיוסד בה"א, R holds the final ה to be a root letter. There is ample evidence that the ה in a ל"ה root is not regarded by R to be a root letter. R elsewhere (Gen. 7.23) referring to a ל"ה form notes: תיבה שבסופה ה"א. Incidentally Dunash refers to the word in question by תוספת בה"א. Dunash and Menaḥem do not regard the final ה in a ל"ה form to be an actual root letter. This is true also of R. Thus for example, R specifically notes that the root of המון (a ל"ה form) is הם (on 2 Sam. 21.20). The evidence that R does not hold a ל"ה form is overwhelming. [See Englander, *HUCA*, Vol. VII, p. 405 ff.]

3.22: R on נִצְלָתָם holds the letter נ to be a root letter, so also the נ in וינצלו and ויתנצלו. The reason for holding this view is due to the fact that the נ in the cited forms does not "fall away." As a matter of fact R does not hold the נ in פ"ן forms to be a root letter. When the נ does disappear it is not regarded as a root letter.

4.4: R correctly notes that וַיִּחַזֶּק followed by the preposition in the next word has the force of "seizing" or "taking hold of."

5.9: R notes that שָׁעָה when followed by the preposition ב in the following word, the meaning of the text word is "to regard" or "to speak of." When, however, שָׁעָה is followed by the preposition אֶל or עַל the text word has the meaning of "turning to . . .".

5.14: R correctly observes that וַיִּכֹּן in form corresponds to ויפְעֹלוּ, by which R means to say that the text word is a hoph'al form.

5.16: R on וַחֲטָאתָ (עֲמָרָה) notes that if the text word were pointed with a patach under the ח the form would be in the con-

struct state. This comment it would seem implies that R had the reading וַחֲטָאת, the construct state of which would be וַחֲטָאתָ, which R notes would be equivalent to זֶה הַטָּאת הוּא עֵמֶךְ הוּא.

- 7.1: R connects נְבִיאָךְ with יָנוּב which is a confusion of a ל"א form with an ע"ו form. The latter form has the meaning of "to bear fruit."
- 9.3: R on הוֹיָה notes that the feminine verb in the perfect tense is הִיתָה, in the imperfect tense the form is תְּהִיָּה and the feminine participle is הוֹיָה.
- 9.17: R on מִסְתוֹלֵל notes that when the first root letter is a ס, the ת characteristic in this conjugation is placed after the first root letter. [For like observations see on Gen. 24.21; 44.16; Ex. 9.17; Josh. 9.4; Isa. 41.10; 59.16; Mic. 1.8; Ps. 42.6; 73.21; 76.6.]
- 9.18: On הַיִּסְדָּה R notes that every word whose first root letter is a *yod* as for instance יִלְד, יָדַע, יָסַר, the *yod* in the niph'al form becomes a *waw*. R refers to the text word as being מִתְפַּעֵל; R is actually referring to a niph'al form. [For other niph'al forms being referred to as being מִתְפַּעֵל forms see on הָעֵרַל (Hab. 2.16); אֶקְרָה (Num. 23.15); וַיִּיחָל (Gen. 8.12).]
- 10.21: R on וַיִּמָּשׁ notes that this word means that the darkness will become darker. R then notes that the text word is equivalent to וַיִּאֲמָשׁ (a non-existent form). The text word is an ע"ע form. R notes that there are many forms in which the letter א "falls away" (יִסוֹד נּוֹפֵל), because this letter is not pronounced, as for instance in יָהֵל which is equivalent to יֵאָהֵל even as יִתְּרָנִי is equivalent to יִתְּאָרָנִי.
- 13.21: R correctly notes that לְהַחֲתֵם is equivalent to לְהִנְחֲתֵם. R then cites like forms, namely לְרִאֲתֵכֶם is equivalent to לְהִרְאֲתֵכֶם.
- 14.3: R connects נְבוּכִים with נְבִכִּי, הִבְכָּה, נִבְכִּי [ים] in the belief that all of these forms have the root בִּכ. As a matter

- of fact the text word is derived from the root בוך. The actual root of the other forms cited in this comment are respectively, נבך (balsam-tree) and בכי a nominal form (weeping).
- 14.12: R on מָמָתְנוּ correctly notes that this word is equivalent to מָאֲשֶׁר נָמוּת. R then notes that if the text word were pointed with a holem it would mean "our death."
- 15.2: R on עֵי וְזָמַרְתָּ [יה] notes that these two forms are not equivalent to עֵי and וְזָמַרְתָּ. R does not hold the *yod* in עֵי to be a first person suffix. R likens the *yod* in עֵי to the *yod* in שָׁכְנִי, הִיוֹשְׁבֵי. That is to say the *yod* in question is not a suffix in the first person. As a matter of fact עֵי and עֵי are equivalent forms. The *yod* is a first person singular suffix.
- 15.5: R correctly notes that יְכַסִּימוּ is equivalent to יְכַסּוּם. R then cites like forms in which the *yod* is found, viz. יְרוּיִן, יְרִבּוֹן which forms are equivalent to יְרוּיִן and יְרִבּוֹן.
- 15.6: R holds the *yod* in נֶאֱדָרְתִּי as being superfluous. He then cites other forms such as גִּנוּבִתִּי, שָׁרָתִי, רָבָתִי.
- 15.9: R correctly notes that תִּמְלֵאמוּ is equivalent to תִּמְלֵא מֵהֶם. R then cites other verbal forms with a suffix which is resolved into two forms. Thus R notes that נִתְחַנֵּי is equivalent to נִתְחַן לִי; דִּבֶּר עִמּוֹ is said to be equivalent to יִצְאוֹנִי; יִצְאוֹ מִמֶּנִּי is equivalent to אֲגִיד לוֹ.
- 15.18: R on וְעַד [לְעוֹלָם] notes that this word has the meaning of "forever." R notes that the *waw* in the text word is a root letter, therefore, R notes the פְּתוּחָהּ. By this term R is referring to the segol under the ע. R's term for a segol is פֶּתַח. R then notes that the *waw* in וְעַד, which means "and a witness," is a servile letter (a conjunction) and therefore R notes the *waw* is קְמוּצָה. When R refers to the *waw* as being קְמוּצָה, he is referring to the vowel *zere* under the ע. One of R's terms for a *zere* is קִמְצָה. R's comment has been completely misunderstood by some.
- 15.23: R on מְרַתָּה notes that this form is equivalent to לְמַרְתָּה.

R then in effect notes that a feminine noun ending with a ה becomes a ת in the construct state. So also a place-name ending with a ה.

15.24: R on וַיִּלְנו correctly notes that this is a niph'al form.

R then cites the Targumic rendering ואתרעמו which R notes has a reflexive force. R quite frequently holds the niph'al to have a reflexive force. Indeed some niph'al forms are referred to as being מתפעל forms.

16.7: R correctly notes that תִּלְינו is a תַּפְעִילו form. R then notes that if the text word were without a dagesh it would be a תַּפְעֵלו form. R furthermore observes that if the form were תִּלְונו it would be equivalent to תִּתְלַוְנו. Here R, as so frequently, equates a niph'al form with an hithpa'el form.

18.8: R specifically notes that the root of הִתְלַאֵה is לא. R then notes that the letter ת in the text word is a יסוד נופל, which term always refers to a letter that is not regarded to be a root letter. [See Englander, *HUCA*, XI, 1936, p. 371 ff.]

18.22: R on וּשְׁפֹטו notes that this form is לשון צווי, by which R means to say that the text word has the force of an imperative. R in this passage holds וְהִקֵּל to be an infinitive construct form. As a matter of fact this form is an imperative.

18.26: R correctly notes that יִשְׁפּוּטו is equivalent to וּשְׁפֹטו, even as תַּעֲבוּרִי is equivalent to תִּעְבוּרִי.

19.18: R on עָשָׂן notes that this form is not a noun because the ש is pointed with a *patach*, hence R notes that the text word is a form like אמר, שמר etc.

21.13: R on צָדָה correctly observes that this form is not to be connected with the word צד (an ע"ו form). R notes that M wrongly collocated these two forms. R undoubtedly holds the text word to have the root צד as the final ה is not regarded to be a root letter.

22.19: R makes a distinction in the definite and indefinite forms. R notes that when a prefixed ל or ב is pointed with a

חטף (i. e. with a shewa) such a noun is in the indefinite state. When the ל or ב is pointed with a patach the forms are nouns in the definite state.

23.27: R on והמתי correctly notes that this form is equivalent to והממתי. R then observes that when one of the duplicate letters (in an ע"ע form) is omitted, that letter receives a dagesh. R then cites like forms such as רצתי, דלתי, וסבתי. When R notes on והמתי that this is מגורת והמם, R does not mean to give the root [R never employs גורה in the sense of "root." The only terms that R has for the root are שרש, יסוד, or עיקר. The term גורה is employed in a number of ways, namely a definition of one form by another form of the same root. Thus, e. g. נוצלנו (Jer. 4.22) is defined by מגורת אויל לענות (Deut. 8.3) is said to מגורת עני. The term *gizrah* is also employed to point out that a certain form is like another form. Thus R notes that נִימַח מִגֹּרֶת וִיפֶן, by which R means to say that these are like forms. [For the various usage of the term *gizrah*, see Engländer, *HUCA*, vol. XIV, p. 406 ff.]

23.31: R on ושת' notes that the *dageshed* ת, stands for a double ת one of which is a root letter, that is to say the full form would be ושתתי.

27.3: R correctly notes that לְדָשְׁנוּ has the force of "removing ashes" that is to say, the text word has a privative force. R then cites other forms that are privative, namely משריש which means to "enroot" but הִשְׁרִישׁ means to uproot (Job 5.3). R notes that עֲצָמוֹ has the force of "breaking bones." ויסקלֵהוּ has the meaning of "to stone one," but סָקְלוּ means to "remove stones."

30.25: R correctly notes that רִקַּח is a (u segolate) noun as is evidenced by the fact that the accent is on the penultimate, whereas רִקֵּחַ (in this passage) is a participle.

30.32: R notes that יִסְדֵּךְ is a יפעל form which he compares to the form ייטב.

- 32.17: R correctly notes that בָּרַעַה has the force of בַּהֲרִיעוּ.
 36.7: R correctly notes that וְהוֹתֵר is equivalent in form to וְהַכְבִּד, that is to say these are infinitive absolute forms.

LEVITICUS

- 5.19: R notes that אָשַׁם is a noun but אָשַׁם (in this passage) is a verbal form.
 7.16: R notes correctly that the first *waw* in וְהוֹתֵר is superfluous. R then cites other forms in which the *waw* conjunctive is superfluous, as for instance וְאֵלֶּה, וְעֵנָה, וְאִיהֶם where the *waw* is clearly redundant.
 8.15: R correctly notes that וַיִּחַטֵּא has the meaning of וַיִּטְהַר.
 12.4: R on טָהַרְהָ notes that the ה has no mappik, hence the form is in the absolute state. But in the same passage the form טָהַרְהָ with a mappik in the ה has the force of טָהַר שְׁלֵה.
 13.55: R on הָעֲשׂוֹת הַכֵּבֶדִים notes that this is a form like הָעֲשׂוֹת, that is to say, these two forms are passive.
 14.43: R on הַקְצֹצוֹת notes that this is equivalent to the form הָעֲשׂוֹת. This implies that the text word should have been הַקְצֹצוֹת.
 15.31: R wrongly collocates וְהִזְרִיתָם a פ"ן form with נִזְרוּ an ע"ו form in the niph'al conjugation. However the root of both of these forms is undoubtedly held by R to be זר.
 19.16: R on רָכִיל connects this word with רָגֵל. R holding that כ and ג are homorganic consonants holds these two forms to have the same meaning. R then notes the interchange of consonants which are homorganic. Thus R notes the כף interchanges with גִּמְלָה, the letter ב with פ, the ג with כ and ק, the נ with ל and the ז with צ.
 20.18: R correctly collocates הָעֲרָה with עָרוּהָ. The actual root of both of these forms is עָרָה. R observes the *waw* appears in the nominal form. R then cites וְעָרוּהָ which he connects with

- זע. This collocation is incorrect because the text words are ל"ה forms whereas זע is an ע"ו form.
- 21.23: R on נֶאֱקָץ correctly connects this word with קִצְחִי.
- 22.2: R connects וַיִּנָּרוּ with נָרוּ; the first form is a פ"ן form and the second is an ע"ו in the niph'al conjugation. The two words have entirely different meanings.
- 22.22: R correctly notes that עֹרֶת is a feminine nominal form having the meaning of "blindness."
- 26.36: R correctly notes that the מ in מָרָךְ is not a root letter. R notes that the letter מ is a יסוד נופל which term always means that the letter is a formative but not a root letter. In effect R holds the root to be רכון.

NUMBERS

- 4.13: R correctly notes the privative force in וְדָשְׁנוּ, namely, "to remove ashes."
- 5.22: R correctly notes that לְצַבּוֹת is equivalent to לְהַצְבוֹת. R then cites similar formations such as לְהַרְאוֹתֵכֶם.
- 6.5: R notes that פָּרַע is pointed with a *patach katan* (i.e., a segol) despite the fact that the text word is in the construct state with שָׁעַר. As a matter of fact segolate nouns in the construct state ordinarily do not change their form.
- 11.8: R correctly notes that the ל in לְשֹׁד הַשָּׂמֶן is a root letter. R notes that the text word was taken to have the meaning of שְׂדִים which interpretation R rejects. R then notes that הַשָּׂמֶן is not a verb, for if it were a verbal form the accent would be on the ultimate as in שָׂמֶן.
- 17.25: R makes a distinction between תְּלִנּוֹתָם and תְּלִנּוֹתָם (a non-existent form). R holds the text word to have the force of "many murmurings," whereas the second form has the force of "one murmuring."

- 20.3: R holds נָע to be a nominal form. As a matter of fact this form is an infinitive construct form.
- 21.11: R holds the root of עֵי to be the single letter ע. The reason for R's holding this view is due to the fact that R connects the text word with יַעַה (Isa. 28.17) in which the first and last letter are not regarded as being root letters.
- 21.30: R on נָשִׁים notes the dagesh in the letter ש, therefore R correctly notes that the text word has the meaning "to lay waste." The actual root of course is שָׁמַם.
- 23.15: R notes that אֶקְרָה is לִשׁוֹן מִתְפַּעֵל. R does not actually mean that the text word is a hithpa'el form. All that R means to say is that the text word has a reflexive force. [For like observations, see on Gen. 8.12; Ex. 9.18; ib. 15.24; Ps. 38.3.]
- 23.19: R on בָּנוּ [צָפָר] notes that this form is like the forms מַעֲיִנו, חִיתוֹ. Such forms are generally found in elevated style.
- 23.20: R on בָּרַךְ correctly notes that this form is equivalent to בִּרְךָ. The letter ר rejects the dagesh and therefore the characteristic hireḳ becomes a kameḡ katan, which term is equivalent to our zere. R then notes that the text word is not a noun. If it were a noun, R observes that the form would be בִּרְךָ [As a matter of fact this form does not occur in the Bible.]
- 23.21: R connects [וְתִרְוַעַת מֶלֶךְ] with יִרְעָה [דָּוִד]. As a matter of fact the text word is derived from an ע"ו root, whereas רַעָה is a ל"ה form.
- 23.27: R on וְקִבְּחוֹ correctly notes that this is not an imperative form like the וְקִבְּנוּ. R notes that the text word is an imperfect tense form (עֲתִיד).
- 24.17: R connects קִרְקַר with קִוְּרָה. This collocation is a confusion of an ע"ע form with a ל"ה form. R also connects the text word with קִרְתִּי which is an ע"ו form. R also connects נִקְרָתָם and יִקְרוּה in connection with the text word. The latter two forms are actually פ"ן forms.
- 26.9: R correctly notes that הִצִּי is a hiph'il form. [R undoubtedly

holds the single letter צ to be the root because the ה and the ו are not root letters. M holds the צ to be the root of the text word.

33.14: R wrongly connects לְקַפּוֹת meaning “to sweep or snatch away” with סָפוּ which is an ע”ו form.

32.24: R notes that לְצִנְאָכֶם, an atypical form, is equivalent to לְצִוּנֹכֶם.

33.52: R correctly notes that וִירַשׁ has the meaning of “to take possession” and also has the meaning of “to drive out” (to dispossess).

34.17: R correctly notes that לָכֶם has the force of בְּשִׁבְלֵכֶם.

DEUTERONOMY

1.16: R correctly notes that שָׁמַע, an infinitive absolute form, has the force of הוּוּה, that is to say, the text word and like forms at times have the force of “constancy.”

1.33: R correctly notes that לְרִאֲתָכֶם is equivalent to לְהִרְאֲתָכֶם. R then cites like formations such as לְגִיד, לְשָׁמַע, לְנִחָתָם.

4.31: R correctly notes that יִרְפֶּךָ is a hiph’il form. R then cites the form אֶרְפְּנוּ and notes that the latter form is not pointed אֶרְפְּנוּ. R then observes that רָפָה occurs in the hiph’il and hithpa’el, meaning respectively to cause “slackness” and giving oneself “slackness.”

4.41: R on מִזְרְחָה שָׁמֶשׁ notes that this is equivalent to מִזְרַח שֶׁל שֶׁמֶשׁ and notes that the ר is pointed with shewa because it is in the construct state.

7.23: R notes the pointing in וְהָמָם and observes that the final מ is not a root letter. R correctly notes that the text word is equivalent to וְהָם אוֹתָם. R then observes that וְהָמָם is כָּלוּ יָסוּד. By this observation R does not mean to say that the ע”ע form has a trilateral root. R in many instances specifically observes that the last letter in an ע”ע root is not a root letter.

When R notes that **כלו יסוד** is **וזהמם**, he merely means that the final **מ** is not a suffix. **ע"ע** forms are held to have a biliteral root. See on Gen. 49.19, where **גדור** is specifically said to have a biliteral root.

- 12.30:** R on **תִּנְקֶשׁ** notes that the Targum rendered this word by **לשון מוקש**. R correctly notes that this is incorrect and observes that a *nun* is never found in such a form as **מוקש**. R then cites a number of forms in which the letter **נ** occurs which *nun* is said to be **יסוד נופל**. This term always refers to a formative but not to an actual root letter. The **נ** in **פ"ן** forms is not held to be an actual root letter by R, when that letter "falls away" in the course of conjugation or declension.
- 19.14:** R correctly connects **תְּסִיג** with **נִסְגּוּ**. The text word is an atypical form from the root **סוג**.
- 29.10:** R notes the reading **בספר התורה הזה** and also the reading **בספר התורה הזאת** (28.61). R solves the difficulty by noting that in the first passage the word **זה** modifies the word **ספר**, whereas in the second passage **הזאת** modifies **התורה**.
- 29.18:** R wrongly connects **בְּשָׁרֵרוּת** with **אשורנו** which is a confusion of an **ע"ע** with an **ע"ו** form. R in this verse connects **ספות** (an inf. construct meaning "to snatch away") with **אסף** which is a confusion of a **ל"ה** with a **פ"א** form.
- 30.3:** R on **וְשָׁב** correctly observes that the text should have read **והשיב** and then R gives the Rabbinic interpretation.
- 32.5:** R on **פְּתִלְתֵּל** notes the duplication of certain letters (**תיבות כפולות**) and cites other like forms such as **ירקרק**, **סגלגל**, **סחרחר**, **אדמדמ**.
- 32.13:** R correctly notes that **חֶלְמִישׁ** is in the construct state, and then notes that the form in the absolute state is **חֶלְמִישׁ**.
- 32.15:** R connects **כְּשִׁית** (meaning "to grow thick") with **כְּסִית** ("to conceal"). R then observes that the text word is a *kal* form like **וכסה**, and then notes that if the text word were

כָּסִית it would have had the force of "covering others." The two verbs have entirely different meanings and therefore the collocation as made is incorrect.

32.26: R on אֶפְאִיָּהֶם a hiph'il form, correctly notes that this word has the meaning אֶפְאָה אוֹתָם. The text word is derived from the root פֹּאָה.

32.35: R on נָקַם וְשָׁלַם notes that וְשָׁלַם is a verb in the imperfect tense. R then notes that some hold the form in question to be a noun like הַדְּבָר (Jer. 5.13).

33.3: R correctly holds תָּכֹן to be a פּוֹעֵל'וּ form (from the root תָּכַן, the meaning of which is dubious.)

33.3: R on מְדַבְּרֵתֶיךָ notes that the מ in this form is קְרוֹב לִיסוֹד, by which R undoubtedly means to say the מ is an essential part of the form. This can be seen in the fact that R on מְנוֹרִיךְ (Nah. 3.17) notes הַמ"ם יְסוֹד וְשֵׁרשׁ בְּתִיבָה כַּמ"ם (Nah. 3.17) notes הַמ"ם יְסוֹד וְשֵׁרשׁ בְּתִיבָה כַּמ"ם. In this passage R specifically observes that the מ is יְסוֹד וְשֵׁרשׁ, certainly no one will maintain the מ in the nominal forms cited is an actual root letter.

33.23: R correctly notes that יִרְשָׁה, שְׁמָעָה and like forms are imperative forms with the accent on the penultimate.

JOSHUA

2.4: R correctly recognizes that וַתִּצְפְּנוּ should have been וַתִּצְפְּנוּ. R then observes that there are passages where the plural form is expressed by a singular form.

3.11: R correctly notes that הַבְּרִית אֲדוֹן כָּל הָאָרֶץ is equivalent to בְּרִית שֶׁל R then notes that there are many like passages and he cites similar constructions such as הַמִּסְגְּרוֹת (1 Ki. 7.29) הַמְכֻנּוֹת and הָעֵמֶק הַפְּגִרִים (Jer. 21-13).

8.6: R on הַתִּיקָנוֹ notes that this word is לְשׁוֹן תִּיק (not in Biblical Lit.) which means a "sheath." The text word is a פֶּן

form and has the meaning of "to pull, draw or tear away or apart."

- 8.7: R correctly notes that **וְהוֹרֶשְׁתֶּם** means "to drive out" (and by implication the text word does not mean "to cause to inherit." See also his comment on Josh. 10.27.
- 9.4: R on **וַיִּצְטִירוּ** notes that when the first root letter is a **צ** the usual **ת** in the hithpa'el form becomes a **ט** as in such a form as **יִצְטַבֵּעַ**. [For like observations see on Gen. 24.21; 44.16; Ex. 9.17; Isa. 41.10; 59.16; Mic. 1.8; Ps. 42.6; 73.21.]
- 10.21: R quite frequently observes that a certain passage is elliptic, thus on **לֹא חֶרֶץ לְבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** R notes that subject **הַחֶרֶץ** is to be understood. A like observation is made by R on 10.27. [For elliptic passages see on Gen. 9.6; 12.8; 13.6; 29.2 and thus frequently.]
- 14.1: R correctly notes that **נִחְלוּ אוֹתָם** is equivalent to **הִנְחִילוּ**.
- 24.19: R on **אֱלֹהִים קְדוֹשִׁים** notes that in many passages when the implication is that of "Lordship" a plural form is in order, as in **אֲדוֹנֵי יוֹסֵף** (Gen. 39.20), **אֲדוֹנֵי הָאָרֶץ** (Gen. 42.30) and **אִם בְּעֲלֵי עָמוֹ** (Ex. 22.14).

JUDGES

- 1.23: R on **וַיִּתִּירוּ** notes that the force of this verb is **עַל יְדֵי אַחֲרִים**, that is to say the text word is in the hiph'il conjugation.
- 5.13: R holds **יָרַד** to be equivalent to **יָרְדָה**. (This is also the view of D. Kimhi.) Others hold the text word to be equivalent to **יָרַד**.
- 5.15: R holds the *yod* in **וַשְׁרִי** to be superfluous. The *yod* in the text word R notes is like the *yod* in **שָׂרִי**. Some hold the *yod* in the text word to be a plural suffix.
- 5.28: R connects **וַתִּיַּבֵּב** with **נִיב [שְׁפָתִים]** which is a confusion of an **ע"ע** form with an **ע"ו** form. The two words have entirely different meanings, the text word has the meaning of "to cry

shrilly," and the second form has the meaning of "to bear fruit."

5.29: R notes that **הַחֲכָמוֹת שְׂרוּתֶיהָ תַעֲנֶנָּה** is equivalent to **הַחֲכָמוֹת** **שְׁבִשְׁרוּתֶיהָ**. R then notes that the form **הַחֲכָמוֹת** (Prov. 24.7) is a noun and therefore is a short *kamez*. R furthermore observes that **תַעֲנֶנָּה** has a dagesh in the second נ. R therefore holds the text word to have three "nuns." [Norzi prefers the reading **תַעֲנִינָה** which is the reading in the old and correct codices.] The Masorah **אֵכֶלָה וְאֵכֶלָה** holds this form to be a plural form.

6.32: R on **יָרַב** correctly notes that this verb may be followed by the prepositions **אֶת**, **עִם**, or **בְּ**.

9.53: R correctly notes that **וְתָרַץ** (an atypical hiph'il form from the root **רָצַץ**) has the force of **וְתָרַץ**.

11.35: R correctly notes that **הַכֶּרְעָתִי** is a feminine form and notes the text word is like **לְבַבְתִּי** (Cant. 4.9).

15.4: R on **וַיָּפֶן** correctly notes that this form in the hiph'il and has the force of "causing to turn," whereas **וַיָּפֶן** means "to turn towards."

19.13: R correctly observes that **וְלָנוּ** is equivalent to **וְלָנוּ**.

I. SAMUEL

1.5: R holds **וַיִּשְׁתְּרוּ** (a *hapax legomenon*) to be equivalent to **וַיִּסְתְּרוּ**. The Massorah notes that the letter ש is equivalent to a ס.

1.9: R notes that in **אֶבְלָה** there is no mappik in the letter ה and then notes that the pointing of the ה is with a short *kamez*, hence R holds the text word to be an infinitive construct form. R then notes that an infinitive construct form may be employed as a masculine or feminine form.

1.17: R on **שְׁלַחְךָ** correctly notes that this form is equivalent to **שְׁלַחְךָ**.

- 2.33: R holds וְלֹאֲדַיֵּב (to grieve) to be a form like וְלֹדַיֵּב (to languish). These two forms are from different roots.
- 4.19: R holds לָלֶת to be equivalent to לָלֶדֶת. The text word is very likely a corrupt form. The actual root in all likelihood is יָלַד.
- 5.9: R holds וַיִּשְׁתָּרוּ to be equivalent to וַיִּסְתָּרוּ. As a matter of fact the text word has the meaning of "to burst" or to "break out." The collocation as made by R is incorrect.
- 6.10: R correctly connects בָּלוּ with כָּלָא, meaning "to restrain" or "to shut up."
- 6.12: R on וַיִּשְׁרְנוּ notes that this word is an אַנְדְּרוֹגִינוֹס form, that is to say the text word has the masculine and feminine elements. It is held by some that the text word should have been וַיִּשְׁרְנָה.
- 14.24: R correctly notes that וַיֵּאָל has the meaning of to be willing. The text word is a hiph'il form from the root אָלָה.
- 14.33: R correctly connects גָּלוּ with גָּלָלוּ.
- 15.11: R on נִמְכָּזָה correctly notes that the letter מ is superfluous, hence the form should be נִבְזָה. This is the very emendation made in the critical commentaries.
- 15.19: R wrongly connects וַתַּעַט which is a לָה form with עֵיט which is an ע"י form.
- 16.1: R on בֵּית הַלְחָמִי correctly notes that when the name of a place is composed of two words and the locative ה is added, that ה is prefixed to the first part of the name as in בֵּיתָה בְּתוֹאֵל.
- 17.8: R on בָּרוּ notes that this equivalent to בָּרְרוּ (imperative forms). The text word is atypical in this context. In all probability the text word should have been בִּבְחָרוּ this is the rendering in the versions.
- 17.39: R on וַיֵּאָל (meaning "to attempt" or "undertake") notes the Targumic rendering, namely וְלֹא אָבָה לְמַעַל. On the basis

of this statement R notes that certain forms have a privative force, as for instance R holds **מסעף** (Isa. 10.32) has the meaning of "to cut down branches." Thus also the word **ושרשך** which means "to uproot."

18.29: R notes that **לרא** has the force of **ליראה**. The text word is atypical.

19.20: R on **להקת** holds this word to have the meaning of **סיעת**. As a matter of fact the text word is an unknown word. The Septuagint and the Syriac have the reading **קהל** or **קהלה**.

20.20: R on **צדה** notes that the **ה** does not have a mappik. R therefore notes that the letter **ה** is a locative and therefore the text word is equivalent to **לצר**.

20.30: R collocates **נענת** (a niph'al participle from the root **ענה**) with the word **נע**, which is a confusion of a **ל"ה** form with an **ע"ו** form. R correctly notes that the letter **ח** in the text word is due to the fact that the form in question is in the construct state.

21.10: R correctly connects **לויטה** a passive **ע"ו** participle with **וילט** (I Ki. 19.13) a hiph'il form.

23.7: R correctly notes that **נכר** (meaning to be "alienated") is in the "strong conjugation," that is to say that the text word is in the pi'el conjugation. R then notes that in the **Ḳal** (**משקולת הרפים**) the form would be **נכר** (a non-existent form.)

25.33: R on **כלתני** correctly connects this word with **תכלא**. A number of **ל"א** forms interchange with **ל"ה** forms. Thus we find such forms as **כלאתי** (Ps. 119.101), **כלו** and **יכלה** which are actually **ל"א** forms.

27.10: R holds **אל** [פשתתם] to be equivalent to **אן**. R then observes that homo-organic consonants interchange at times, as for instance R notes that **נשכה** is equivalent to **לשכה**. The critical commentaries indeed correct **אל** to **אן**.

II SAMUEL

- 3.30:** R on **הָרְגוּ לְאַבְנֵר** correctly notes that **ל** is equivalent to **את**. R cites a like construction in **עֲשֵׂקָה לִי**, which R notes is equivalent to **אוֹתִי** (Isa. 38.14).
- 13.39:** R on **וַתִּכַּל דָּוִד** correctly notes that verb is a feminine form, hence there is a lack of agreement. R solves the difficulty by noting that **נֶפֶשׁ** (a feminine form) is to be understood.
- 15.24:** R holds **וַיִּצְקוּ** to be equivalent to **וַיִּצְיִנוּ**. R holds the letters **ק** and **ג** to be homorganic consonants, hence the interchange of consonants. As a matter of fact the collocation as made by R is not correct because the two forms in question have entirely different meanings. The text word has the meaning "to pour" or "to flow," whereas the second form has the meaning to "set" or to "place."
- 17.2:** R correctly notes that **וַיִּנְחֲנוּ** is equivalent to **וַנִּנּוּחַ**. R holds the latter form to have the meaning of **לִשְׁוֹן חֲנִיָּה**. This implies that R holds **נח** to be the root of **וַנְחֵנוּ** and **חֲנִיָּה**.
- 19.5:** R connects **לְאַט** (meaning "to cover") with **וַיִּלְט** (which has the meaning of "to enwrap.") These two forms have practically the same meaning. R in this passage also correctly cites the form **לוֹטָה** which is a feminine passive participle.
- 21.20:** R specifically observes that the root of **מִדְּרוֹן** is **מִדַּר**, and the root of **שְׁאוֹן** is **שֵׁא**, and the root of **הַמּוֹן** is **הֵם**. R holds this view because the third root letter falls away in these forms.
- 22.27:** R on **תִּתְפַּל** (the root of which is **תִּפַּל**) notes that this word has the meaning **נִפְתַּל** ("tasteless" or "unsalted").
- 22.36:** R wrongly holds **וַעֲנִתְךָ** to be equivalent to **עֲנִיתְךָ**.
- 23.2:** R on **דָּבָר בִּי** notes that in every expression of prophecy the preposition **ב** follows the verb **דָּבַר** as in **אֲדַבֵּר בּוֹ** (Num. 12.2).

I KINGS

- 3.4: R correctly notes that יַעֲלֶה has the force of מעלה.
- 5.25: R correctly notes that מַכְלֶת has the meaning of מאכל.
- 7.9: R correctly takes מָסַד to have the meaning of יסוד. The text word is equivalent to מוסד.
- 9.8: R correctly collates יֵשֶׁם with שִׁמְמוֹ, which are ע"ע forms.
- 10.28: R on וּמִקְוָה notes that this form has a pausal accent (זקף גדול) and therefore R in effect notes that the text word is not a construct form.
- 16.34: R on חֵיָאֵל בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים notes that is equivalent to חֵיָאֵל אֲשֶׁר בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי. In a dual place-name, the article is prefixed to the second part of the name.
- 19.13: R correctly connects נִלְטָה (an ע"ו form) with לוֹטָה which is a passive *kal* participle.
- 20.33: R on וַיַּחֲלֹטוּ הַמַּמְנִי correctly observes that the letter ה in וַיַּחֲלֹטוּ should be attached to וַיַּחֲלֹט, and therefore the reading should be וַיַּחֲלֹטוּ מַמְנִי.
- 21.27: R on וַיֵּהָלֵךְ אֵט notes that it means "to walk barefoot." As a matter of fact אֵט is a noun from an ע"ע root the plural form of which is אֵטִים (Isa. 19.3).

II KINGS

- 4.2: R on אָסוּךְ notes that the א is a root letter (הֵאָלֵף בְּתִיבָה) (מִן הַיְסוּד). This statement might give the impression that the letter א is held to be an actual root letter. R in this verse also cites the form אֶחָוִי. There can be no question as to the א not being a root letter. This we demonstrated in connection with R's comment on מְנֹרֶךְ (Nah. 3.17) on which form, R specifically notes that the letter מ is בְּתִיבָה.

Surely no one will maintain that the letter מ in this word

- as well as the מ in משמרתך which R cites is actually a root letter. When R notes that the א in the text word and the מ in מנזריך is מן היסוד, all that R means to say is that these are preformative letters essential in the forms in question.
- 5.7: R on האלהים notes the pointing in the letter ה which R correctly notes is the interrogative.
- 9.4: R on הנער הנביא holds that this has the meaning of נערו של נביא.
- 9.15: R correctly notes that לגיד is equivalent to להגיד.
- 10.32: R wrongly connects לקצות with קצתי, which is a confusion of a ל"ה with an ע"ו form.
- 11.6: R on מִסַּח notes that the letter מ is a root letter. The text word, however, is dubious. It is held by some that the root of the text word that is נסח (to pluck away).
- 17.6: R correctly notes that וַיִּגַּל is equivalent to וַיְגַל. R then notes that ל"ה forms like בנה, פנה and גלה in the kal imperfect tense are pointed וַיִּפֶּן, וַיִּבֶן, וַיִּגַּל. R then notes that the corresponding hiph'il forms become וַיִּפְּן, וַיִּגַּל.
- 17.23: R notes the pointing in וַיִּגַּל which he notes is not a hiph'il form.
- 19.25: R holds להשאות to be equivalent to להשאות. The text word has the meaning of "making din" or "crashing in ruin."
- 19.28: R notes that וַשְׁאֲנֶנֶה is equivalent to שאונך. The text word does not seem to be in place in this passage. R, by noting that the text word is equivalent to שאונך, in effect is making the very emendation as made in the critical commentaries.

ISAIAH

- 1.4: R correctly notes that כָּבֵד is a construct form, the absolute form is כְּבֹד.
- 1.6: R connects זָרוּ (an ע"ו form meaning to "press down or

out") with יִזְרֶה (a pu'al ל"ה form) which has the meaning of "to scatter or disperse."

1.16: R correctly notes that רָחֲצוּ and הִזְכּוּ are imperative forms. R notes that if the text word were in the perfect tense the form would have been רָחֲצוּ.

ibid.: R holds הִרַע (in pause) to be equivalent לְהִרַע.

1.17: R notes that לָמַדוּ has no dagesh hence it is a *kal* form in the imperative. The force of the text word is "to learn." R then notes that the pi'el form (לִשׁוֹן כָּבֵד) has the force of "teaching." R then notes that the form דָּרְשׁוּ (a *kal* plural imperative) in the singular is דָּרַשׁ. R then observes that אֲשֶׁרוּ is an imperative form in the pi'el conjugation.

1.21: R holds the *yod* in מְלֹאֲתִי to be like the *yod* in רִבְתִּי, which *yod* is frequently said to be superfluous.

1.23: R connects סוֹרְרִים with סָרִים. This collocation is not correct because the first form has the meaning "to be stubborn," whereas the second form means "to turn aside."

1.30: R correctly notes that נִבְלָת is not to be connected with בִּלָּה because the latter form does not have a *nun*.

1.31: R correctly identifies the form וּפְעָלוּ by the form וְהָעוֹשֶׂה which is a participle. R notes that the text word is rendered in the Targum by וְעוֹבֵד יְדִיהוֹן and then observes that this is not the correct rendering of the text word. R then notes that if the Targumic rendering were correct the Hebrew noun should have been וּפְעָלוּ. The text word as pointed is noted by R to be a participial form.

3.24: R connects מְקַשֶּׁה with נִקְשֵׁן which is a confusion of a ל"ה form with a פ"ן form. R notes that the text word is pointed with a *patach* which is R's term for the *segol*. R then notes that the construct form מְקַשֶּׁה is pointed with *kamez*, which term is equivalent to *zere*.

3.26: R on וָאֵנוּ correctly notes that this verb has the meaning of "to mourn."

- 5.2: R correctly observes that **וַיִּסְקֹלֵהוּ** has the force of “removing stones.”
- 5.6: R correctly notes that **בְּתֵה** has the meaning of **שִׁמְמָה** or **צֵרוֹ**, that is to say the text word has the meaning of “the end” or “destruction.”
- 5.7: R on **וְשִׁעְשׁוּעֵיוֹ** **נִטֵּעַ** notes that **נִטֵּעַ** when it is in the absolute state is pointed **נִטֵּעַ** (in pause) and in construct state it is **נִטֵּעַ**. R then notes that because the form in question is in the construct state the letter **ט** is pointed with a patach. As a matter of fact the absolute form of **נִטֵּעַ** as a segolate noun (which does not occur) is evidently **נִטֵּעַ** in view of such forms as **נִטְעַךְ** (Isa. 17.11) and **נִטְעִי** (Isa. 17.10). R’s view then is incorrect in holding **נִטֵּעַ** to be the absolute form, and that the noun in question is a form like **בִּקְרָר**.
- 5.30: R on **וַיִּנְבֹּט** holds this verb to be a niph’al form. As a matter of fact the text word is a pi’el form. There is no niph’al form from the root **נִבֵּט**. R equates the text word with **נִפְתַּח**. R correctly observes that the *war* in the text word is a *war* consecutive.
- 6.10: R holds **הַשְׁמֵן** to be an infinitive absolute. As a matter of fact the text word is a hiph’il imperative.
- 7.2: R correctly connects **נָחָה** with **וַיִּנַּח** which are derived from an **נָח** root.
- 7.11: R notes that the form **שְׁאֵלָה** **וְהַעֲמֵק** are equivalent to **הַעֲמֵק וְשָׁאֵל** (=ask in the depth). R then notes that the text word is a form like **שְׁמַעְהָ** and **סִלְחָהּ**. As a matter of fact some hold the text word to be **שָׁאוֹל** with the locative **הָ**.
- 7.20: R on **וַיִּשְׁעֵר** **וְהָרְגִלִּים** correctly notes that this is a construct form, hence the pointing of the **ש** with a patach.
- 9.4: R correctly notes that **סָאוֹן** **סָאֵן** is not to be connected with the word **סָאָה**. R correctly holds the *nun* in the text words to be a root letter and he specifically notes that it is not a form like **סוֹאָה** or **הַמּוֹן** or **שָׁאוֹן** (which are **ל”ה** forms).

9.17: R incorrectly connects וַיִּתְאַבְּכוּ a א"פ form with נבוכים an ב"ע form. R then notes that the root of these forms is בך. R on the latter form notes that the *nun* (which is not considered to be a root letter) is retained at times, and then R observes that the letter נ takes the place of the letter נ in such forms as אֶבְחַת (חרב) (Ezek. 21.20), וַאֲחַתִּי. Needless to say that these observations are not correct.

12.2: See R's comment on Ex. 15.2.

13.10: R correctly connects יִהְיוּ (an ע"ע form in the hiph'il conjugation with בָּהֵלוּ which is a ḵal infinitive construct form.

13.14: R correctly connects נִסְפָּה with ספּות (a ḵal infinitive construct) and with וספּו.

13.20: R correctly holds יִהְיֶה to be equivalent to יֵהָאֵל. R then observes that in a number of instances the letter נ disappears, as for instance in מלפּנו (Job 35.11) which R notes is equivalent to מאלפּנו. Similarly R notes that the form מוֹיִן (Prov. 17.4) is equivalent to מאוֹיִן.

14.19: R correctly connects מוֹכֵס (a hoph'al form) with אבוסנו (Isa. 14.25).

16.10: R correctly connects יִרְעַע (to shout) with תרועה. The text word is a pol'al ע"י form.

19.3: R correctly connects וַנִּבְקַח (an atypical form) with בוקק (Isa. 19.3).

19.4: R correctly notes that סִכְרָתִי is equivalent to סגרתִי. The letter כ and the letter נ are homorganic consonants, hence the interchange in these two letters.

ibid.: R on אֲדוֹנִים קָשָׁה notes that "Lordship" takes a plural form even though the subject has an adjective in the singular.

19.9: R holds חוֹרִי to be a form like שְׂדֵי and חֲלוֹנֵי. The *yod* in like forms is said by R to be superfluous.

19.13: R correctly connects נוֹאֲלָנוּ with אוֹיֵל.

19.17: R correctly connects חָנָא with יָהֲנוּ. Both of these forms have the basic meaning of "to circle" or "to reel." The text

word is an Aramaism for חגא. R also correctly connects the text word with חגוי הסלע, the actual root of which is חנה.

20.4: R holds the *yod* in וַחֲשׁוּפֵי to be superfluous and then cites like forms such as וַחֲוָרִי (Isa. 19.9, meaning "white stuff"). R also cites חֲלוּנֵי (Jer. 22.14) in which however the *yod* is a first person suffix. R also cites שְׂדֵי (meaning "field") in which the *yod* is a rare original form. The form שְׂדֵי is equivalent to שדה.

21.2: R notes that צוֹרֵךְ as accented means "my rock," but צוֹרִי as accented is a verb like שׁוּבִי, קוּמִי.

21.2: R notes that the letter ה in אֲנַחְתָּהּ has no mappik, hence R notes that the text word is a collective noun.

21.15: R correctly connects נְטוּשָׁה with וַיִּנְטָשׁוּ. R gives a second interpretation, namely that נְטוּשָׁה is equivalent to לְטוּשָׁה. R holds the letters *nun* and *lamed* to be homo-organic consonants. As a matter of fact the text word has the meaning of "to leave" or "forsake," whereas לְטַשׁ has the meaning of "to hammer" or "sharpen."

On this verse R also notes that נִשְׁכָּה is equivalent to לְשָׁכָה (Neh. 13.7).

22.5: R correctly connects וּמְבוֹסָה with בּוֹסְסוֹ (a pol'el form).

22.16: R correctly notes that the *yod* in חֲקָקִי (which is an archaic ending) is superfluous. R then cites like forms such as מְקִימִי, שׁוֹכְנִי.

22.17: R incorrectly connects עֲטָף עֲטָה with וַיַּעַט (Isa. 59.17).

23.17: R correctly notes that לְשִׁמִּיד is equivalent to לְהַשְׁמִיד. R then cites like forms such as לְגִיד (2 Ki. 9.15) and לְשִׁמִּיעַ (Ps. 26.7).

24.19: R on רָעוּ הַתְּרַעְעָה (which forms are actually Aramaic loan-words corresponding to רָצַץ) correctly connects the text words with תְּרַעַם (Ps. 2.9), meaning "to break."

25.1: R on אֱמֶן (meaning "faithfulness") notes that this form is

like אָהַל, אָכַל and therefore R notes that these are not participial forms but are segolate forms.

25.7: R correctly connects הָלוּט with וַיִּלָּט (1 Ki. 19.13) and also with לוֹטָה (a feminine passive participle).

26.11: R notes that every occurrence of רָמָה has the accent on the ultimate, but in this passage רָמָה has the accent on the penultimate, hence R notes that it is a form like שָׁבָה and קָמָה. R correctly notes that these are verbal forms in the perfect tense.

26.19: R correctly notes that הָקִיצוּ וְרָנּוּ are imperative forms.

28.16: R on מוֹסֵד מוֹסֵד notes that the first of these two forms is pointed with a patach, and therefore R notes it is a form in the construct state. As a matter of fact the first form has a kamez.

28.28: R on אָדוּשׁ יְדוּשָׁנוּ notes that this is a construction like עָשָׂה יַעֲשֶׂה, by which R means to say that the first text word is an infinitive absolute and is an atypical form. R furthermore notes that אָדוּשׁ is equivalent to הָדוּשׁ which form is a niph'al infinitive. R, however, was evidently under the impression that אָדוּשׁ is equivalent to הָדוּשׁ, because he observes that the letters א and ה are interchangeable as in אֶתְחַבֵּר which R notes is equivalent to הֶתְחַבֵּר.

29.8: R wrongly connects שׁוֹקֵקָה (meaning "to run or rush") with תְּשׁוּקָתָךְ (Gen. 3.16) which is a confusion of an ע"ע with an ע"ו form.

29.9: R correctly connects הִשְׁתַּעֲשׂוּ וְשַׁעוּ (which are respectively a hithpalp'el and kal imperative forms meaning "to be blind" from the root שַׁעַע with הִשַּׁע a hiph'il form.

29.15: R correctly notes that לִסְתֵּר is equivalent to לְהַסְתִּיר.

30.1: R connects סוֹרְרִים (meaning "stubborn or rebellious") with סָרִים (meaning "to turn aside"). R connects an ע"ע form with an ע"ו form.

- 30.15: R correctly holds שׁוּבָה (meaning retirement) to be a nominal form.
- 30.23: R correctly holds שָׁמֵן to be an adjective (and that this word is not שָׁמֶן), hence R notes that the accent is on the ultimate pointed with a קמץ, by which R means a zere. R's term for zere is *kamez* or *kamez katan*.
- 30.27: R on מִשְׁאָה notes that the ה is superfluous, hence R holds this form to be equivalent to מִשָּׂא.
- 30.30: R on נִחַת notes that this form is not to be connected with נִוח, but is to be connected with נוּחַת.
- 32.6: R correctly holds חֲנִי to be a nominal form. R notes that the accent is on the penultimate and therefore it is pointed with a *patach*. This term has reference to the *segol*. R's terms for a segol are *patach* or *patach katan*.
- 32.10: R correctly holds אָסַף to be a noun and therefore he notes that the accent is on the penultimate and is pointed with a segol (= פתח).
- 32.11: R holds לְרָנָה to be equivalent to לְרָנוּ, and פִּשְׁטָה to be equivalent to לִפְשֵׁט, and לְעָרָה to be equivalent to לְעָרוֹת meaning עָרִיה, and וּחְגוּרָה to be equivalent to לְחִגּוּר. R notes that the accent in these forms is on the penultimate. As a matter of fact these are emphatic imperative forms with an Aramaic influence.
- 32.19: R on וּבָרַד notes that this form is not a noun because it is pointed with a *kamez* and a *patach*. R holds the ב in בָּרַדְתָּ to be a root letter and he holds this form to be like עָטַרְתָּ and עֲקַרְתָּ. As a matter of fact בָּרַדְתָּ is an infinitive construct form.
- 33.1: R connects פְּנִילְתֶּךָ with מְנִלָּם, the root and the meaning of these forms are doubtful. The root of the text word is probably נִלָּה. R holds the מ in the second form to be like the מ in מֵאֵמֶר and מִדַּע. The text is held by some to be equivalent

to כהנלתך. R then observes that the text word which is equivalent to כְּבִלְתֶּךָ which is the very emendation in the critical commentaries.

33.4: R correctly connects מִשֶּׁק (a construct form) with שֶׁקֶק and יִשְׁקוּ (meaning to rush or to run about).

33.19: R holds נוֹעֵז (a פ"י form niph'al participle) to be equivalent to לוֹעֵז. The text word is held by some to mean a barbarous people. The second form means "to talk indistinctly or unintelligently." R makes this equation because the נ in the first form and the ל in the second form are homo-organic consonants.

34.4: R correctly connects וְנָגְלוּ with גּוֹלָל.

35.1: R correctly notes that יִשְׁשׁוּם is equivalent to יִשְׁשׁוּ מָהֶם. R then cites a like construction in יִצְאוֹנִי (Jer. 10.20) which R holds to be equivalent to יִצְאוּ מִמֶּנִּי.

35.3, 4: R on חִזְקוּ notes that this form is מִשְׁקַל כּבֹד, which means that the text word is a pi'el form, hence, R notes the text word has the force of strengthening others. R then observes that חִזְקוּ a kal imperative, means "to be strong."

35.7: R notes that the ה in רִבְצָה has no mapik hence R notes it is a noun in the absolute state. In the current texts however the form in question has a mappik.

35.8: R notes the word דֶּרֶךְ occurs in both the masculine and feminine gender. This view is held because in the passage הִדְרֵךְ יִלְכוּ בָהּ (Ex. 18.20) the noun is modified by a feminine preposition, and then in the passage בִּדְרֵךְ אֶחָד the noun in question takes a masculine numeral.

37.29: R notes that וְשִׂאֲנֶנֶךָ is equivalent to וְשִׂאֲנֶנֶךָ. In this view R in effect is emending the text. The critical commentaries indeed hold the latter form to be in place.

40.24: R notes that every שׁוֹרֵשׁ in the Scripture has the accent on the penultimate and is pointed with a patach (=segol),

but שַׁרשׁ (in this verse) has the accent on the ultimate and is pointed with a *kamez* (which is one of R's terms for the *zere*) hence, R notes that it is a participial form.

41.10: R on תִּשְׁתַּע (meaning "to gaze" from the root שׁעה) notes the metathesis that occurs in the text word in a *hithpa'el* form when the first root letter is a שׁ. R then cites like formations such as וישתמר, וישתומם, משתפך, תשתכרין.

41.17: R correctly connects נִשְׁתָּה with ונשתה (meaning to be "dry" or "parched" (Isa. 19.5). The root of these forms is נשת. R then correctly observes that the ת in the text word is *dageshed* because it stands for a double ת.

42.4: R on יִרְצֵץ correctly connects this form with יִרְצֵץ. The text word is an atypical form which ordinarily should have been יִרְצֵץ.

42.18: R correctly makes a distinction between the text word הִשָּׁב (which is equivalent to הִשָּׁב) and הִשָּׁב a participial form.

44.10: R on נָכַךְ notes that the נ is a יסוד נופל which term means that it is not a root letter but is only a formative letter.

45.1: R on לָרַד correctly connects this word (meaning "to beat out") with לָרַד. The text word is a *kal* infinitive construct.

45.20: R on הִתְנַשֵּׁו notes that the *nun* is not a root letter. This view of R is due to the fact that the *nun* in פ"ן forms is not regarded as a root letter, because it disappears at times.

46.6: R wrongly connects הִנְלִים (meaning "to lightly esteem") which is an ע"ו form with הִנְלוּ a פ"ן form.

46.11: R wrongly connects עֵיט (a bird of prey) with the Aramaic word עֵטָה meaning "counsel." The text word is an ע"י form and עֵטָה (Dan. 2.14) is a derivative from the root יעט.

48.11: R correctly observes that מְקַרְאִי (a *pu'al* form) is equivalent to מאתי נקראת.

49.26: R correctly connects מוֹנִיךְ with תוֹנוֹ (Lev. 19.33) meaning to "oppress."

51.23: R connects מוֹנִיךְ (meaning "grief" or "suffering") with

- נמו (Neh. 2.7) which is a confusion of a פ"י form with an ע"ו form (in the niph'al).
- 52.5: R holds מנאץ to be equivalent to מתנאץ, by which R means to say that the characteristic ת in the hithpa'el is at times assimilated, as in the word מדבר (Num. 7.8, 9).
- 53.12: R correctly connects הערה with תער (Ps. 141.8) which is a jussive form.
- 57.9: R correctly connects ותשרי with ישורנו, which are ע"ו forms, having the meaning of "to behold" or "to regard."
- 59.5: R on זורה (a passive participle meaning "to press down") correctly connects the text word with ויזר.
- 59.10: R on באשמנים notes that the letter א in this form is like the א in אחותי (חרב), אבחת (חרב), האתרים (Num. 21.1). This last form actually stands for התרים.
- 59.16: R in this passage notes the metathesis of letters that take place in such forms as משתולל, משתומם whose first root letter is a ש. This observation is made a number of times by R.
- 60.11: R on ופתחו notes that this form is in the "heavy conjugation" (i. e., פעל) because it represents a continuous state.
- 62.10: R correctly notes that סקלו ומאבן has the force of "removing stones."
- 63.6: R correctly connects אבוס (an ע"ו form) with בוקסו a pol'el form.
- 63.10: R correctly connects קרו with ממרים (Deut. 9.7) which are ל"ה forms.
- 65.6: R correctly connects סורר which is a pol'el ע"ו form with סר. The text word has the meaning "to turn aside."

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- 2.12: R on שמו correctly connects this word with השתוממו. R correctly notes that the text word is an imperative form like דמו.

- 2.16: R on יָרְעוּךְ correctly connects this form with יִרְצָצוּ. The text word is actually an Aramaized form from the root רָעַע.
- 2.34: R correctly notes that מִצָּאִתִּים is a פָּעִלְתָּ form with a suffix. R then cites נִשְׂאִתִּים as being a like form.
- 2.36: R holds תִּלְּלִי to have the meaning of זָלוּל. As a matter of fact the text word is equivalent to תִּנְאֹזִל meaning "to go." The LXX renders the text word as if it were from the root זָלָל.
- 3.6: R on וַתִּנֵּי correctly notes that the *yod* in this word is superfluous, therefore the form should actually have been וַתִּנֵּן. This is the very emendation made in the critical commentaries.
- 3.8: R notes that the form שִׁלַּחְתִּיהוּ has a זָקַף גדול above the letter ת a disjunctive accent, and therefore R interprets the text accordingly.
- 3.17: R wrongly connects שְׁרִירוֹת with אֲשׁוּרָנוּ. The text word however is an ע"ע form (meaning "to be firm" or "hard" or "strength") whereas the latter form is an ע"ו form meaning "to see" or "watch."
- 4.10: R correctly connects הֵשֵׂא הַשֶּׂאֱת with הִשְׁאֲנִי. These are פ"ן forms in the hiph'il.
- 4.11: R correctly connects לִירוֹת with וַאֲזָרֶם (Jer. 15.7). Both of these forms are ל"ה forms (having the meaning "to winnow.")
- 4.16: R wrongly connects נִצְרִים (a פ"ן form) with מִצּוֹר an ע"ו form.
- 4.17: R correctly holds that שְׂדִי is equivalent to שְׂדֵה.
- 5.4: R correctly connects נוֹאֲלָנוּ with אוֹיֵל.
- 5.14: R correctly notes that וַאֲכָלְתֶּם is equivalent to וַתֹּאכְלוּ אֹתָם.
- 6.6: R on עֲצָה notes that the ה has no mappik, hence R holds the text word to be equivalent to עֵץ. R holds the text word to have the force of a collective noun.
- 6.7: R connects כְּהִקִּיר (an infinitive construct form) with ל' מְקוֹר. Some hold the text word to have the meaning of "to be cold" from the root קָרַר. The text word is an atypical form.

6.8: R correctly connects **תַּקַּע** with **הוֹקַע** (an imperative form) meaning “to dislocate or alienate.” R, however, is not correct in holding **הוֹקַע** to have the force of “removing the bond.”

The hiph'il form refers to some solemn form of execution.

6.23: R correctly notes that **יַחֲיוּ** has the force of “to take hold of.”

6.25: R correctly notes that **מָנוֹר** has the meaning of “fear.”

6.28: R correctly connects **סָרִי סוֹרָרִים** with **סָרִים**. The latter form can be taken as an **ע"ו** form in the pol'el conjugation.

7.24: R wrongly connects **שְׁרִירוֹת** an **ע"ע** form (meaning “firmness or truthful”) with **אֲשׁוּרָנוּ** which is an **ע"ו** form (having the meaning “to behold” or “to regard.”)

7.29: R correctly connects **גָּזִי** (an **ע"ע** form) with **וַיִּגַּז** (Job 1.20).

8.11: R correctly notes that **וַיִּרְפוּ** is equivalent to **וירפאו**.

8.14: R correctly connects **וְנִדְמָה** (a plural form in the first person with the cohortative) hence R correctly holds the text word to be equivalent to **נִדְם**.

9.4: R correctly notes that **הִעֲנָה** (meaning “to commit iniquity”) is a form like **הִכְבֵּד**, that is to say, the text word is an infinitive absolute form.

10.19: R correctly notes that **נִחְלָה** has the meaning of **חֹלִי**. The text word is a niph'al feminine participle.

10.20: R correctly notes that **יִצְאוּ מִמֶּנִּי** is equivalent to **יִצְאוּ מִמֶּנִּי**.

11.16: R correctly notes that **וְרָעוּ** is equivalent to **ורצצו**. The text word is an Aramaic loan word.

12.1: R correctly connects **שָׁלוּ** a nominal form from the root with **שְׁלוּה** meaning “quietness or ease.”

12.3: R correctly connects **הִתְקַם** (a **פ"ן** form meaning “to drag away”) with **הִתְקַנִּי** which is an infinitive construct form. The text word is an imperative form.

12.13: R notes that the codex which points **וְרָעוּ** with a hirek is corrupt. The correct reading according to R is **וְרָעוּ**.

13.25: R correctly notes that **מִדִּיךְ** is to be connected with **מִדָּה**.

- 14.17: R correctly notes that נִחְלָה (a feminine participle in the niph'al) has the meaning of "sickness."
- 15.4: R correctly connects זַעַר with זַע. The text form should actually have been זַעָה.
- 15.11: R incorrectly connects שְׂרִיתָךְ (a ל"ה form meaning "to let loose") with השארתֶךָ.
- 15.12: R correctly connects הִירֵעַ (from the root רעע an Aramaic loan word) with הִירוּצַץ. The ע in the text word interchanges with a צ.
- 15.18: R connects אֲנוּשָׁה with וַיֵּאָנֵשׁ. Both of these forms, the one an ע"ו form and the other a פ"א form have practically the same meaning.
- 18.15: R on זְרִים [מִיָּם] an ע"ו form having the meaning of "foreign waters," notes that if the text word were derived from ("to pour forth in floods") the text word would have been זְרִימִים.
- 18.23: R correctly notes that the *yod* in תִּמְחִי is superfluous, hence the form should have been תִּמַּח. This is the very emendation made in the critical commentaries.
- 21.12: R on עוֹשֶׁק notes that the accent in this word is on the ultimate, and therefore, R notes, it is not a noun like עֶשֶׂק.
- 21.13: R correctly connects יַחַת (an Aramaized form, meaning "to go down") with נַחְתִּים, an adjectival form from the root נחת.
- 22.14: R correctly connects בֵּית מְדוֹת (meaning "measure") with אֲנָשֵׁי מְדוֹת which has references to men of large stature.
- 22.17: R correctly connects הַמְרוּצָה with רְצוּתִי. The text word is an atypical form.
- 22.23: R correctly connects מְקַנְנִתִּי with קִנָּה (a denominative form).
- 23.39: R connects וַיִּנְשֵׂתִי with גִּיד הַנֶּשֶׁה. R also connects the text word with וַיִּנְשֵׁתוּ (from the root נשת meaning "to be dry or parched"). The text word is a ל"ה form.
- 24.9: R correctly connects לִזְעָה with וַיִּזְעוּ. The text word

should have been **וועה** but by transposition of the letters the text word came to be as it is.

25.23: R incorrectly connects **קצוצי** [פאה] a passive participle from an **ע"ע** root, with **קצה** a **ל"ה** form.

25.37: R correctly connects **נָדְמוּ** an **ע"ע** form, meaning "to become dumb or silent," with the form **הִדְמָנוּ**.

27.20: R correctly notes that **בְּגִלוֹתוֹ** is equivalent to **בְּהִלּוֹתוֹ**.

29.8: R correctly connects **יְשִׁאוּ** with **הִשְׁאֲנִי**.

29.17: R correctly connects **הַשְּׁעָרִים**, an adjective meaning "something horrid" with **שְׁעָרוֹרִיָּה** (Hos. 6.10).

30.23: R wrongly connects **מִתְּגוֹרֵר** (from the root **גרר**), meaning "to drag away" with **מְגוֹרִי** which is an **ע"ו** form has the meaning of "fear or terror."

32.2: R correctly connects **צָרִים** with **מִצּוֹר**, both of which forms are derived from an **ע"ו** root.

32.23: R correctly holds that **וַתִּקְרָא**, the meaning of which is "thou didst cause to befall," to be equivalent to **הַקְרִית**. The text word is actually a **ל"ה** form.

32.33: R correctly holds **וְלִמַּד** to be an infinitive form equal to the form **פִּעֵל**.

36.20: R correctly notes that **הַצָּרָה** is equivalent to **אֶל הַחֲצָר**. Comments by R on locative forms are abundant.

43.9: R incorrectly holds the **מ** in **מָלֵט** to be a **נופל**, which term always refers to a formative letter which is not held by R to be a root letter. R compares the **מ** in the text word to be like the **מ** in **מַעֲמֵד** and **מַעֲשֶׂה**. R therefore holds **לֵט** to be the root of the text word. R indeed connects the text word with **וַיִּלֵּט** (1 Ki. 19.13) the root of which is **לוט**.

48.9: R on **תִּצָּא** correctly notes that these verbs have the meaning "to fly." The text words are atypical forms which are equivalent to **תָּצָא**, **תִּצָּח**.

48.27: R correctly connects **תִּתְּנוּדָר** with **מִנִּיד** which are derivatives from an **ע"ו** root.

- 48.32: R correctly connects קִיֶּץ with קִיץ. R notes that the text word is not to be connected with קִץ, which R notes does not have a *yod*, and furthermore, the *צ* is not dageshed in the derived forms.
- 49.8: R on הִפְנוּ and הִעֲמִיקוּ correctly notes that these are imperative forms. Needless to say these forms are atypical.
- 49.16: R correctly notes that שִׁכְנִי and תַּפְּשִׁי are respectively equivalent to שׁוּכֵן and תַּפֵּשׁ. R holds the letter *yod* (an old case ending) to be superfluous.
- 50.14: R correctly connects יָדוֹ with וַיִּדּוֹ, both of these forms have the meaning "to throw or cast." The latter form may possibly be derived from the root יָדָה.
- 50.24: R correctly connects מִקְשָׁתִּי with מִקֶּשׁ.
- 51.58: R correctly connects תִּתְעַרְעַר with עָרוּ (an imperative form) meaning "to lay bare."
- 52.15: R correctly holds that אָמוֹן is equivalent to הָמוֹן. This very view is maintained in the critical commentaries.

EZEKIEL

- 2.2: R correctly holds מְדַבֵּר to be equivalent to מַתְדַּבֵּר.
- 2.9: R on וְהָנָה בּוֹ . . . שְׁלוּחָה correctly observes that the word is found to be both in the masculine and feminine gender.
- 5.7: R incorrectly connects הַמְּנֻכֶּם with נִימָן.
- 5.13: R correctly connects וְהִנְחָתִי with תָּנוּחַ which are ע"ו forms.
- 7.5: R notes that בָּאָה has the accent on the ultimate. R therefore correctly notes that it is a פּוֹעֵלָת form, that is to say, the text word is a feminine participle.
- 7.7: R on בָּאָה notes the accent to be on the penultimate, hence this form is said to be ל' פּעֵלָה, which is equivalent to saying the text word is in the perfect tense.

- 7.11:** R on נָה (from the root נהה meaning “to lament”) holds with Menaḥem b. Saruḡ that the root thereof is ה. This view is held because in the form וְנָהוּ (a niph'al form). R does not hold the *nun* in the פ"ן form to be a root letter, nor the final ה in ל"ה forms hence only the ה is held to be the root letter.
- 8.12:** R incorrectly connects מְשַׁכֵּיתוֹ, which has the meaning of a “show-piece” with וְשִׁכְתִּי, which means “to cover.” The text as a matter of fact is derived from a ל"ה root, whereas the second form is derived from an ע"ע root.
- 8.16:** R holds מְשַׁתְּחִייתָם, which is an atypical form which R holds to be composed of two forms, namely השחתה and השתחוויה. As a matter of fact the text word should have been משתחווים.
- 9.8:** R correctly notes that וְנֶאֱשָׂאֵר [אנִי] is equivalent to וְנִשְׁאֲרָתִי. Needless to say that the text word is corrupt. The second form is held to be the correct form in the critical commentaries.
- 13.6:** R correctly connects וְיַחֲלוּ (a pi'el form) with תוּחַלֶּת.
- 13.11:** R incorrectly holds וְאַתְנָה to be equivalent to וְאַתָּן. As a matter of fact the text word is a second person feminine in the plural.
- 14.5:** R incorrectly connects נִזְרוּ, a niph'al form from the root זור with פ"ן a נִזִּיר form.
- 16.3:** R incorrectly connects מְבִרְתֵּיךְ (meaning “origin”) with מְגִרְתֵּיךְ, (meaning “dwelling places”). R holding the letter כ and the ג are homorganic consonants, we can understand how R can hold the text word and the cited form to have the same meaning.
- 16.30:** R correctly connects אֲמָלָה, a passive פ"א form meaning “to be weak” or “to languish” with אֲמָלָל (Neh. 3.4).
- 16.44:** R on כְּאָמָה notes that the ה has no mappik, hence R notes that the text word is equivalent to כְּאָם.
- 17.9:** R incorrectly holds יְקוּסִים to be equivalent to יְקוּצִץ. The text word has the meaning of “divination.”

- 17.23:** R correctly notes that the *dageshed nun* in תִּשְׁכַּנָּה stands for two *nuns*.
- 18.30:** R on שׁוּבוּ וְהִשִּׁיבָה notes that the first form has the meaning of שׁוּבוּ אַתֶּם, whereas the second form has the force of causing others to return.
- 19.5:** R incorrectly connects נִחֵלָה a פ"י form with חוּלִי. The text word is a niph'al form, meaning "to wait." The second word has the meaning of "sickness."
- 19.10:** R correctly connects פֹּרְיָה with פֹּרָה meaning "to be fruitful."
- 20.26:** R correctly notes that אֲשַׁמֵּם has the meaning of "to be desolated or appalled." R then notes that those who hold the text word to have the meaning of אֲשַׁמָּה are in error.
- 20.38:** R correctly notes that וּבְרוּתִי has the meaning of בְּרִירָה. The text word is actually derived from an ע"ע root.
- 21.17:** R incorrectly connects מְגוּרִי with אֹגוּר. The text word is derived from the root גוּר meaning "dwelling or sojourning." The second form has a פ"א root.
- 21.20:** R correctly notes that הִרְבֵּה is a פִּעוּל form, that is to say, the text word is an infinitive absolute form.
- ib.:* R on אֲבָחַת הָרֶב notes that some hold this form to be equivalent to מִבַּחַת חֶרֶב. This is the very emendation made in some of the critical commentaries. R notes that some hold the text word to be equivalent to אֲבָעַת (from the root בַּעַת). R then notes that the letter ת in the text word is not a root letter, but that it is the letter ת characteristic in the construct state of feminine nouns. R correctly notes that the ת in בַּעֲתָה (Jer. 8.15) is an actual root letter.
- 21.20:** R correctly notes that מְעַטָּה (meaning to enwrap oneself), is equivalent to עֲטוּיָה. R notes that some hold the text word to have the meaning of מִיעוּט, which R correctly notes is incorrect.

- 22.26:** R correctly connects **וְאָחַל**, meaning “to profane” with **וְנִתְחַלְלֵתִי**.
- 23.17:** R correctly holds **וְתַקַּע** (from the root **קע**) to have the meaning of “dislocate.” R then notes that in the hiph'il this word has the force of **חִבּוּר** (joining). R in the course of his comment has the form **קעִיָּה** which necessarily implies that R holds the root to be **קעה**. R then cites a few forms which he believes have a positive and negative force. Thus R cites **וְתִשְׁרֹשׁ** which means “to enroot” whereas **תִּשְׁרֹשׁ** means “to uproot.”
- 26.18:** R correctly notes that **הָאֵין** is equivalent to **הָאֵיִם**. The text word is an Aramaized form.
- 28.7:** R correctly connects **פְּעֻתָּךְ** (meaning “brightness or splendor”) with **הוֹפַעְתָּךְ**.
- 28.16:** R correctly notes that **מָלוּ** is equivalent to **מָלְאוּ**. R on **וְאֶבְדָּךְ** correctly holds this form to be equivalent to **וְאֶאֱבֹדְךָ**.
- 28.23:** R correctly connects **וְנִפְלַל** (meaning to intervene or interpose) with **פִּלְלֵתִי**.
- 29.7:** R on **תִּרְוֹץ** correctly connects this (**ע"ע** form) with **תִּרְצֹץ**.
- 29.14:** R holds **מְכוֹרְתָם** to be equivalent to **מְגוֹרְתָם**. R evidently holds the letter **כ** in the text word to be homo-organic with the letter **ג**. As a matter of fact the text word has the meaning of “origin.” The cited form has the meaning of “sojourning.”
- 30.24, 25:** R correctly notes that **וְחִזְקֵתִי** has the meaning of “strengthening” whereas **וְהִחֲזִיקֵתִי** has the force of “taking hold of.”
- 32.5:** R incorrectly connects **רְמוֹתֶךָ**, meaning “height” with **רָמָה בִּים** which means “to cast or throw.”
- 32.15:** R correctly connects **נִשְׁמָה**, a feminine participle with **שִׁמְמָה** meaning “to be desolate or appalled.”
- 35.5:** R correctly connects **וְתִגַּר** with **וְהִנְרִיתִי**. These are forms, having the meaning of “to pour down.”

- 39.2: R incorrectly connects וּשְׁאֲתִיךְ (from the probable root meaning "to beguile or deceive.")
- 39.16: R notes the final ה in הַמוֹנֶה has no mappik hence this form is in the absolute state. R correctly connects the text word with הוֹמִיָּה.
- 40.18: R notes that every occurrence of תַּחְתּוֹנָה has the accent on the ultimate with one exception, namely, in verse 19 where the form has the accent on the letter ת.
- 43.8: R correctly notes that וְאָכַל is equivalent to וְאָכְלָה.
- 43.23: R on מַחֲטָא correctly notes that this verb has the force of מִלְטָהּ. [For like observations see Englander, *HUCA*, 1939, vol. XIV, p. 396.]
- 43.27: R correctly notes that וְרָצָאתִי is equivalent to רָצִיתִי.
- 45.18: R correctly notes that וְחִטָּאת has the force of וְטָהַרְתָּ. [See verse 23.]
- 46.17: R correctly notes that שָׁבַת (an atypical form) with שָׁבָה.
- 47.10: R notes the absence of the mappik in the ה of לְמִינֶה and therefore R holds this form to have the force of many species.
- 47.19: R on נַחֲלָה holds the letter ה to be locative and therefore R holds the text word to be equivalent to לְנַחֲלָה.

HOSEA

- 1.2: R holds דָּבַר to be a noun. The form דָּבַר or דִּבֵּר or an infinitive construct would be in place.
- 2.9: R correctly notes that וְרִדְפָה is לְשׁוֹן כִּבְדַּר, that is to say the verb is in the pi'el conjugation. R then notes that the text word has the force of "perusing constantly."
- 2.14: R notes that וְהִשְׁמַתִּי has the meaning of "to cause desolation, and he correctly connects the text word with שָׁמָם.
- 3.2: R on אֶכְרֶה (a ל"ה verb) correctly notes that this word has

the meaning of "to get by trade." The dagesh in the כ is a dagesh *forte dirimens*. R connects the text word with פָּרִיתִי (Gen. 50.5) which form, however, has the meaning of "to dig."

There are two roots כרה with entirely different meanings.

4.5: R correctly connects וְדָמִיתִי with נָדַמְנָה. These are ל"ה forms having the meaning "to cease or cause to cease."

4.18: R holds סר to be equivalent to זר. The two forms have entirely different meanings.

5.5: R correctly connects וְעָנָה with לַעֲנֹת, meaning "affliction."

5.13: R incorrectly notes that יָנְהָה (meaning "to depart or to be cured" is one of those forms in which a metathesis of letters takes place, that is to say, the text word according to R should ordinarily have been יִהְיֶה meaning "to moan, or to speak."

6.1: R holds that יָךְ has the force of מַכָּה.

7.10: R notes that וְעָנָה has the meaning of עֹנִי, that is to say the text word has the meaning of "to be afflicted."

8.4: R correctly connects הַשִּׁירִי with שָׁרִים meaning "to set up princes."

9.4: R correctly connects יִפְסְכוּ with נִסַּךְ.

10.9: R notes the pointing in הָטָאָה which does not have a dagesh, and therefore R observes that the text word is a verb in the perfect tense. R cites a like form in אֹלֶת. Both of these forms are in the feminine gender.

10.11: R on אֶהְבֵּתִי correctly notes that the *yod* is paragogic.

11.3: R correctly notes that תִּרְגְּלֹתִי is an anomalous form, and then correctly observes that the text word is equivalent to הִרְגַּלְתִּי.

13.14: R on נָחַם notes that the מ is a root letter and correctly notes that this form is like נָעַם. R then notes that if the text word were derived from נח the form would be נָחַם.

JOEL

- 1.9:** R notes that הִכָּרַת is equivalent to נִכָּרַת, that is to say, both forms are passive.
- 1.11:** R correctly connects הוֹבִישׁ with יִבֵּשׁ.
- 1.17:** R correctly connects מִּגְרוֹת with מְגוֹרוֹת which have the meaning of "store-house."
- 2.5:** R on עָרוֹךְ notes that this form is in the construct state and therefore it is pointed with a חֲטַף פֶּתַח, which term is equivalent to a compound *segol*. The term "patach" refers at times to a *segol* hence חֲטַף פֶּתַח refers to a compound *segol*.
- 2.9:** R correctly connects יִשְׁקוּ with מִשְׁק the meaning of which is "to run or rush." These forms are derived from an ע"ע root. R incorrectly also cites מִמֶּשֶׁק (Zeph. 2.9) in the belief that it has the same root as the text words. As a matter of fact the root is מִשְׁק. The word מִשְׁק has the meaning of "acquisition" or "possession."
- 2.16:** R correctly notes that קִבְּצוּ is a form like קִבֵּץ that is to say these are imperative forms in the *kal* conjugation.
- 4.11:** R notes that M holds עוֹשׂוּ to be equivalent to חוֹשׂוּ. The text word seems to have the meaning of "to make haste." Some indeed emend the text word to חוֹשׂוּ. R himself connects the text word with עָשׂוֹת (meaning to be smoot) (?). R does not hold the ת to be a root letter, but as a matter of fact the ת is a root letter.

AMOS

- 2.13:** R correctly notes that מַעֲיֵק is the Targumic form for מִצִּיק.
- 4.13:** R correctly connects עִיפָה meaning "darkness" with עֲפֹתָה (Job 10.22) and also with מַעוּף (Isa. 8.22).
- 5.9:** R correctly connects וְשָׂר with שְׂדוֹר which are ע"ע forms.

- 5.11: R correctly connects **בוֹשְׁסֶכֶם** with **בוֹסְסֶכֶם** which are po'el forms, meaning "to trample."
- 6.3: R connects **הַמְנִידִים** meaning "to put away or exclude" with **מְנִידִים** which has the meaning of "to move to and fro, or to be disturbed." In this comment R collocates a ל"ה with an ע"ו form.
- 6.6: R correctly notes that **נָחֳלוֹ** has the meaning of sickness (לשון חולי).
- 6.8: R correctly connects **מִתְאַב** with **מִתְעַב**. Both forms have the meaning of "abomination."
- 7.1: R correctly connects **גָּזַי** with **גָּזוּ**.
- 8.4: R correctly notes that **לְשִׁבִּית** is equivalent to **לְהִשְׁבִּית**.
- 9.1: R correctly notes that **וּבְצַעַם** is equivalent to **וּבְצָעַם**. R also notes that the text word is equivalent to **פָּצַעַם**, this is possible because the **ב** in the text word and the **פ** in the cited form interchange because they are homorganic consonants.
- 9.9: R correctly notes that **יָנוּעַ** (as a niph'al form) means to be tossed about, whereas **יָנוּעַ** has the usual *kal* force.

OBADIAH

- 1.3: R connects **חֲגִי** (which refers to places of concealment) with **חָגָא** (an Aramaized form) meaning "reeling." R then notes that the text word is like the forms **קָצוּי** (Ps. 65.6) and **מִטְחוּי** (Gen. 21.16). R specifically observes that the root of the last form is **טח**. Therefore we are justified in concluding that all of these forms have a biliteral root.
- 1.9: R correctly connects **יַחְתּוּ** (an ע"ע form) with **יַחְתּוּ** meaning "to be shattered or dismayed."

JONAH

2.8: R correctly connects בָּהֶעֱטָף with בֶּעֱטָף (Lam. 2.11) which form is equivalent to בַּהֶעֱטָף.

2.10: R correctly notes that יְשׁוּעָה is equivalent to לִישׁוּעָה.

4.7: R on וַיָּרָא notes that the corresponding masculine form is וַיֵּרָא.

MICAH

1.4: R correctly connects מְגָרִים, a hoph'al form, from the root נָגַר with נִגְרָה a niph'al form.

1.8: R connects שׁוֹלָל, an adjective meaning "stripped or bare-foot," with אֲשַׁחֲלֹל a hithpol'el form. R correctly notes that when a word whose first root letter is שׁ or ס the characteristic ת of the hithpa'el is placed after the first root letter. In this passage R also cites the form תִּשְׁלָה (2 Ki. 4.28), evidently in the belief that this form has the same root as the text word. R wrongly collocates an ע"ע form with a ל"ה form.

1.11: R on עֲבָרִי לָכֶם seeks to explain this construction in which the verbal form is עֲבָרִי and the preposition a plural form. R solves this construction by noting that the singular form has reference to the "community," whereas the plural preposition has reference to the individuals.

2.4: R correctly notes that וְנִקְהָה is an imperfect tense form like וַעֲשֵׂה and וּפָנָה.

ibid: R on נִשְׁדָּנוּ which is an atypical form for נִשְׁדָּנוּ notes that the text word has the meaning of שִׁדְדוֹנִי and נִשְׁדָּנוּ. R regards the text word as being a combination of the ḵal and niph'al conjugations.

2.6: R holds the root of תִּטִּיפוּ to be טִיף. Evidently R does not hold the נ (assimilated) to be a root letter.

3.7: R on מַעֲנֶה (אֱלֹהִים) notes that the *nun* in the text word is

pointed with a *ḵamez*, which term is also employed for a *zere*. R correctly notes that the text word is in the construct state.

4.9: R incorrectly connects *תָּרִיעַ רָע* meaning "to cry aloud" with *רָעִים*.

4.10: R correctly connects *חֹלִי* meaning "to writhe" with *חֵיל*.

5.5: R correctly connects *וְרָעוּ* (an Aramaic loan-word) with *וִירָצוּ*. The *ע* in the text word is equivalent to a *צ* in the Hebrew.

6.6: R correctly connects *אֶכָּף* with *כַּפּוּף* which are *ע"ע* forms.

7.1: R on *כָּאֶסְפִּי* (קִיץ) notes that the *ע* is pointed with a short *ḵamez*, hence R notes it is not a participial form, but is a *u* segolate noun.

NAHUM

1.1: R on *חִוּוֹן* notes the *ח* to be pointed with a *ḵamez*, and therefore the text word is in the absolute state. But as a matter of fact the text word is pointed with a compound *patach* and therefore the form is in the construct state. This is one of a number of forms in which R had a different pointing.

2.5: R incorrectly connects *יִשְׁתַּקְשְׁקוּן* a *hithpalp'el* form from the root *שקק* meaning "to rush or run about," with *והשיקו* meaning "to overflow." R correctly connects the text word with *מִשְׁק* (Isa. 33.4).

2.14: R correctly notes that *מִלְאֲכָכָה* is equivalent to *מִלְאֲכִיד*. This is the emendation made by some. [See BDB, sub *מִלְאֲכִיד*.]

3.17: R on *מְנַרְיָד* notes that the *מ* in this form is *יִסוּד וְשׁוּרֵשׁ* *בְּתִיבָה*. Ordinarily this would mean that the *מ* in the text word, and in the forms cited in this passage, namely, in *מִשְׁמַרְתָּךְ* and *מִשְׁמַעְתָּךְ* and *מִנְעֲלִיךָ* is a root letter. Certainly the *מ* in these forms is definitely not a root letter. Therefore

we assume that all that R meant to say is that the מ in question is a part of the forms cited, and is not the prepositional מ.

- 3.18:** R notes that נָפְשׁוּ an ע"ו form in the niph'al probably meaning "to spring about" is equivalent to נִפְצִי. The latter form, it has been suggested, is in place of the text word. [See BDB, *sub.* פוש]. R justifies this collocation by noting the ש and צ (in the second form) are homorganic consonants and therefore the interchange of the letters in question.

HABAKKUK

- 1.9:** R incorrectly connects מְנִימָה (פְּנִיָּהִים) (a word whose meaning is in doubt) with הַגְּמִיאֵינִי (meaning to "swallow liquids"), and יִגְמָא (Job 39.24).
- 1.10:** R correctly notes that the מ in מְשַׁחֵק is like the מ in מְשַׁמֵּר.
- 1.15:** R incorrectly connects יִגְרְהוּ meaning "to drag away" from the root גרר with אָגַרָה a פ"א form (Prov. 6.8) which means "to gather." R also connects the text word with מִמְּגָרוֹת which means "store houses or granery."
- 1.17:** R correctly connects יִרְקֵק meaning "to empty" with הִרְק an imperative פ"י form.
- 2.7:** R correctly connects וַיִּקְצֹץ (a פ"י form) meaning "to awake" with וַיִּקְצֹץ an ע"י form. Both words, however, the same meaning.
- 2.16:** R on וַהֲעִרָל notes הָאֵל מְשַׁמֵּשֶׁת בְּחִיבָה זֶה בְּלִשׁוֹן מִתְפַּעֵל. R in making this observation on a niph'al form means to say that the text word has a reflexive force. R refers to a number of niph'al forms which he characterizes as being hithpa'el. [See Englander, *HUCA*, Vol. XIV, notes 133, 145, 146, 148.]
- 3.16:** R correctly connects צִלְלוּ meaning to "tingle" with מְצִלָּה meaning a "bell."

ZEPHANIAH

- 1.2: R on אָסַף אָסַף notes that אָסַף should have another א because the form is equivalent to אָסַף. R then notes that there are a number of forms in which an א is omitted as in יִהְיֶה (Isa. 13.20) and therefore is equivalent to יִהְיֶה.
- 2.9: R incorrectly connects מְשַׁק (probably meaning "possession") with מִשַּׁק (גְּבִים) (meaning "to run about"). R notes that the first מ in the text word is a יסוד letter. R actually does not mean to say that the first מ is actually a root letter. All that he means to say is that the מ is an essential part of the form, and possibly R had in mind that the first מ is not a preposition.
- 3.18: R incorrectly connects נוֹנִי (מְמוֹעֵד) meaning to suffer, with הָנוּ (Prov. 25.4) an infinitive absolute form from the root הָנָה meaning "to moan" or "to speak." The text word is derived from the root נָהָ.

HAGGAI

- 1.4: R correctly notes that the ה in הֲעֵת is pointed with a patach, hence R correctly holds the ה in the text word is the interrogative ה.

ZECHARIAH

- 2.17: R correctly connects נִעוֹר a third person masculine niph'al form with הֲעִירָה (Ps. 35.23) an imperative form. The meaning of these forms is "to rouse oneself or to awake."
- 9.10: R correctly connects מְשָׁלוּ (a u segolate noun with ממשל).
- 10.2: R correctly connects יַעֲנוּ (from the root עָנָה meaning "to be bowed down or afflicted") with לַעֲנוּת.

- 10.5:** R correctly connects בּוֹסִים (an ע"ו form meaning "to trample or tread down") with נָבוֹס (Ps. 44.6) and with בּוֹסְסוּ a pol'el form.
- 10.6:** R correctly notes that וְהוֹשְׁבוּתִים is equivalent to וְהוֹשְׁבֵתִים. The text word is atypical and probably a textual error. The critical commentaries indeed make this very emendation.
- 11.13:** R correctly notes that הִיּוֹצֵר is equivalent to הַאֹצֵר. This is the emendation made in the critical commentaries.

MALACHI

- 1.13:** R correctly connects וְהִפָּחֲתָם (meaning "to breathe out") with מִפָּח a nominal form.
- 3.2:** R correctly connects מְכַלְכֵּל with יְכִיל meaning "to comprehend or contain." The root of these forms is כּוּל.
- 3.20:** R correctly connects וּפְשָׁתָם (possibly meaning "to spring about") with תְּפוּשׁוּ (Jer. 50.11).

PSALMS

- 2.2:** R incorrectly connects נֹסְדוּ with סוּר. The text word is derived from the root יִסַּד.
- 2.9:** R correctly connects תִּרְעָם which is an Aramaic loan word with תְּרוּצָצִים. The text word is derived from the root רָעַע meaning to "break or crush."
- 4.7:** R connects נָסָה (נִשָּׂא) "to lift up," with נָס an ע"ע form.
- 5.2:** R notes that every occurrence of בִּינָה has the accent on the ultimate with two exceptions, namely, Ps. 5.2 and Job 34.16, where the accent is on the penultimate. The text word as accented is a nominal form.
- 5.9:** R correctly connects שׁוֹרְרִי with אֲשׁוּרָנוּ meaning, "to behold or to regard." The text word is a pol'el form from the root שׁוּר.

- 10.3: R notes that בִּרְךָ is equivalent to בִּרְךָ. R then notes that if the text word were a noun the form would be בִּרְךָ. R incidentally refers to the *segol* by the term פתח which is R's term for the *segol*.
- 10.10: R on חֲלָכָאִים (the *kre* is חל כאים) notes that the text word is equivalent to חיל של נשברים. This is practically the view in the B D B Lexicon.
- 14.1: R on הִתְעִיבו notes that this word is equivalent to הִתְעִיבו, he noting that the ע and the א interchange. Both forms have the meaning "to loathe."
- 18.3: R correctly notes that צוֹרִי ואחסה is a noun. Ordinarily the nominal form is accented on the ultimate. The reason for the recession of the accent is due to the fact that the first letter in the second word has the accent. Two successive accents are not tolerated.
- 18.17: R correctly connects יִמְשְׁנִי with מִשְׁתִּיהו. Both of these forms are ל"ה forms.
- 18.35: R on וְנִחַתָּה notes that this form is equivalent to נִחַתָּה. R then cites other פ"ן forms in which one *nun* is omitted, namely in נִחַר which he notes is equivalent to נִנַּחַר; נִדַּף = נִגְדַּף; נִגְרָה = נִגְרָה. R refers to the text word as being a מתפעל form. R quite a number of times refers to a niph'al form by the term מתפעל when the niph'al form has a reflexive force.
- 19.14: R correctly connects אִתָּם with תָּמִים. The text word is an atypical form from the root תמם.
- 26.7: R correctly notes that לִשְׁמַע is equivalent to לְהַשְׁמִיעַ.
- 27.9: R correctly notes that תַּט (which is equivalent to תִּטָּה) is a form like וַיֵּט (II Sam. 9.15), that is to say both forms are פ"ן apocopated forms in the hiph'il conjugation.
- 28.9: R correctly connects מְרַעָה with וְרָעָם.
- 31.19: R on חֲטָאֲתִי notes that this refers to a customary act (תמיד ולשון הווה הוא).

- 33.7: R on נִר (a heap) correctly notes that this word is not to be connected with נֶאֱד (skin bottle).
- 34.11: R correctly notes that קָשׁוּ (an ע"ו form) has the meaning "to be poor."
- 34.22: R correctly notes that תְּמוּתָה (a pol'el form) has the force of תָּמִית.
- 38.3: R on נִחְתּוּ (a niph'al form) notes that the *nun* in this form is not a root letter, and then notes that if it were a root letter the text word would be נִנְחָתוּ. R on תִּנְחָת (which occurs in this passage) holds the letter *nun* to be a root letter. Evidently R holds the root of the text word to be חת and the root of the second form to be נחת because the *nun* does not disappear.
- 39.11: R connects מִתְּנִינָה וִידֵךְ, the actual root of which is גרה, with וִינִיר. R in so doing he connects a ל"ה form with an ע"ו form. R specifically observes that the first ת in the text word is a יסוד נופל which term always refers to a non-root letter.
- 42.5: R on אֶדְרָם a hithpa'el form notes that this word is equivalent to אֶדְרָה עֲמָהֶם. The root of the text word is דרה.
- 42.6: R connects תִּשְׁתַּחֲוִי which is a hithpo'el form from the root שחח with שִׁחָה an ע"ו form. Both forms, however, have the same meaning and hence the collocation is justified. R notes that the text word is a מתפעל form in which the letters ש and ת change places. This is a characteristic of forms in the hithpa'el when the first root letter is a sibilant.
- 42.9: R holds שִׁירוּ to have the meaning of תִּנְיִיָה, and therefore R connects the text word with שָׂרָא, an Aramaic form meaning "to encamp." The text word, however, is an ע"י form whereas שָׂרָא is a ל"א form.
- 44.6: R correctly connects נָבוֹס with מִתְּבוּסָס.
- 45.10: R on בִּיקְרוּתֵיךְ, which form is actually equivalent to בִּיקְרוּתֵיךְ, holds the text word to have the meaning of בָּקוֹר.

R also cites Saadya to this effect. The actual root however is יקר.

49.15: R correctly notes on שתוּ that the dageshed ת stands for a second ת. The actual root of the text word is שתת an ע"ע form.

50.18: R on ותָּרַץ correctly notes that this word has the meaning of נתרצית.

52.7: R on וַיִּתְּצֵהּ, a פ"ן form, correctly connects this word with נתיצה.

ibid.: R on וַיִּשְׁרֹץ correctly notes that this verb has the force of "to uproot."

53.6: R correctly connects חָנָךְ with חוּנִים. These forms are derived from a ל"ה root. M also holds this view. D however connects the text word with חָנוּךְ. Needless to say that R's and M's view is correct.

54.7: R correctly connects שָׂרְרִי, a po'el form meaning "watcher" with אֲשֹׁרְנוּ. Both forms are derived from an ע"ו root.

55.12: R notes that תָּךְ has the meaning of מַכָּה. The root of the text word is תַּכַּךְ having the meaning of "injury or oppression."

55.22: R correctly connects חָלְקוּ with חִלְקִלְקוֹת.

ibid.: R correctly connects מִחְמָאוֹת (meaning "curd") with חִמְאוֹת. R observes the first מ in the text word is a יסוד נופל, by which term R means to say that the מ is a formative but not a root letter. R then specifically observes that the מ in question is like the מ in מַעֲשֵׂה, which letter is surely not regarded as a root letter.

56.9: R on נָדִי, meaning "to wander aimlessly" correctly notes that the text word is equivalent to נִדְדִּיתִי. The text word is an ע"ו form, but the latter form is a פ"ן form.

58.4: R correctly connects זָרוּ a ḵal form in the third person plural with נָזְרוּ a niph'al form. Both forms are derived from the root זָוַר. R then notes what he deems to be like forms,

namely שמו ($\sqrt{\text{שמם}}$), רבו ($\sqrt{\text{רבב}}$), רמו ($\sqrt{\text{רמם}}$), which forms however are derived from an ע"ע root.

58.9: R on תָּמַס an ע"ע form correctly connects this word with וְנָמַס, a niph'al form. R correctly holds the text word to be a noun in which R notes the letter ת is a יסוד נופל, that is to say, the ת is not a root letter, but only a formative letter.

60.4: R correctly notes that רָפָה is equivalent to רפא. R then observes that there are a number of forms in which the ה and the ח interchange.

60.10: R on הִתְרַעַע, a hithpo'el form, holds the text word to have the meaning of הִתְחַבְּרִי. As a matter of fact the text word has the meaning of "to shout." The actual root is רוע.

62.4: R on תְּהוֹתָתוּ, the root of which is probably הוּת, connects the text word with הוּת.

63.2: R notes that קָמָה is a *hapax legomenon* having the force of תִּאֲוָה. The text word however is thought to have the meaning of "to faint."

63.11: R holds the form יִגְרְהוּ which is actually a פ"ן form, to have the meaning of גִּרְרָה. The text word is a פ"ן form, and the second form is an ע"ע form. The text word means "to pour or to flow."

68.5: R connects סָלוּ with תִּסְלָה which is a confusion of an ע"ע form with a ל"ה form.

68.28: R on רָדַם notes that this form is equivalent to רָדַם.

68.34: R holds יָתַן to be equivalent to the participle נוֹתֵן.

69.4: R correctly notes that נָחַר (a niph'al form) has the meaning of being "dried up."

69.21: R on וְאָנוּשָׁה which is a *kal cohortative*, meaning "to be ill," holds the text word to be equivalent to וְאָנַשׁ. R then cites the form וְאָהַב which R notes is equivalent to וְאָהַב. R then generalizes this phenomenon by noting a number of forms in which the ח is both a radical and the prefix in the first person singular.

- 72.8:** R correctly connects וִירָד with רִוְדָה.
- 72.14:** R correctly notes that תוֹד has the meaning of injury or oppression. The plural form of this noun is correctly given by R to be תַּכְכִּים.
- 73.4:** R correctly notes that חֲרָצְבוֹת has the meaning of אַסִּירָה.
- 73.21:** R on אֲשַׁתּוֹנֵן notes that this is a מַתְפַּעֵל form and then notes that the ת is put in the middle of the root which is characteristic when the first root letter is a ש.
- 73.26:** R holds that כָּלָה [שְׁאֵרִי] has the meaning of תַּאוּה, which has the force of “failing with desire.”
- 76.6:** R correctly notes that אֲשַׁתּוֹלְלוֹ is equivalent to הִשְׁתּוֹלְלוֹ. R notes the metathesis of letters that takes place in the text word.
- 76.7:** R correctly notes that the *waw* in וִרְכָּב is superfluous.
- 77.10:** R correctly notes that חֲנוּת an atypical form, has the meaning of לַהֲיוֹת חוֹנֵן.
- 77.12:** R correctly notes that חֲלוּתִי is equivalent to לַחֲלוּתִי which has the meaning of “sickness.”
- 77.18:** R correctly notes that חֲצִיץ is equivalent to חֲצִיךְ.
- 81.13:** R wrongly connects שְׁרִירוֹת with שׁוֹרְרִי. The text word has the meaning of “firmness or truthfulness.” The latter form has the meaning of “a watcher.”
- 87.7:** R correctly connects חוֹלְלִים with מַחֲלוּת which has the meaning of “to dance.”
- 88.16:** R incorrectly connects אֲפֹנָה with אֲפָנִי.
- 89.10:** R connects בְּשׂוֹא with בְּהִנְשֵׂא. The text word is an atypical פ"ן form.
- 90.10:** R correctly connects וְנִעֻפָּה with עָפִים which are ע"ו forms.
- 91.4:** R correctly connects יִסְךְ with יְסוּכְךָ.
- 91.10:** R correctly notes that תִּאָּנָה has the force of תִּקְרָה.
- 92.11:** R correctly connects בְּלָתִי with בְּלוּל.

- 92.12: R correctly notes that בְּשׁוּרִי has the meaning of בעיני. See also on Ps. 5.9.
- 95.4: R correctly notes that ותועפות has the meaning of eminence.
- 102.4: R correctly notes that the *nun* in נָהֲרוּ is like the *nun* in נִקְבוּ etc., that is to say the *nun* is a servile letter.
- 104.29: R connects תִּסְף with סָפוּ. The text word is derived from the root אָסַף. The second form has an ע"ו root. The collocation as made is somewhat justified in sense.
- 105.24: R correctly connects וַיִּפֹּר with הִפְרָה.
- 106.43: R correctly notes that וַיִּמְכּוּ has the meaning "to be humiliated." The root of the text word is מִכָּךְ.
- 107.27: R incorrectly holds that יָחוּגוּ has the meaning of to reel. R connects the text word with בַּחֲגוּי וְהִסְלַעַן, and also with לַחֲגוּא which has the meaning of "to reel."
- 113.5: R holds the final *yod* in מַגְבִּיהִי, מִשְׁפִּילִי, מְקִימִי, לְהוֹשִׁיבִי and מוֹשִׁיבִי to be superfluous.
- 114.1: R holds that לִעֲזוֹ is equivalent to נוֹעֵזוֹ. R justifies this view by noting that ל and נ are homorganic consonants.
- 114.8: R holds the *waw* in לְמַעַיְנוֹ to be superfluous, hence the text word according to R is equivalent to לְמַעַיֵן.
- 119.5: R on אַחֲלִי notes that the א is a יסוד נופל hence the ה is not regarded as being a root letter. R then cites the forms אַחֲוִית and אַסֹּךְ in which the א is not a root letter.
- 119.16: R connects אֲשַׁתֶּעֱשַׁע, a hithpalp'eî form with יִשְׁעָה. The meaning of the text word is "to take delight in." The actual root is שַׁעַע. The root of the second form is שַׁעָה meaning "to gaze."
- 119.107: R correctly holds נַעֲנִיתִי to have the meaning of עָנִי וְשַׁפֵּל.
- 119.118: R incorrectly holds סָלִיתִי to have the meaning of "to trample upon." As a matter of fact the text word has the meaning of "to make light of."

- 123.1: R holds the *yod* in הִישָׁבִי is superfluous.
 132.1: R correctly connects עָנוּתוֹ with עָנוֹי.
 135.9: R correctly notes that בְּתוֹכָךְ is equivalent to בְּתוֹךְ.
 139.3: R incorrectly connects וְרִית with וְרִיב. The text word has the meaning "to scatter," whereas the second form has the meaning of "a circle" or "border."
 139.11: R incorrectly connects יְשׁוּפָנִי with נִשָּׁף.
 139.13: R correctly holds that תְּסוּכְכִי is equivalent to תְּסוּכְכִי.
 150.5: R correctly notes that שָׁמַע is a nominal form in pause hence it is pointed with a *kamez*.

PROVERBS

- 1.10: R correctly notes that תִּבְא is equivalent to תִּאבֶּה.
 1.33: R correctly notes that וְשֹׁאֵן is a verb in the imperfect tense. By implication R makes a distinction between the text word and שֹׁאֵן an adjective.
 2.18: R connects שָׁחָה an ע"ו form with יִשָּׁח an ע"ע form. The text word and the cited form have practically the same meaning, namely, "to bow down."
 3.8: R correctly connects שָׁרַרְךָ with שָׁרַרְךָ (Cant. 7.2).
 3.11: R correctly connects תִּקַּץ (from the root קוץ) with קִצְתִּי.
 3.18: R correctly notes that מְחִיזִים is equivalent to לְאֹחֲזִים, by this R means to say that the text word does not have the meaning of "being strong" but has the meaning of "taking hold of."
 7.11: R connects סָרְרָת meaning "to be stubborn" with סָרָה meaning "to turn aside." The text word is an ע"ע form, and סָרָה is an ע"ו form.
 8.17: R correctly notes that אָהָב is equivalent to אָהָב.
 8.17: R notes that one of the two *nuns* in מִצְאֵנִי is superfluous.
 11.3: R correctly notes that יִשְׁדֵּם is equivalent to יִשְׁדָּם.
 12.8: R connects נִעָה (לֵב) with נָע. The text word is a ל"ה

form from the root עוה whereas נע is an ע"ו form. R in this passage correctly connects זעוא with זע the form should actually have been זועה.

- 13.12:** R correctly notes that מַחֲלָה (לב) is not a nominal but a verbal form, that is to say, the text word is a feminine hiph'il participle.
- 13.23:** R notes that according to the Masorah the word רַב־אֶל (רב) occurs 33 times. The kamez in this word R notes is a short kamez.
- 14.1:** R on חֲכָמוֹת observes this form is pointed with a patach hence this form is not a noun in the absolute state, and therefore he notes that the text word is equivalent to דַּחֲכָמוֹת שְׁבָנִים.
- 15.7:** R incorrectly connects יָרִי meaning "to disperse or spread" a ל"ה form with יָר an ע"ו form.
- 17.4:** R correctly notes that מִיָּין is equivalent to מַאֲיִן.
- 17.10:** R on תַּחַת the root of which is נַחַת, notes the accent to be on the penultimate and therefore R holds the text word to be a noun. As a matter of fact the text word is a verb in the third feminine singular.
- 20.13:** R correctly connects תִּנְרֶשׁ with רֶשׁ. Both forms are פ"י forms. The collocation that is made has justification in that the text word has the meaning of "dispossess." Incidentally the forms רֶשׁ and תִּנְרֶשׁ are derived from a פ"י root.
- 21.7:** R on יִגְרֶם (an ע"ע form) correctly notes that this form is equivalent to יִגַּר אותם the common meaning of these forms is "to drag."
- 22.24:** R correctly notes that תִּתְרַע a hithpa'el form has the meaning of רַעוּת, the actual root of both of these forms is רַעַה.
- 23.7:** R on שָׁעַר (בִּנְפֶּשׁ) with the accent on the ultimate holds this word to be a verbal and not a nominal form.
- 25.11:** R connects אֶפְנִי with אִפְוִה (Ps. 88.16). The meaning

of the latter form is in doubt. The text word is a segolate form, the meaning of which is "circumstance or condition."

R then correctly observes that **אופן** is a form in the absolute state despite the fact that the word in question is pointed with a patach. (See on I Ki. 7.32. This pointing is atypical).

R then notes the plural form of the text word to be **אופנים**.

26.22: R on **מַתְּלַחֲמִים** notes that this word has the meaning of **מַתְּלַחֲמִים**. The root **להם** has the meaning of "to swallow greedily." R seems to have some justification in collocating the two words.

27.17: R on **יָחַד** is probably correct in connecting this form with **יָחַד**.

28.10: R correctly connects **בְּשָׁחוֹתוֹ** with **שָׁחַת**.

30.17: R connects **לִיקַחַת (אם)** with **יָקַחַת (עמים)**. Both of these forms are derived from the root **קַחַת**. R holds the *yod* in these two forms to be a root letter.

JOB

1.20: R correctly connects **נִינִי** an **ע"ע** form with **נִינִי** a feminine imperative form.

3.23: R correctly connects **נִיֶּסֶךְ** with **סֶךְ**. The latter form does not exist, the collocation, however, is correct. The actual root of the text word is **סִיךְ**.

5.4: R on **נִידְכָּאוּ** notes the dagesh in the **ד** and then observes that this form has the force of **נִידְכָּאוּ**. R then observes that if the pointing were **נִידְכָּאוּ** it would have the meaning of "crushing others."

5.7: R on **עוּף** correctly notes that this form is an infinitive construct, hence R notes it is equivalent to **לְעוּף**.

6.6: R connects **חֲלָמוֹת** with **יְחַלְמוּ** which has the meaning of "to be healthy or strong." R then notes that some connect

the text word with **הָלוּם**, which view R rejects, because he notes the *dagesh* in the text word. As a matter of fact the text word refers to a thick, slimy juice.

- 6.7:** R correctly connects **כְּדָנִי וְלַחֲמִי** meaning "illness" with **מְדִינָהּ**.
- 6.14:** R holds **לָמַס** to be a participial form like **בָּא, שָׁב**. The text word is an adjective having the meaning of "failing or collapsing." The actual root of the text word is **מָסַס**.
- 6.17:** R correctly connects **יִזְרְבוּ** (the meaning of which is dubious, possibly it has the meaning of "to be burnt or scorched") with **יִצְרְבוּ**. This very collocation is made in some of the critical commentaries. R correctly justifies this collocation because he notes that the letters **ז** and **צ** are homorganic, and hence interchange.
- 6.25:** R incorrectly collocates **נִמְרָצוּ** meaning "to be sick" and **נִמְלָצוּ** meaning "to be smooth or slippery." R was misled in his belief that the **צ** in the text word interchanges with the **ל**. The **ל** and the **ר** do at times interchange.
- 7.4:** R incorrectly connects **וּמָדַד** (an **ע"ע** form in the *pi'el* perfect, meaning "to measure") with **וַתִּדָּר** meaning "to flee." R holds the **מ** in the text word to be **עִיקַר נּוּפֵל** which term refers to a formative letter and not to an actual root letter.
- 10.1:** R correctly connects **נִקְטָה** (an atypical **ע"ו** form, meaning "to feel a loathing") with **מִתְקוּטָמֶת**.
- 12.17:** R notes that **שׁוּלָל** is a noun. Actually it is an adjective. R connects the text word with **מִשְׁתּוּלָל** (meaning "to spoil or plunder"); and **אֶשְׁתּוּלָלוּ**. R then notes the metathesis that takes place in the *hithpa'el* when the first letter is a **ש** or **ס**. R then cites such forms as **מִסְתּוּלָל, וּשְׁתַּבַּחוּ, וּשְׁתַּמְרוּ** and like forms.
- 14.9:** R on **נָטַע** correctly notes that this word is a noun in pause.
- 15.11:** R incorrectly holds **לָאֵט** to be a verbal form and not a noun. As a matter of fact the text word is derived from an

- ע"ע root the ל in the text word is a preposition. The word מט has the meaning of "gentleness."
- 15.11: R holds ירמון (meaning to wink the eyes) to be equivalent to ירמון. The root רמו is not found in Biblical literature. R cites a like metathesis of letters in שלמה and שמלה.
- 15.23: R correctly connects נודר (a participial form, meaning "to flee or to wander" with לנוד. This collocation is correct inasmuch as both forms have the same meaning.
- 15.29: R on מנלם holds this form to be equivalent to מן להם. R then connects the text word with נמן. The text word is difficult to identify with certainty.
- 16.7: R correctly connects השמות' with אשתומם and שמו. These are ע"ע forms.
- 16.12: R incorrectly connects נפצפני a pilp'el form from the root פצץ meaning "to dash in pieces," with נפצתם (Ezek. 11.17) an ע"ו form having the meaning of "to be dispersed."
- 18.3: R specifically notes that the root of נטמינו is טם. The text word has the meaning of "being defiled." The actual root of the text word is טמא.
- 19.3: R connects תהכרו (the sense is very dubious) with תהנכרו.
- 19.12: R correctly connects ויסלו with מסלה which are ע"ע forms.
- 19.26: R connects ונקפו (a niph'al form meaning "to strike off") with ננפו. This collocation is probably made by R because the נ and ק are homo-organic consonants.
- 21.23: R correctly notes that שלאנן is equivalent to שאנן. The text word is actually a *lapis calami* for שאנן. This is the emendation made in the critical commentaries.
- 21.34: R evidently had the pointing מעל for he notes that this word has two *kamazim*. The current texts however have the pointing מעל. The word in question is a noun.
- 22.22: R correctly notes that תבואתך is equivalent to תבואך. This is the emendation made in the critical commentaries.

- 23.9:** R correctly notes that אָחֹז has the meaning of אֶרְאֶה, hence the text word is a ל"ה apocapated form. R then notes that if the text word had the meaning "to seize" the accent would have been on the ultimate.
- 23.11:** R correctly notes that אָט (in pause) is a high'il first person singular, that is to say the root of the text word is actually נטה.
- 25.5:** R correctly connects יֶאֱהִיל with יְהִל the meaning of which is "to be clear or shine." The text word is an atypical form. R compares the text word with such forms as וּלְאֲדִיב (I Sam. 2.33) the actual root of this form is אֲדִב. R however holds the מ in the latter form to be superfluous, hence R evidently holds the root to be דִּוּב meaning "to pine away."
- 28.11:** R connects מְבַכִּי (a nominal form meaning "weeping") with נְבָכִי וְיָם meaning "springs, sources of the ocean."
- 28.16:** R connects תִּסְלֶה meaning "to weigh" with סָלוּ which has the meaning "to lift or cast up." The text word is a ל"ה form and סָלוּ is derived from an ע"ע root.
- 30.13:** R correctly holds נִתְסוּ to be equivalent to נִתְצוּ. The latter form is found in five mss. [See ICC commentary on Job. R specifically observes that the ס and צ interchange because they are homo-organic consonants.]
- 31.5:** R correctly connects וְתַחַשׁ an anomalous punctuation, with אֶחָשְׁנוּ meaning "to make haste." These forms are derived from an ע"ו root.
- 31.8:** R correctly notes that יִשְׁרָשׁוּ has the force of "to uproot." A like comment is made in 31.12.
- 33.24:** R on פְּדָעֵהוּ notes that this form is equivalent to פִּדְאוּ the root of which is not found in the Biblical literature. The text word, an imperative form, probably means "to deliver." R also notes that the נ in the second form interchanges with the פ. This observation however is incorrect inasmuch as the פ and נ are not homorganic consonants.

- 34.6:** R correctly connects אָנוּשׁ a passive *kal* participle meaning "to be weak or sick," with וַיֵּאָנֵשׁ.
- 34.16:** R correctly notes that בִּינֶה is an imperative form hence the accent is on the penultimate. R then notes that every other occurrence of בִּינֶה has the accent on the ultimate, hence such a form is a noun.
- 34.24:** R correctly notes that יָרַע (which is an Aramaic form for יָרַץ) is equivalent to יָרוּצַץ. R likewise correctly cites הִתְרַעְעָה (Isa. 24.19) as having the same root and meaning, namely "to break or crush."
- 36.24:** R correctly connects שָׁרְרוּ a *pol'el* form from the root שׁוּר, with אֲשׁוּרֵנוּ (Num. 24.16).
- 38.16:** R incorrectly connects פ"ן a נִבְכִּי [ים] form with נִבּוּכִים. The text word has the meaning of "spring of water." The second form is a plural participle from the root בּוּךְ.
- 38.28:** R incorrectly holds the א in אֶגְלִי [טל] to be superfluous. Therefore R holds the text word to be גְּלִי [טל]. The text word in which the א is a root letter has the meaning of "dew-drops" whereas גֵּל has the meaning of "heap or wave."
- 38.32:** R is correct in connecting מְזֻלוֹת with מְזֻרוֹת. The ר in the text word and the ל in the cited form are homo-organic consonants.
- 40.17:** R incorrectly connects יִחְפֹּץ with יִחְפְּזוּ. R evidently was under the impression that these two forms have the same meaning. As a matter of fact the text word has the meaning "to delight in" and the second form has the meaning of "trepidation."
- 40.32:** R correctly connects תּוֹסֵף with יֹסֵף. R then notes that the ס in the text word is pointed with a *patach* because it is in pause.
- 41.10:** R correctly connects תִּהְיֶה with בְּהִלּוֹ. The first form is a third person feminine, and the latter form is an infinitive

construct. The actual root of these forms is הלל. The meaning of these forms is "to shine."

- 41.15: R on דִּבְקוֹ notes that the ב in this form is pointed with a קמץ קטן which term in R refers to a zere.
- 41.16: R on יָצוּק correctly connects this form with מוֹצֵק a hoph'al participle.
- 41.25: R on מְשָׁלוֹ correctly notes the short kamez in this word and therefore holds the text word to have the meaning of ממשלות. The text word is actually a u segolate form.
- 42.10: R correctly notes that שָׁב in this passage is equivalent to השיב a hiph'il form. The context demands a hiph'il form.
- 42.17: R correctly notes that וּשְׁבַע [ימים] is a construct form, the absolute form of which is שְׁבַע.

THE SONG OF SONGS

- 2.14: R incorrectly connects חֲגִי (סלע) which has the meaning of "places of concealment" with יַחְגֹּז meaning "to pilgrimage" and also with חָנָא which is an Aramaized form for חנה meaning "to reel."
- 4.1: R correctly notes that צִמְתָּךְ is not to be connected with צומת which has the meaning of "to exterminate." R furthermore notes that if the root of the text word were a root letter, the text word would have been צִמְתָּךְ, that is to say, the ת would have a dagesh. The text word is derived from the root צמם and has the meaning of "a woman's veil."
- 4.4: R incorrectly holds that the ת in תִּלְפִּיּוֹת to be like the ת in תִּרְמִית (Jer. 8.5) and in תבנית. The first ת in the text word is a root letter. The root חלף is also found in Arabic.
- 6.12: R holds the yod in עָמִי to be superfluous like the yod in רָבָתִי and גִּבְרָתִי.

RUTH

- 1.13:** R incorrectly connects תַּעֲנֶנְהָ (meaning “to shut oneself in”) with עֹנֵן. R then notes that some interpret the text word to have the meaning of עֲנִיּוֹן, and then notes that this is not correct, because if the *nun* were a root letter, the *nun* should have been *dageshed* or a second *nun* should have been in the text word.
- 1.15:** R on שָׁבָה notes that the accent is on the penultimate and therefore R notes that it is a perfect tense form. R then notes that שָׁבָה has the accent on the ultimate hence it is an ע"ו feminine participle.
- 1.19:** R connects וַתָּהֵם with הוּמִיָּה. The text word may be derived from an ע"ע root, or from an ע"ו root, as for instance in such forms as יָבוֹשׁ, יָאוֹר, and like forms.
- 2.6:** R on הִשָּׁבָה notes the accent to be on the penultimate, hence R notes that this is a perfect tense form (despite the fact that the text word has the article.)
- 2.16:** R incorrectly connects שֶׁל תִּשְׁלֹךְ (meaning “to draw out”) with הִשָּׁל (2 Sam. 6.7). The actual meaning of the latter form is in doubt, it is held by some to have the meaning of “error.” (See on Ezra 4.22 where שָׁלוּ has the meaning of “neglect or remissness”).

LAMENTATIONS

- 1.1:** R correctly holds the *yod* in רַבְתִּי (עַם) to be superfluous.
- 1.4:** R on נִגּוּנֹת (a niph'al feminine participle plural) correctly connects this word with נִגּוֹן. R then notes that the single letter נ is the root of these two forms. The reason that R holds this view is due to the fact that the *yod* and the ה disappear at times.
- 1.5:** R correctly connects שָׁלוּ with שְׁלוֹהָ. These forms have a ל"ה root.

- 1.8: R correctly connects נִידָה with נֹד (נע) ונר.
- 1.8: R on נֶאֱנָחָה correctly notes that this form is equivalent to נִפְעָלָה whereas the form נֶאֱנָחָה which R notes is a שם דבר by which R probably means is a participial form.
- 2.5: R on וַיִּרְב notes that the letter *yod* in this form is pointed with a קמץ קטן which term is equivalent to a zere. Evidently in R's text this form was pointed וַיִּרְב, which form R notes has the force of "causing others to increase." R then notes that וַיִּרְב is a *kal* form like וַיִּפֶן. R then observes that in the hiph'il the form is וַיִּפֶן. R also cites וַיִּנָּל as a like form. In view of the fact that the text word is noted to be a hiph'il form like וַיִּרְב we must infer that the hiph'il forms that are cited, namely וַיִּפֶן and וַיִּנָּל were also regarded as being pointed respectively וַיִּפֹּי and וַיִּנָּל. Added proof that the text word in R was pointed with a zere is R's observation on וַיִּיטֵב (Ex. 1.20) which form R notes is like וַיִּרְב.
- 3.4: R wrongly connects בָּלָה with לָבֹול (עץ) which has the meaning of produce or outgrowth. The form בֹּול is an abbreviation of יָבֹול or it is a scribal error.
- 3.11: R wrongly connects סוֹרֵר (a pol'el form from an ע"ו root) with סִירִים.
- 3.26: R correctly notes that the letter ו in וַיִּחִיל is superfluous.
- 3.32: R correctly connects הוֹנָה (meaning "to cause grief") with יָנוֹן.
- 3.65: R on מְנַת (לב) notes that this has the meaning of שֶׁבֶר לב. As a matter of fact it has the meaning of "covering the heart" that is to say "obstinacy." R connects the text word with אֶמְנָנָה, which means "to deliver up." R then notes that those who interpret the text word by תוֹנָה and יָנוֹן are in error, because the *nun* in this form is not a root letter.
- 3.65: R incorrectly connects תַּאֲלָתָה (meaning "a course") with נֹאֲלָה (a niph'al פ"י form, meaning "to act foolishly").
- 4.1: R correctly connects יִשְׁנָא with יִשְׁתַּנָּה.

- 4.2: R correctly connects מִסָּלָאִים (meaning "to weigh") with תִּסָּלָה.
- 4.5: R correctly connects אֲשַׁפְּתוֹת (meaning "ash-heaps") with אֲשַׁפֵּת. The first form is the plural of the second form.
- 4.10: R correctly connects לִבְרוֹחַ a pi'el ל"ה infinitive form, meaning "to eat," with בָּרָה. R also correctly cites the form לִהְבֵּרוֹחַ a hiph'il form.
- 5.6: R correctly notes that נָתַנּוּ is equivalent to נִתְּנּוּ and notes that the dageshed *nun* stands for two *nuns*.

ECCLESIASTES

- 1.2: R correctly notes that the construct state of הֶבֶל is הֶבֶל.
- 2.3: R correctly connects תִּרְמִי an ע"ו form with לַחֲוֹר.
- 3.16: R on הִרְשַׁע notes the accent to be on the penultimate, and therefore notes that this is a segolate noun in pause, and then notes that in no other instance does רִשַׁע become רִשַׁע in pause.
- 4.3: R correctly holds that עֵרֶן is equivalent to עֵרִיין.
- 4.14: R on וְגָזַל (מִשְׁפָּט) notes that this form is in the construct state and therefore it is pointed with a *patach katan* which is R's term for our segol. R then notes that the form in question in the absolute state is גָּזַל. As a matter of fact גָּזַל refers to anything taken by robbery.
- 4.14: R correctly notes that הַסִּיּוּרִים is equivalent to הַסִּיּוּרִים.
- 5.16: R on וְחָלִיו notes this form to be equivalent to חָלִי. R holds the final *waw* to be superfluous. This is the very emendation made in the critical commentaries.
- 5.19: R notes the pointing of the *nun* in מַעֲנָה (= נִקּוּד פֶּתַח קָטָן) segol) and therefore R holds this form to be שֵׁם דָּבָר, that is to say the text word is a noun in the absolute state.
- 9.1: R correctly connects וְלִבְּרָר with וְלִבְּרָר. The text word is an atypical ע"ע form.

12.6: R correctly notes that וְתָרַץ has the meaning of רָצִיצָה.

Similarly on Isa. 42.4, R notes that יְרוּץ is equivalent to יִרְצֵץ.

12.14: R on מַעֲשֶׂה שׁ notes that the שׁ is pointed with a patach (i. e. a segol), and he then notes the disjunctive cantillation sign above the שׁ which indicates that the text word is not connected with הָאֱלֹהִים.

ESTHER

1.16: R connects עֵוָה with עוֹן. The text word is derived from the root עוֹת, whereas the second form is derived from a ל"ה root.

9.19: R correctly notes that מְשֻׁלֵּחַ is a nominal form, like מְשַׁמֵּר, מְשַׁמֵּעַ, hence he notes the absence of a dagesh in the letter שׁ. By implication R means to say that the מ is not a preposition.

9.28: R correctly observes that יְסוּף is not to be connected with יִסְפֶּה.

The book of Daniel has very few grammatical comments. The comments on Ezra and Nehemiah are not R's. The commentary on these two books is the work of R's disciples.

NEW NOTES ON PRE-EMANCIPATION JEWISH ARTISTS

CECIL ROTH

IT WAS pleasant to see in the last volume of the Hebrew Union College Annual Dr. Franz Landsberger's admirable article on the Jewish Artist before the time of Emancipation — a monograph which marks an epoch in the study of this subject and I trust will remove once for all the general misconceptions relating to it. I myself have for some time been working on the topic, from a somewhat different angle, and had accumulated the material for an alphabetical index (I will not say a Biographical Dictionary) of Jewish artists before 1800. Dr. Landsberger's material, based upon a more systematic and single-hearted study of the sources, is richer than mine, and he includes the greater part of my headings in his study. There are however a few omissions, some of them important, as well as various recent discoveries which he was unable to take into account. It is to these that I propose to devote this supplementary article. Since this is not my own specialty, my interest being somewhat indirect, I do not propose to go into any detail, and my references will generally be sparse and incomplete. They will however suffice the student; and I sincerely hope that Dr. Landsberger will be able to develop them further, so as to make the volume which I trust he will one day devote to the subject as complete and comprehensive as possible.

There is of course a general impression that an overmeticulous obedience to the Second Commandment entirely stifled the development of the pictorial arts among the Jews; and it has probably been the experience of all of us who are interested in the subject to be told that a certain object cannot be Jewish in origin because it contains a representation of the human, or even an animal, figure. So far is this from being correct that human likenesses are to be found sometimes even on the central

objects of Jewish worship. Thus there is in the Jewish Museum, London, a Torah-Mantle of the eighteenth century, of London provenance and probably of English workmanship, shewing representations of Moses and Aaron — a freedom of usage at which even the most liberal of Jewish congregations would probably hesitate today. But there is a piece of documentary evidence which appears to me to be of even greater significance. There is in my collection a commonplace-book of the seventeenth century (it is probably to be dated about 1678), in Hebrew and Italian, kept by an anonymous scholar of considerable learning and deep piety (MS. Roth 706). In this one reads (p. 154b) the following injunction:

Dovendo ei figlij direggere loro andam^{to} ad effiggij Mat-
terna, Convegnono tenere alla mano continuam^{te} il ritratto
med^{mo} che così seguendo non puono dimenticare le virtù ne
lassarse sobornar a vitij.

That is to say: "Since it is the duty of children to direct their conduct according to the semblance of the Mother, it is proper to keep her portrait continually in the hand, for, by so doing, they cannot forget her virtues nor permit themselves to be suborned to vices." One knew already, from Leone da Modena, that portraits were usual among Italian Jews. This however is going a step further; to have a portrait is regarded, not only as being no sin, but as a positive religious precept! Incidentally, I may add that my friend, Commendatore Giuseppe Pardo Roques, of Pisa, had in his house a fine seventeenth-century painting of a young man dressed in the height of fashion, which according to family tradition (which he had previously been inclined to disbelieve) represented one of his ancestors of the Baruh Carvalho tribe of Venice, whose removal to Leghorn caused such hearburnings in the Rabbinical discussions of the period.

Dr. Landsberger refers to a statement in my book, *The Jewish Contribution to Civilisation* (American edition, New York and Cincinnati 1940, p. 148) where (he says) I suggest that certain eminent Netherland artists, among them the Ruysdaels, were Jews, because of their biblical first-names. Here, I think, he does me an injustice. I did not make the statement; I repeated

it only, with strong reservations; and I mentioned it only to disagree with it. (Otherwise, it might have been believed that I had overlooked these eminent figures, mentioned by other writers on this subject.) However, had Dr. Landsberger carefully compared the American edition of this book of mine with the English one, a copy of which he took away from Oxford as a farewell-present before he crossed the Atlantic to his present home, he would have found a significant difference in my treatment of one of the figures who interests him preeminently — Alexander Cooper (1605–1660), brother of Samuel Cooper, the greatest English miniaturist of all time. Between the time of the publication of the two editions, I went carefully into the question of his religion, and the results are now embodied in my *History of the Jews in England* (Oxford 1941). There can be no doubt whatsoever that he is referred to during his life in Sweden as a Jew. On the other hand, there is no conceivability that his family and relatives in England were anything other than Christians, belonging to a normal English family. These two facts can be reconciled only on one supposition — that (like more than one other Bible-loving Englishman of that Bible-loving age — this is no place to go into the details or provide parallels) he became converted to Judaism, for that reason perhaps having to take up residence abroad. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that at this period he added to his name “Abraham” — the traditional appellation of proselytes to Judaism — by which he is known in the Swedish documents describing him as a Jew. I may add that Dr. Williamson, who first published these records and was responsible for the former interpretation, now agrees (in private communications) with my conclusions.

Cooper was not the only artist proselyte to Judaism. There was also that German clergyman mentioned by Dr. Landsberger in his study, who adopted the name of Abraham ben Jacob and illustrated the Amsterdam Haggadah of 1695. This is not perhaps so surprising as might have been imagined, for proselytes to Judaism were active as Hebrew printers and typesetters in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In connexion with Abraham ben Jacob, however, a curious fact presents itself. In the original edition of this fine Haggadah, his

collaboration is cheerfully, not to say proudly, mentioned on the title-page. In the 1712 reprint, however, the plates are ascribed to 'a most zealous workman in the craft of engraving'. Clearly, the publishers were by now no longer so happy in his collaboration, and it is not out of the question that his experience of Judaism had not in the end turned out so satisfactorily as had formerly seemed to be the case. It is however not without its significance, in view of the constant allegations of narrow-minded exclusiveness that are levelled against Judaism even today, that the most familiar illustrations to the most beloved of Hebrew service-books are from the hand of a proselyte!

Dr. Landsberger's treatment of the question of Jewish manuscript illumination is comprehensive, and it would be presumptuous on my part to enter into any discussion with him regarding this. I will add accordingly only one or two notes. Abraham ibn Hayim's Portuguese treatise on manuscript illumination of 1262, which throws such light on the subject, has been published in full by D. S. Blondheim (*Todd Memorial Volume*, N. Y. 1930-1, pp. 71-83; *JQR.*, n. s., xix. 97-284). From this, it is obvious (if further proof were needed) that Jews engaged in this craft, presumably for non-Jews as well as for Jews; and that veteran of Hebrew studies, Mr. Elkan Adler, has reproduced in his article on Jewish Art, in the *Gaster Anniversary Volume* (1936) a page shewing King James the Conqueror from the Majorca Charter of 1332, illustrated by Abraham Vidal Judio. In this connexion, too, I should like to mention a lavishly-produced work on Hebrew illuminated codices in Italy by E. Munkácsi (Budapest, 1938?), which owing to the difficulties of the times and (I regret that it should be necessary to add this) the unfortunate tendencies of our Jewish 'scientific' periodicals and their literary policy today, has remained unknown outside Hungary, but is invaluable for anyone interested in the subject, illustrated as it is by page after page of beautiful plates. Especially noteworthy are the reproductions from a fifteenth century manuscript of the Mahzor preserved in the Vatican Library (Ms. ebr. 324), which actually shews the caricature-portraits of contemporary Jews labelled in Hebrew script 'the *Hazan*

Abraham Morel' and so on. It is self-evident that the artist in this case was a Jew! The most active Jewish artist of the period was without doubt Joel ben Simeon, to whom Dr. Landsberger devotes some refreshing pages. I would question only one of his statements. In a *Haggadah* illuminated by him, there is found the bitter witticism "Next year in Jerusalem — or in Bruenn!" Since the Jews were expelled from this city in 1454, this gives according to Dr. Landsberger) a *terminus ad quem* for the manuscript, which must be anterior to that year. Personally, I would argue the reverse: the scribe hopes to be reinstated in his former home, and it is a *terminus a quo*. Indeed, since the recollection was so fresh and the hope so vivid, I would be inclined to suggest, categorically, that the manuscript was executed in or about the year 1455.

One further point in this connexion. Dr. Landsberger states that he has never seen an illuminated Ketubah bearing the signature of its Jewish artist. That they were executed by Jews is indeed almost certain, especially in the case of those where the Hebrew is used with such daring decorative results. In my own collection, of some fifty specimens or more, there is none bearing the artist's signature. But I have been more fortunate than Dr. Landsberger, for I recollect having seen one offered for sale, in my undergraduate days, to which the artist duly subscribed his name. The pride taken in the *Ketubah* is demonstrated incidentally by the fact that in the Sumptuary laws of the community of Ancona (*Pragmatica . . . degli ebrei*, Ancona 1766, § xxix) it is specifically laid down that the amount of money expended on the Marriage Contract, including the illumination &c., should not exceed forty *paoli*.

To Dr. Landsberger's lists of Jewish illuminators, a few names, none of first importance, may be added. There was Solomon ben Samuel of Wurzburg (c. 1233: Munich Cod. Hebr. 5): Hayim ben Israel of Toledo (Parma MS: c. 1377): Joshua ben Abraham ibn Gaon (c. 1300): Benjamin Cohen (c. 1278: British Museum MS. 11639): Elisha ben Abraham Be(n)veniste, who produced the great Farhi Bible, now in the Sassoon Collection: Elisha ben David (c. 1387: Parma MS.): Abraham of Eiringen

(c. 1650: Haggadah in Jewish Museum, London): Judah Tang¹ (18th Century: Haggadah in Jewish Museum, London): and — more interesting than these last — Jacob da Cesena of Ferrara (c. 1450) and Meir Chayim, of Landau (c. 1520), painters of playing-cards — a profession followed also in Florence at this time, even when it had been rendered illegal by the Puritan revolution under the inspiration of Savonarola.

That there were Jewish architects in the Middle Ages is probable, but Dr. Landsberger has been unable to provide any names to substantiate this supposition. I am able to furnish one of real importance, but with all reservations, for I do not know what authority there can be for the statement. According to Bevan, *Spanish Architecture* (New York, 1939), Ince de Galli, who was responsible for the construction of the famous Torre Nueva at Saragossa, was a Jew. If this can be demonstrated, a new aspect is opened in the study of this subject. (Bevan gives rather fuller details regarding another skilled, but less important craftsman who was working in Spain at the time: Gil Siloée, son of Samuel of Nuremberg, who executed a good deal of sculpture on the glorious Cathedral of Burgos, and according to him also a Jew; but perhaps this statement is based on nothing more than his father's name and provenance.) Of the great synagogues of Western Europe in pre-emancipation days, I know of one only which has the name of a Jewish architect associated with it. The monumental Ark of the Synagogue of Leghorn was constructed in 1745 according to the designs of David Nuñez, Chancellor of the Jewish 'Nation' of that city.²

Dr. Landsberger extends his purview to Jewish goldsmiths of the Middle Ages and after. The number of these must have been very large indeed, and a complete list would fill pages. Let me instance [Jachiah ben] Joseph ben Aziz, whose tombstone was found at Puente-Castro (Schwab, *Inscriptions hébra-*

¹ This name is said to be an abbreviation for Taussig Neun Greschel. I would be most grateful to anyone who can give me an interpretation of this: Tang was a very remarkable person in the literary sphere. I should add that the names in the text are given 'without prejudice'. Some are derived from secondary sources, and may be those of the scribes, not of illuminators.

² Toaff in *Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, vii. 371.

iques de l'Espagne, p. 22) and the Sicilian Rabbi Busacca (c. 1490) (Giovanni, *L'ebraismo della Sicilia*, p. 390). More interesting is Salomo Barbut, goldsmith to the King Juan I. of Aragon, who in 1399 made a reliquary for the Augustinian Priory in Barcelona (Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I. 415). The vistas opened up by this document are important; in view of it, it is impossible to dismiss the likelihood of a medieval craftsman with a Jewish name being a Jew, merely because he manufactured objects for the Christian cult. Later on, the name *Zoref* (rendered in Italian as *Orefice*) became a common surname, and persons bearing it were not necessarily engaged in the profession of goldsmith. I am rather surprised, incidentally, that Dr. Landsberger did not include in his lists the name of Graziadio (= Judah) of Bologna, the teacher of Benvenuto Cellini, and obviously a person of some attainments.

That Jews were patrons of the arts in Renaissance Italy is worth a note. We know, for example, how those of Florence appreciated the work of Niccolò Grosso, 'il Caparra', though he refused to work for them: while Vasari recounts how, when Cristofano Gherardi (called Duceno) and Battista Cungi went to Bologna in 1539, they were patronised and befriended by the Jew Dattero, presumably identical with the banker Joab di Rieti, who was seen about in their company to such an extent that men imagined that they too were Jews!³

A word on some of the Italian Jewish artists mentioned by Dr. Landsberger. He dismisses uncompromisingly the suggestion that Cosmè Tura, of Ferrara, was of Jewish extraction. The information however derives in the first instance from a distinguished Italian art-historian, who stated that he had evidence to this effect; and it is difficult to imagine that he would have been led astray (as Dr. Landsberger thinks) by the fact that, like many other painters of the period, he included a few conventional Hebrew words in his compositions. I fear that I have myself been responsible for the suggestion, adopted by Dr.

³ See Vasari, *Opere*, ed. Milanesi, vi. 220, and my *Gli ebrei a Firenze sotto l'ultima repubblica* (Florence, 1924), which should be used to supplement Dr. I. Sonne's remarks in the HUCA vol: xvi. on the Florentine exiles in Bologna.

Landsberger, that the various artists with the surname Levi, or De Levi, in Italy and Spain, were of Jewish origin; but I am having more and more qualms about this identification. On the other hand, I can assure Dr. Landsberger that *both* names of Angelo de' Rossi (in Hebrew it would have been Mordecai min haAdomim) are characteristically Italian-Jewish, and that if his collaborator Giuseppe de' Levi was a Jew it is hardly to be doubted that he was one as well. But in the interests of strictest accuracy it might be wiser to forego both of them.

One interesting new name that is to be added to the roll of Italian Jewish artists is Zechariah Padova, of Modena. The great Azulai, in his travel-diary *Maagal Tob* (p. 88) mentions how in 1777, when he was in Trieste, he heard about the dispute in which this person had been involved with the leaders of the community of Modena, and how in revenge he had distributed far and wide a caricature shewing himself as a Rabbi, sitting at his desk and writing, and his enemies looking like boors, one of them in the semblance of a dog. (I may mention that Azulai's allusive method renders parts of the passage unintelligible, and that I would be most grateful for any assistance in interpreting it.) As it happens, this caricature — a unique copy, probably, of a unique production — is to be found in my collection, answering in every detail to Azulai's description. When the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* was in the course of publication, I sent it to the Editors for reproduction. To my amazement, they described it (volume ix, c. 967-8) as a caricature on the English "Jew Bill" of 1753, thus depriving it completely of its significance. I am happy to have this opportunity of clearing up the confusion.

While Dr. Landsberger's study was in the Press, there appeared in England an important contribution to the subject, written at my suggestion and with my collaboration: *Early Anglo-Jewish Artists*, by Mr. Alfred Rubens, in the Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, xiv. 91-129. In his next study, Dr. Landsberger will doubtless make full use of this monograph; and I will accordingly here mention only one or two outstanding names. The Levy family, of Portsmouth, is I think particularly interesting, because of the durability in it

of the artistic tradition. Benjamin Levi (d. 1784), originally of Wiesbaden, the founder and dictator of the Portsmouth community, was an engraver of some reputation, and several book-plates executed by him are extant. His tastes were inherited by two of his sons — Elias, who engraved many local views and cut the congregational seal, and Isaac (d. 1785), also responsible for many book-plates (some of them in collaboration with another local Jew, twenty *ex libris* by whom are recorded, Moses Mordecai). It is interesting to note that Arthur Waley, the expert on Chinese literature and art, is a descendant of this same family.

Other noteworthy Anglo-Jewish artists who figure in Mr. Rubens' lists include the American-born Francisco de Faria, of the seventeenth century, and, in the eighteenth, Joseph Cohen, of Charleston, S. C., seal-engraver: Martha Isaacs, an active portrait-painter and miniaturist, who subsequently became baptised, migrated to India, and was progenitor of the British military family of Higginson: and the eminent Bristol glass-workers Lazarus Jacobs (d. 1796) and his son Isaac. Mr. Rubens mentions sceptically the landscape-painter Towne (it does not make much difference whether it is Francis [1740–1816], or Charles [d. 1850], for the one would involve the other) who is spoken of as "a Jew named Town, a painter who keeps a shop in Bond Street" in the *Memoirs of the notorious Harriette Wilson*, and who is depicted in a contemporary caricature. But it can be demonstrated that there need be no hesitation on this score. In the subscription list at the close of the *Rules and Regulations for the Management of the Jews' Hospital, Mile End* (London, 1808), there is recorded an annual donation of two guineas from "Mr. Town, New Bond-street." Here, then, we have another figure of real eminence (if not two of them — both incidentally figuring in the *Dictionary of National Biography*) to include in our list.

There is one fresh name which may be added to this roll. In his *Journal* (vol. i. p. 37), Sir Walter Scott mentions that he took lessons in painting from "a little Jew named Burrell." I know nothing more about this personage, and wonder whether the name is not a Scottish slip of the pen for (Frederic Benjamin)

Barlin, the prolific Anglo-Jewish artist, to whose work both Dr. Landsberger and Mr. Rubens devote adequate space.

Before leaving this aspect of the subject, there is one other point that must be made. Dr. Landsberger suggests (p. 388) that such Jewish artistic activity as there was in England was due to Jews of *Sephardi* origin. Curiously enough, and contrary to what might have been expected, this was not the case. The Levis, the Polacks, Miss Isaacs, Barlin — the great majority indeed of those who exhibited their works at the Academy and enjoyed some reputation in the outside world — belonged to the *Ashkenazi* section, their artistic interests being a development of the traditional professions of seal engraving and so on which were so usual in German Jewry. To imagine that it was *Sephardi* and mediterranean Jewry which led the way in artistic activity among the Jews is completely erroneous. I do not wish to labour the point, and this is no place to expatiate on it; but the implications for Jewish cultural history are considerable.

At another point, as it seems to me, Dr. Landsberger is guilty of a serious equivocation. He is convinced that the artistic tombstones of the ancient Portuguese Jewish cemetery of Amsterdam cannot be the work of Jewish artists because of the extreme freedom of sculptural treatment. But he is begging the question. If the treatment was contrary to Jewish sentiment, these tombstones would not have been allowed to be set up in the Burial Ground, which was under strictest Rabbinical supervision and control. I do not wish to pass any opinion as to whether the artists were or were not Jews; but we are certainly not justified in deciding in the negative merely because of the freedom of treatment! I must incidentally express my conviction that the scene on the tombstone of Samuel Senior Texeira (1717) which shews the vision of Samuel must be intended to represent the apparition of an angel, not of the Deity himself: for that would assuredly be excessive even for the greatest degree of Jewish artistic tolerance. (I realise as I write that I am perhaps begging the question myself in saying this!)

One further observation on this subject. It is clear that the environment of the Netherlands and of Germany was exceptionally favourable for this artistic freedom. These lavishly-

sculptured tombstones shewing Biblical scenes are to be found in Holland and in Hamburg &c., in the cemeteries of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews; but, so far as I know, their cousins in Italy, London, and America eschewed completely this sort of thing, though they also had no objection to including knightly helmets and coats of arms on their sepulchral monuments.

A few random names may be added in conclusion to those assembled by Dr. Landsberger. Marrano artists of the sixteenth century are said to have included Bartolomé Bermejo, a painter of considerable fame and ability, and Juan de Altabas. It would be unwise to accept either of these persons for our purpose without confirmation. On the other hand, there is positive evidence in the case of a painter named Just, martyred by the Inquisition in 1490. It must be pointed out however that *ex hypothesi* all professions were represented among the Marranos, and that traditional inhibitions played no part in their case. About the same period we have the shadowy figure of an Anton von Worms, said to have flourished in that city about 1530 and to have been the progenitor of the famous De Worms family. When the Marranos migrated to Amsterdam, a number of artists figured in the community. Besides those enumerated by Dr. Landsberger, one may include the engraver B. de Almeyda (c. 1693): Jacob Usiel Cardoso, who painted a portrait of Rabbi Solomon d'Oliveira (c. 1667): Leonora Gadella, calligraphist like her relative Jacob: Daniel Henriques de Castro, the eighteenth-century glass-engraver whose products are so prized even today: and we may perhaps add Jacob (Diego) Duarte, the Art Dealer.⁴ Elsewhere, we find Aaron Wolf, a Prussian Jew who settled in Leghorn and was the seal-engraver to the Grand Duke of Tuscany:⁵ and various names of minor importance.

There is a final remark that I hope I may be permitted to make. The articles of Dr. Landsberger appear to me to be opening a new field of research. Jewish enthusiasm, German thoroughness, and American resources combine to give his studies especial

⁴ See, for all these names, J. S. da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis der Portugeesche Joden te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1925) and H. I. Bloom, *The Economic Activities of the Jews of Amsterdam* (Williamsport, 1937).

⁵ *Rassegna*, ubi supra.

value. He is bringing to this new domain the exceptionally wide knowledge and experience that he gained in his general enquiries, and the results have already been noteworthy. Given the opportunity, it seems to me that he is likely to produce really memorable work in this sphere, and to remove once for all the age-old reproach that the Jews were traditionally indifferent to aesthetic values. We amateurs must henceforth yield the field to this expert, grateful that the task is taken out of our bungling hands.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

In J. Pijoan, *History of Art*, ii. 447-8, the illumination of the Majorca Book of Privileges of 1332, associated by Mr. Elkan Adler with the name of Abraham Vidal *Judio*, is ascribed to Romeu Despoal, whom Mr. Adler mentions as the scribe. 'Vidal Abrafim', copyist of astronomical works, figures in A. L. Isaacs' *The Jews of Majorca*, p. 95.

THE PHILOSOPHY AND THEORY OF MUSIC IN JUDAEO-ARABIC LITERATURE

(Continued from Vol. XVI, p. 319)

ERIC WERNER and ISAIAH SONNE, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O.*

THE TEXTS

Foreword by Isaiah Sonne

Conscious of the necessity of collaboration between the cultivators of the various branches in the vast field of the science of Judaism, I gladly accepted the proposal of my friend Dr. Werner to prepare an edition and translation of the few medieval Hebrew texts dealing with music, as an appendix to his study of Jewish music in the Middle Ages.

As soon, however, as I approached my task, I came to realize that unfortunately most of these texts have come down to us in such a highly defective state that mere reproduction would be useless. I was compelled to undertake the thankless work of textual critic; wherefore I feel it incumbent upon me to render a brief account of the procedure I adopted, especially as I did not observe the prescriptions of orthodox "Textkritik," either in purpose or in method. As a matter of fact, my principal concern was not for the text as such, regardless of its meaning, but almost exclusively for the meaning, i. e., for the idea which the text expresses. Consequently, I did not employ a critical technique, operating through an "apparatus," to establish the text first, and then its interpretation; but, on the contrary, I first undertook

*The edition of the texts and their evaluation (pp. 511-557) is the work of Dr. Sonne; the two appendices (pp. 558-572) are the work of Dr. Werner.

to find out, by means of context and comparisons, the meaning; and only in the second place did I make use of some critical suggestions for the adjustment of the text, in order to convey the meaning as previously established. The decisive factor in the latter operation was paleography. In fact, only such adjustments of the text were taken into consideration as comported with a paleographic explanation of the textual corruption.

Arrangement

None of the eleven items given below represents an independent treatise dealing with music *ex professo*. All are but segments of more comprehensive works, in which music in general or some aspect of it, occupies a more or less important place. The works from which our texts are derived can accordingly be divided into three groups:

1. Ethical works in which a section or only an incidental remark is devoted to music, the chief aim being to point out the ethical and metaphysical aspect of music. This group is represented by the items: A-C.

2. Works of an encyclopedic character, containing usually a "Guide to Studies in the Sciences," in which music occupies a place in the rank of mathematical sciences, and in which is given a general outline of its theoretical as well as its practical aspect. This group is represented by items: D-E.

3. Medical works, in which music is invoked specifically to illustrate the rhythmic beating of the pulse. Here attention is directed exclusively toward the mathematical aspect of music. This group is represented by items: F-G.

It is perhaps not mere chance that this arrangement, as we shall see, approximately coincides with the chronological order of the authors. This may indicate the gradual shift of interest in music from the metaphysical toward the scientific-practical sphere.

A

HONEIN-ALHARIZI

Kitab Adab al-Falasifa — מוסרי הפילוסופים

The Maxims of the Philosophers

Section I, chaps. 18–20: Sayings With Regard To Music

Composed in Arabic about 850, Honein's compilation was translated into Hebrew by the well known poet and translator Judah Al-Harizi about 1200, under the title *Mussare ha-Pilosophim*. The Hebrew text was printed for the first time in Riva di Trento in 1562. From the point of view of a textual critic, we can only repeat Levi's judgment (REJ, III, 242, n. 5) that the *editio princeps* is extremely defective. No improvement was made in the second edition (Luneville, 1807), which is a faithful reproduction of the first. The third edition, made by A. Loewenthal, Frankfurt a. M. 1896, maintains essentially the text of the *editio princeps*, adding, however, a considerable number of variants of several manuscripts. There can be no question that the variants aid a great deal toward removing many mistakes of the *editio princeps* especially those due to the carelessness of the first editor. But it is equally true that most of the obscure passages, due to alterations of the text found in the MS used by the first editor, still remain obscure. Such passages occur frequently in our three chapters about music, and Loewenthal in his German translation often confessed, explicitly or tacitly, that he was not able to dig any sense out of them. In all of these cases, I did not hesitate to introduce emendations which fail of corroboration in the variants. Needless to say that all of these emendations should be considered and appraised only as conjectures.

Our text rests on Loewenthal's edition (L.), and makes use of its critical apparatus. We have also maintained L.'s division into paragraphs. The punctuation is ours. L.'s German translation: *Honein ben Ishak, Sittensprueche*, which appeared in the same year (1896), was of great help to us, especially the references in his instructive notes.

The principal aid, however, in the interpretation of the difficult text was the section on music in the "Ikhvan es-Safa," ed. Dieterici: *Die Propaedeutik der Araber*, Berlin 1865, pp. 100–153 (–Dieterici).

We also used with profit: Merkle K., *Die Sittensprueche der Philosophen*, Leipzig 1921 (Merkle).

A

מוסרי הפילוסופים

(שער א, פרק שמנה עשר)

אמר אמוניוס¹: כי היה לפילוסופים קבוץ גדול בסעודת הרקל² המלך אשר עשה לבנו, וצוה לבעל המוסיקא לשקוד³ לפניו וללמוד מפיהם מה שידברו מעניני המוסיקא.

1. אמר אחד מהם: המוסיקא ענין נכבד נלאתה יכולת הדבור להראותו ולא יכלו לה, ראתה⁴ אותו הנפש בכח הגנון, וכאשר נגלתה, שמחה⁵

¹ Ed.: אמיאוס; B — אמינס; P — אימינס. In the identification of the name, we follow L.'s suggestion. I suppose that the editor of the ed. pr., Joseph Shalit, or the copyist of the MS used by Shalit, was not sufficiently acquainted with Spanish Hebrew handwriting, and therefore misread א for י. Many other misreadings of this kind will be pointed out in the sequel.

² Ed.: חרקל. We follow the suggestion of Steinschneider and L. Cf. Plutarch, *De Musica* (Scripta Moralia, Vol. II, ed. Paris 1877), p. 1383: "Heracides in libro cui nomen est Collectio Rerum Musicorum." See also *infra* Appendix I.

³ Cp. Prov. 8:34: עז דשקור to watch, to be present. The musician usually did not participate in the conversations of the philosophers, and must therefore have been invited for this meeting dealing with music. L.'s translation: "Der Koenig befahl dem Musiker vor ihnen zu spielen," although based upon Dieterici, p. 146/1, misses the mark, and does not correspond with the text.

⁴ Ed.: . . . ולא יכלו להראתה אותו הנפש בכח. This makes no sense. The reading in MP: ולא יכלה להראותו, והראתה אותו, adopted by L. in his translation, can hardly be considered genuine. Besides the oddity of the triple להראותו, one may ask what is the meaning of והראתה אותו הנפש — to whom? All of the difficulties disappear as soon as we split the word להראתה into the following two words ראתה, לה. We obtain a clear sentence, which is also linguistically flawless.

⁵ M reads: שמחת הנפש.

- הנפש בה והשתוקקה⁶ אליה. ועל כן שמעו⁷ אל הנפש והאזינוה, ועזבו ענייני הטבע מהסתכל⁸ בו.
2. אמר השני: יתרון המוסיקא מתחבר עם כל מלאכה, כאיש המשכיל מתחבר אל כל אדם.
3. אמר השלישי: המוסיק' כשיהיה בחוץ יניע הנפש, וכשיהיה מבפנים יניעו המיתרים.
4. אמר הרביעי: חבור הקולות בגוונים¹⁰ כחבור האויר באויר, וכשיצא אחד מהם מקול חבירו, בתוספת או בגירעון, יהיה הפירוד, והוא כמו העשן עם הרוח ההולך ימין ושמאל.
5. ואמר' לבעל המוסיקא מדוע תנועות הקולות ושבירת הנעימות וסיבובן בנהון יערב וינעם, ולא יערב כן דבר המסופר? אמר כי אלה השבירות¹¹ והתנועות ינחיל' הסיפור נעימו' ודקו', כמים הנגרים מראשי ההרים על צוארי הסלעים שהם יותר מתוקים וערבים מן המים אשר בבטן הנחלים והמעיינות.
6. והיה מנהג אחד מן הפילוסופים, בשבתו בבית משתה היין, אמר לקראת בעל המוסיקא: עורר הנפש לקראת כחתייה הנכבדות, מן הענוה והיושר, וסבר הפנים, והגבורה, והחנינה, והצדק, והנדיבות.
7. ויצא אחד מן הפילוסופים עם תלמיד' ושמעו קול כנור. ויאמר לתלמידיו: לכה ונקרבה אל זה הכנור אולי נלמוד ממנו צורה נכבדת. וכאשר קרבו אליו שמעו קול רע ושיר בלתי מתוקן. אמר הפילוסוף: אמרו המנחשים והקוסמים כי קול הכוס ובת היענה יורו על מיתת האדם; ואם הדבר אמת, קול זה האיש יורה על מיתת הכוס.
8. אמר החמישי: הנפש כשתחבור תנגן בגנינות המעציבות¹², ותזכור עולמה הנכבד, ותחבר החבור הנכבד ותשקול הנגונים

⁶ Ed.: והשתוקקה = והשתוקק' the original 'and the soul yearned for it'.

⁷ שמעו והאזינוה ועזבו, as presupposed in L.'s translation are imperat. forms (cf. the corresponding sentence Dieterici, p. 146/1).

⁸ Ed.: ולסתכל. It seems that the letter מ has been split into ו and ס. P has: ומלסתכל.

⁹ Ed.: המניע, probably a misreading of 'המוסיק', caused by the special shape of the letter ס which, in Spanish handwriting, often appears as a mere point, and can easily be exchanged for a י. P reads: הננין which seems to be an emendation of the copyist.

¹⁰ Music is called by Maimonides (*Millot Ha-Higgayon*, Chap. 14): חיבור הקולות.

¹¹ This reading is given by L. as a variant of PM. However, the same reading is to be found in ed. pr., the word השבירות being misplaced to a line below.

¹² L. translates "erhabene," adding, in a misplaced note (p. 78, n. 1), that we should probably read מעצלות (perhaps מעצלות). But H. constantly uses here *erhabene*, and never מעצלות. I think that מעצלות is correct, and that it signifies sad melodies which lead to pensive meditation and to emphasis

המתוקנים¹³, וכשיראה הטבע זה הדבר וידענו, יתיצב בפניה בכל מיני ציוריו ויצניגם לפניו אחד אחד עד שישיבנה אליו¹⁴. ותעזוב מה שהיתה בו מענין עצמה, ותתעסק בעניני¹⁵ הטבע, ותמשך¹⁶ עם הטבע, ולא תחדל מעשות כן עד אשר חשקע בים הטבע בכל כחותיה.

פרק תשעה עשר

1. נקבצו עדת פילוסופים במספר¹⁷ גדול, בומן אנטופאול, אצל פורינוס¹⁸ החכם, ושלח. המלך אליו סופרו לשמוע חכמת החכמים ולקבץ אותם באוצר חכמתו.

upon the vanity of the external world. Cf. Dieterici (M. 101 ff.): "Sie wandten, zu dem Ziele die Menschen zur wahren Reue zu fuhren, *Trauergesang* . . . an . . . um die Herzen zu erweichen etc." The corresponding sentence in Dieterici (p. 148/11) however reads: "... in den *Weisen der Teilseelen*," which could have been translated: הנפשות (הנפשות).

¹³ In the edd. as well as in the MSS, this passage is placed after *ותתעסק* ונתעסק. But there it requires substantial emendations. Indeed, L.'s translation: "Sie *loest* die hohe Verbindung und *vergisst* die erhabene Melodie" tacitly assumes the reading: וחשכח . . . החבור (or ותחיר) which is entirely gratuitous. We have therefore preferred to place the passage here where it fits perfectly.

¹⁴ The subject of all the italicized verbs is הטבע (cf. Dieterici, p. 148/11). The whole passage was mistaken by L. who seems to refer the action to the "soul." The representation of the world (nature) as something which, by its external beauties, strives to seduce the soul and to capture it is a common one in Arabic ascetic literature, whence the concept penetrated Jewish-Span. ethical literature. See especially Bahja's *Duties of the Heart*, section IX, on asceticism: להם העולם . . . לבש להם בגדי חמודותיו . . . שחק אליהם . . . ורצה להטותם . . . וינערו בו . . . Such a concept, forming also a *Leitmotif* of Hebrew Spanish poetry, found its most pregnant expression in Moses Ibn Ezra's poem: חנם אדמה העטה עדיה / אולי פתאים יחמרו יפיה: (In vain Earth decks herself with rich attire / That for her beauty simple minds may lust. — Moses Ibn Ezra, Solis-Cohen, JPS, 1934, p. 50).

¹⁵ Ed.: בננוי, probably a misreading for בעניני. This is tacitly admitted in L.'s translation: *Angelegenheiten der Welt*, although his Hebrew text retains the reading בננוי.

¹⁶ Ed.: וחמשך; M.: וחמשך. Our reading is tacitly assumed in L.'s translation. We might have expected אחר but H. had probably in mind the verse in Ps. 28:3: . . . אל תמשכני עם.

¹⁷ Ed.: במבחר; M, P, Br: במחבר להם. Both of them meaningless. L.'s transl.: "in einem grossen Palaste," seems to presuppose the reading במבצר. But the determination of the place is expressed later by means of אצל פורינוס. In all likelihood, therefore, it is a misreading for במספר.

¹⁸ M.: פורינוס. L. renders the name "Purinus." We have followed a sug-

ויאמר פורניוס החכם: מי שירע להחביר תנועות הנפש עם הטבע¹⁹ כחבור תנועות ארבעת המיתרים, עד אשר יתנועעו כולם, יהיה שמחת העולם ותענוגיו עם תענוגו, וזכרו מקיף עליהם²⁰, כשירצה להתענג, באיזה מין מהם יוכל לעשות.

2. אמר השני²¹: הנגון יתרון נכבד, נלאה ההגיון לבאר אותה במלותיו. ותוציא אותו [לפועל] האוזן²² כמו טבעה²³, ותביאה²⁴ אל הנפשות בכחה, ויקבלוה ממנה מפני הטבע אשר בה.²⁵ וישמחו²⁶ בה בשמעם אותו, וישתקקו אליו ויזכירוהו, כשלא יהיה נמצא, עד אשר השיבוהו פעמים רבות השבה אשר תנוח בו הנפש, וינעם לה ויקל עליה.

3. אמר השלישי: משוש הנפש²⁷ בקול הערב יהיה משני דרכים: או²⁸ שתהיה

gestion of Dr. Werner identifying the name with "Favorinus." The identification with "Fandoros" in Masudi VIII, 91 (Steinschneider, L.) is erroneous, as pointed out by Merkle (p. 53, note 13; p. 55, note 36). See also *infra*, Appendix I.

¹⁹ טבע is left out in L.'s translation.

²⁰ ויזכרו מקיף עליהם is also omitted in L.'s translation, which is vague and incomplete here. We tried to render the sentence as literally as possible.

²¹ Despite the striking similarity of this (with chap. 18, #1), L. admits that his translation of this obscure sentence is a free one. We have preferred to translate as literally as possible.

²² Ed.: והוציא אותה, but the parallelism to ותביאהו suggests: והוציא אותה. L.'s transl.: "Durch den Gesang erfasst das Ohr," seems to emend tacitly: ותשיג. But, in all likelihood, the meaning of הוציא here is הוציא to bring forth, that is: the ear produces melody through the sense of hearing inherent in the nature of the ear.

²³ L.'s translation: "ihre ungefaehre Natur" does not satisfy the text. The meaning of the phrase seems to be: "according to its nature," relating to the ear as a specific organ of hearing.

²⁴ We have retained the reading ותביאהו, although the parallelism with chap. 18, #1 suggests ותראהו.

²⁵ מפני הטבע אשר בה is obscure. L.'s transl.: "was natürlich an ihr ist," is hardly correct. It seems rather to refer to נפש, meaning: because of the nature (disposition) which is in the soul.

²⁶ Ed.: וישמחו. The parallelism with chap. 18, #1 however suggests וישמחו. The first copyist seems to have omitted the letter ש, and to have written וימחו. A split of the letter מ into ר and ו led then to the present misreading: וירחו.

²⁷ We adopted the reading of P.

²⁸ The whole passage או שתהיה נכבד... is omitted in L.'s translation with the remark: "Der Text ist zu verdorben um einen Sinn erkennen zu lassen." But, in reality, the text does not offer special difficulties. It expresses the well-known conception derived from Platonic or rather Neo-Platonic sources, namely, that music liberates man from the external world,

- משוטטת ודורשת הצורות מעצמה, ושקיעתה בים עצמה; [ב.] ומה שיגיע²⁹
 אליה מן הטבע תשיבהו אל מה שיש אצלה ותקביל³⁰ בו, ואם תמצאהו
 מתחבר-תשמה בו, ותגלה אותו בתבנית נכבד.
 4. אמר הרביעי: יתרון האדם על כל בעלי החיים-הגיון ותבונה; ואם ישחק
 ולא יבין-ישוב בהמה.
 5. והיה אפלטון אומר: לא יתכן למנוע חשק הנפשות בנפשות כחשק הגויות
 בגויות.
 6. והיה אומר לבעל המוסיקה: תראה לנו נגון³¹ העצים בציציהם³²
 והערוגות במיני בשמיהם.
 7. והיה אפלטון אומר: צפור הדרור וכל מיני העופות, וכל מיני הסוסים
 והגמלים ישתוקו ויכספו לקול המוסיקה.
 8. והיה המלך אלכסנדר ממעיט לשתוק ולשקוד בבית משתה היין, וכשיועץ
 להלחם עם אויביו או לערוך לקרב³³ צבא, יצוה להניף מיתרי הכנור.
 וכשתשקע נפשו בים המחשבות והעצות יכה על מגינו אשר בין ידי
 בשר ביט³⁴, ויחריש המנגן.
 ואמר: מצאתי תועלת בחכמת המוסיקה במרוצת הסוסים וערוך השלטים
 ולהוציא החיילים; ולא עמדתי במלחמה מימי³⁵ אשר לא ידעתי-ממשקל
 נפשי ומחבור ענייניה³⁶, וממשקל הנלחם עמי-אם אני נוצח או
 נצוה.

and leads him to the contemplation of the world of ideas (forms), the proper world of the soul. In consequence of this attitude of the soul, the external objects become only images of the ideas. Cf. chap. 18, #1.

After writing this, we noticed, with satisfaction, that our interpretation corresponds with that of Merkle who has supplemented L.'s German translation on the basis of the Arabic text (p. 41).

²⁹ Ed.: ומי שיע; we have adopted the reading of Br, P.

³⁰ Ed. pr., and probably also the MSS, have ותקבילהו which means confront, compare. L.'s tacit emendation ותקבילה is based upon his doubtful interpretation of the phrase.

³¹ Ed.: זמן, and L. translates accordingly: "*Zeig uns den Fruehling*..." Although there are really 4 modes corresponding with the 4 seasons of the year according to Honain (S. chap. XX, #1), nevertheless we consider the word זמן here as improper, and venture the emendation of נגון.

³² Ed. pr.: ציציה, ed. L.: ציצים, both of them not satisfactory. We suppose the original read: הערוגות — העצי, corresponding with: במיני...

³³ Ed.: לקראת which we suppose to be a misreading of the original abbreviation: לקרב — קרב.

³⁴ Ed.: ושרביטו; we follow B, Br, L.

³⁵ Ed.: ימי; we follow B.

³⁶ Ed.: מנייה, but the context requires ענייה, which is also tacitly presupposed in L.'s translation.

9. ואמר אריסטוטליס: תוצאות המוסיקא – יעוררו העצה הרחוקה, ויקריבו המחשבה הנודדת, ויחזקו³⁷ הרעיון היעף, עד אשר ישיב מה שאבד, וישתדל מה שנתעצל, ויהיה זך מה שנעשה עכור, ויתערב³⁸ בכל עצה ומחשבה, וימצא ולא יטעה, וישלם³⁹ ולא יאחר.
10. ואמר סולון: ראיתי האילים בשעת הנגון ותקיעת החצוצרות והמחולות – ישפילו לארץ ראשם⁴⁰ עד אשר יישנו מפני התענוג אשר ימצאו בנפשותם.
11. וישב אלכסנדר, והוא נער, עם אביו ואנשי ביתו בבית משתה היין, וניגן בעל המוסיקא ניגון אהבה וחברה, והחביר בין איש מאנשי הבית ובין שפחת המלך. ויכעס המלך ויאמר למגן: הלא ידעת כי כתוב שלא יתחברו גופות בני חורין עם גופות העבדים, פן יהיה הבן גרוע, אל תשתו מן היין, פן ישנהו⁴¹ דעותיכם וישחית מחשבותיכם. ואז אמר אריסטוטלוס: לולא גדולת הנפש הגברת עליו היינו אומרים כי אין מוסר עם ענוה נכבד בז⁴², אבל נרע כי גדולת הנפש ויקרת⁴³ הרוח גרם לו זה. אמר⁴⁴ לו: על מה כעס, אמר: על חבור הנכבד בנקלה, ושתותו מן היין מה שלא יכיר בו היתרון והחסרון.
12. ושמע אריסטוטלוס חופש כנור ינגן נגון, יבחנו בו היתרונות מהחסרונות⁴⁵. ואמר, איך יהיה יכולת בטבע להבין זה, לולא הנפש.
13. ואמר: המחשבה מביאה המדע אל הדבר הידוע, והמוסיקא מביאה אל המדע הרוחני⁴⁶.

³⁷ Ed. pr.: ויחררו; ed. L.: ויהדרו. In his translation, however, L. adopted the reading of Br: ויחזקו. The context suggests rather ויחזקו.

³⁸ L.'s translation: "*Die Seele denkt von neuem ueber die erteilten Rat-schlaege nach...*" is more than a free one. The difficulty consists chiefly in the expression ויתערבו which L. seems to have understood as: They mingled themselves. The fact is that the term seems to be used here with the meaning of *pledge*. We have to keep in mind that word-tournaments or word-battles were a widespread sport in the Arabic literary world. Some specimen of them can be found in Harizi's Maqamas.

³⁹ Ed.: וישלים. L. translates accordingly: "...und kommt... zu gutem Ende." But the following ולא יאחר does not make any sense. We think that the phrase alludes to Deuter. 23:22: לא תאחר לשלמו.

⁴⁰ Ed. pr.: — ראשם — ראש; Br; ed. L. ראש.

⁴¹ Ed.: ישנה, a misreading of the original abbrev. (B) ישנ.

⁴² Ed.: מזה. L. translates accordingly: "...dass es keine groessere Tugend gibt als dies." But the context requires the opposite thought, which we obtain by a slight emendation of בזה instead of מזה. בזה can refer to Alexander, as well as to the fact of his irritation.

⁴³ Ed. L.: ויקר. We follow ed. pr., and P, M.

⁴⁴ Ed.: אמר instead of the original 'אמר (M).

⁴⁵ L. translates: "*Harmonien und Dissonanzen*." But in all likelihood it refers to moral qualities — virtues and vices.

⁴⁶ L.'s translation is a vague one. The sentence seems to hint at the

14. ואמר טיטוס⁴⁷: מנהג אנשי רומי, כשיכבד החולי על החולה ישמיעוהו הגון ויקל מעליו.
15. ואמר אפלטון לבעל הכנור, והוא היה מגן בקול, זה הקול גשמי ואין לנו צורך בו. אמרו לו: רבינו, ואתה גשמי, אמר: כי גופי עובד לשכלי.⁴⁸
16. ואמר אפלטון: התענוגים שלשה, האחד מהם תענוג ההגיון בכנור,⁴⁹ והוא אשר יעורר השמחה; ותענוג אחר חי, והוא אשר יפוך⁵⁰ מן הטבע. והשלישי בינוני ביניהם, והוא תנועה נגד הגוף החי. וקודם שתתנועע היא רוח נופלת במין הנוח, וכשינוע אותה יעוררה הזכרון⁵¹; וגלויה עד מה שיפוך מן הטבע, ותעלומה נגד התנועה⁵².
17. ואמר עוד: כי הטבע היא תחת הנהגת הנפש, כי המדות הטובות והפעלים הנכבדים הם לנפש.
18. ואמר: צורת הרע, כשתנוע ולא תגלה, תעורר הפחד; ואם תגלה תעורר האבל. וכן צורת הטוב, כשתנוע ולא תגלה, תעורר השמחה; ואם תגלה תעורר התענוג.
19. ואמר אריסטוטלס לתלמידו, והיה מנגן, אמר לו: עורר צורת הגבורה! הבינות? אחרי כן אמר לו: אראה כך אותות ההבנה; אמר לו: ואיך? אמר אריסטוטלס: ראיית ההבנה השמחה – ואני רואה אותך שמח.
20. ואמר אפלטון: ברוב עסקי החכמה – קיום תענוג השכל; וכן ברוב ציורי הגופות העליונות – קיום תענוג הטוב. ועליכן התמר ציורי הדיעות ויתמידו לך השכל.

distinction between knowledge of an external object and the knowledge of ideas, in which case the known object is identical with the knowing subject (cf. Maimonides, MN, I, chap. 68). Cf. *HUCA*, XVI, p. 264 n. 47.)

⁴⁷ M: סניטוס; Br: סויטוס. L. suggests "Suetonius."

⁴⁸ According to Merkle (p. 41; 53, note 13), Harizi has mistaken here the Arabic text which reads: "The body originates in mystical dance (Dastaband)."

⁴⁹ Ed.: הגיון והכינור, which L. renders by: "*Gesang und Cither-Spiel*." We think that H. used the phrase in Ps. 92:4: הגיון בכנור. Should we retain the reading of the ed., we would prefer to render הגיון by "dialectic," or "understanding," which is a source of joy, as pointed out further in #19, 21.

⁵⁰ L.'s translation: "*Das Lebendige, welches die Natur verlaesst*," seems to suggest the emendation יפרד instead of יפוך. But there is no reason for such emendation. פוך is well known in Neo-Platonic Hebrew terminology, and means "emanates," deriving from Arabic פיץ.

⁵¹ The passage is left out in L.'s translation. The meaning is uncertain, but we have tried to translate it as literally as possible.

⁵² We could not make out any reasonable meaning of this passage, and were compelled to omit it in our translation. The passage is also omitted in P.

21. ואמר: ראיית ההבנה – מציאת⁵³ התענוג; עם קצת הרגשים – יראה התענוג⁵⁴.
22. ואמר אלכסנדר: אפשר שאראה האדם מתנועע אצל המוסיקא, ולא אראה ביניהם הפרש ולא חילוק, ולא תקדים תנועת זה (ועל תנועת זה)⁵⁵. אמר לו זה חשק – והוא הגיון שכלי. והחושק השכלי לא יצטרך להמתיק מליו לחשקו בהגיון הגשמי, אבל ימתיק לבו וירמז לו בגלוי שחוק מפיו ובקריצת העין, ובתנועה נעלמת כגון⁵⁶ זה: בעין⁵⁷, ובעפעף, וברמזה. וכל אלה הם מליצים מדברים, אלא שהם רוחניים פשוטים. אבל החשק הבהמי ישתמש בהגיון הגשמי להליץ בעדו, ויביע ויצייר⁵⁸ גלוי חשקו החלוש.
23. ואמר אפלטון: מי שיהיה דואג ונעצב⁵⁹ ישמע גנוני הנפש הנדיבה; כי הנפש כשתעצב ותדאג – ידעך אורה; וכשתשמח – יזהיר אורה ותראה זיוה. ויראה מן התשוקה⁶⁰ כפי כח קיבול המקבל, כפי זכותו ונקיטו מן החוגף ומן הנוטר והטונף⁶¹.
24. אחרי כן אמר: המלאכות שלש, או שיהיה הדבור נבו יותר מן הפעל, או שיהיה הפעל בו יותר על הדבור⁶², או שיהיו שניהם שוים. ואשר יהיה בו הדבור יותר על הפעל, הוא כמו ספור מעשיות והמשלים, אשר הוא במלות ולא יהיה בפעל. ואשר יהיה בו הפעל יותר מן הדבור, הוא כמו רופא, אשר מעשיו יותר מדבריו. ואשר ישתווה בו הפעל עם הדבור, הוא מלאכת הננון⁶³, ועליכן היא מבחר המלאכות, והוא שיהיה דבורו ומעשהו דבר אחד, כמו תופש הכנור, אשר גונו כפי תנועותיו.

⁵³ Ed. pr.: מציאת; ed. L.: מציאות. But Harizi follows the terminology of Maimonides using מציאה instead of מציאות (cf. Baneth, Tarbiz, 1935, p. 25).

⁵⁴ We have followed L. in our translation. But it is also possible that the sentence expresses the distinction between real happiness, based upon "understanding," and only apparent happiness based upon "some sensations."

⁵⁵ Omitted in ed. and MSS except B by homoioteleuton.

⁵⁶ Ed.: בניו, probably misreading of כנון.

⁵⁷ Ed.: בעין, but the following בעפעף suggests: בעין.

⁵⁸ Ed.: ויזיף, which we think to be a misreading of either of ויביע or of ויזיף. In Span. handwriting, both of them can easily be confused with ויזיף. The entire passage is omitted in L.'s translation.

⁵⁹ Ed.: ונעוב, we follow Br.

⁶⁰ Ed.: הנוסף — omitted in L.'s Translation.

⁶¹ Ed.: הנוסף, which makes no sense. Our suggestion הנוטר is based upon the correspondence with החוגף. M reads: הטונף.

⁶² In ed. the entire passage was omitted by homoioteleuton.

⁶³ Cp. Moses Ibn Ezra, Selected Poems, Solis-Cohen, Philadelphia, JPS, 1934, p. 19, N. 8, 11. 69–70: הנחו האמת הנחו ועל מספר במופה האמת הנחו: See also Brody's Note on p. 219.

פרק עשרים

1. אמר קיטוס: ⁶⁴ אולם עשיו המיתרים ארבעה כנגד הטבעים, המורכבים באדם, שהם ארבעה. ושמו ⁶⁵ מיתר השורק, הנקרא זיר, כפי הגבורה, והגבורה כנגד המרה הירוקה; והמיתר המשנה, הנקרא מתנה, כנגד הצדק, והצדק כנגד הדם; והמיתר המשלש, הנקרא מתלת, כנגד היושר, והיושר כנגד הליחה הלבנה; והמיתר האילם, הנקרא באם, כנגד המחילה ויקר הרוח, והמחילה ויקר הרוח ⁶⁶ כנגד המרה השחורה. ויתחייב מן המיתר המשנה השמחה והששון, ויתחייב מן המשלש הפחד ומורך הלב, ויתחייב מן המיתר האילם – אשר הוא ⁶⁷ כנגד המרה השחורה – הדאגה, והדאגה והשמחה ⁶⁸ יבואו ממה שיעורר טבעם במסך הטבעים. והמשלש ⁶⁹ המיתר השורק והמשלש אל המרה הירוקה עם הליחה הלבנה, כמו זמן החום והחורף, והוא כמו הגבורה והמורך; והמשלש ⁷⁰ המיתר המשנה והאלם ⁷⁰ אל הדם ואל המרה השחורה, והוא כמו זמן הסתיו וזמן (החום) (האביב) ⁷¹, והוא כמו השמחה והיגון, כי הם תנועות ⁷² משתנות, כמו האצבעות והידות ⁷³,

⁶⁴ Ed.: קירוס. We follow M. The identification of the name is uncertain, and following suggestions were made: "Fandoros," based upon Masudi (Steinschneider), "Pindar" or "Olympiodoros" (Merkle, p. 53, note 13), "Archytas" (L.). The last suggestion seems the most plausible, and we have adopted it in our translation.

⁶⁵ Ed.: ושמו L. translates accordingly: "*Die Saiten heissen*" (the strings are called). But in view of the following this reading is hardly correct. Our emendation, partly supported by P (ושמו), is based upon the parallelism: עשיו . . . ושמו.

⁶⁶ Ed. pr.: והרוח; ed. L.: וינקר — evidently misprint.

⁶⁷ Ed. pr.: is omitted in ed. pr.

⁶⁸ Ed. pr.: והשמחה (). הראנה. We have followed L. in adopting the reading of P, Br, although a comparison with Saadia המרה הנפש מדות נחלקות, פעמים אל השמחה, ופעמים השחורה, ומראות מן הנפש מדות נחלקות, פעמים אל השמחה, ופעמים הראנה, might appear as supporting ed. pr.

⁶⁹ Ed.: והמשלש, we follow P.

⁷⁰ Ed. pr. agrees with P; ed. L. omits והאלם.

⁷¹ Ed. pr.: "Spring" is required by the context and is also confirmed by the corresponding passage in Dieterici (p. 142), where it is said expressly that the second string corresponds with "springtime" (cf. L., and Merkle, pp. 42, 53).

⁷² Ed.: ותולדות; P: מעלות which L. translates: "Kategorien." Our suggestion is based on the context.

⁷³ Ed.: והיתירות; we follow P (cf. Moses Ibn Ezra, l. c.: "I marvel at the gracefulness of thy hands / As they wander about — / Now springing upon the cords, and now outstretched").

- אשר ישתנו בכל מיתרי הכנור. ומחלק הגבורה: המלכות והנדיבות וסבר הפנים⁷⁴; ומחלק המורד: הזילות והכילות (והחושך)⁷⁵(?) והבז והחולשה⁷⁶; ומחלק השמחה: התענוג והחשק ונועם המדות; ומחלק היגון: ביטול התאוה⁷⁷.
2. ואמר א' מן החכמים: אישון העין – מראת הנפש.
3. ואמר אחר: צריך למשורר להראות ענין הנפש בשירו; וראוי לכינור להלבישו ניגון אשר יאות לו.
4. ואמר אקלידס⁷⁸: המוסיקא מלאכה תחביר כל מין אל מינו, ומשתמשת בטבעים, ומעוררת הנח ומניחה הנד.
5. וזכר אפריוס⁷⁹ הכלל העולה מדרך המלחמה ואמר, כי הנלחם, כשיבוא במערכת, צריך להשמר, וכשישמר (להשתכר, וכשישתכר)⁸⁰ יכשר; ואם לא יעשה כן⁸¹ תכבה האש ותשקט התנועה, ויתקרר הגוף, עד שיראה כמי שימלאהו רתת ורעד, וישחתו המעברות ותסתם החממות; וכשישתה וידליק החממות⁸², תתנועע במשקל ותבער, וכאשר יבעיר המשקל החממות תגלה צורת הגבורה; כי תנועת המלחמה שקולה במשקל המוסיקא. וזה מאמר ידוע אצל גיבורי המלחמה, ואף-על-פי שאין כל גבור יכול לספרה אלא אם יהיה מחודד ומשכיל בסודות המלחמה. ובעבור זה היו רבים מאנשי הגבורה, כשיבאו במלחמה⁸³, ישתו מעט יין לעורר התנועה, ולהעביר הדאגה והפחד אשר ימצאו, ויהיה⁸⁴ בתחלת בואו במלחמה ערוך, מפני

⁷⁴ is omitted in ed. pr.

⁷⁵ With P, Br, we omit והחושך of the ed.

⁷⁶ Ed.: והחולשה—והחולש'—והחולש.

⁷⁷ Ed.: which is evidently corrupt. We follow L. in adopting the reading of M, P.

⁷⁸ Ed. pr.: אקלידס, we follow B.

⁷⁹ Br: ארפיאוס; this reading was accepted by L., identifying the name with "Orpheus." Following a suggestion of Dr. Werner, that the name may be identified rather with "Ephorus," the sage, we maintained the reading of the ed. See also *infra*, Appendix I.

⁸⁰ Ed.: להשמר, וכשישמר. Despite the concordance of the MSS with the ed., we dare emend the text, because the context makes it clear that something is recommended to the soldier which stirs up his "natural heat." This can be either "alcohol" or "movement" (cf. Honain's introduction by Merkle, p. 39: "Dabei bewegen sie sich . . . um die Waerme in sich aufzunehmen"). We could also read להתנועע, וכשיתנועע.

⁸¹ is omitted in ed. pr.

⁸² That the text is mutilated appears from the unsatisfactory emendation in M, adopted by L. Our supplementation is required by the context, and explains the lacuna as a homoioteleuton.

⁸³ במלחמה is omitted in ed.

⁸⁴ Ed.: והיה, we follow P.

הדלקת היין, בחמימות היסודות. אם כן היין הוא עילה, תניעהו מחשבות בעלי המוסיקא ואל הגבורה, והגבורה תניע⁸⁵ בעלי הגבורה; כי כשתשלם המחשבה ותגמר, תירא⁸⁶ הצורה הנפלאה.

6. ואמר: השיעור המעט מן היין יעורר המחשבה, ויהיה ערבות הדיבור מתיקון המשקל, כי כל דבר שקול הוא ערב; ואפשר שיהיה ערבות הדיבור מדרקות הרוחות⁸⁷ המתקבצות.

HONEIN, CHAPTER 18

1. Ammonius reports that once, on the occasion of a banquet given by the King Heraclius in his son's honor, a great meeting of philosophers took place, wherein the king asked the musician to be present at the conversation, in order to ascertain what the philosophers would utter on the topic of music.

One of them said: "Music is such a sublime subject that the dialectical faculty is inadequate to its presentation, leaving the philosophers powerless. But the soul perceives that subject through the effect of melody. As soon as this sublime form becomes manifest, the soul rejoices in it, and yearns for it. Pay therefore attention to the soul, hearken to it, and restrain yourselves from the contemplation of the affairs of the transient world." (Cp. Dieterici, p. 145/1).

2. The second said: "The excellence of music is evident by the fact that it appertains to every profession, like a man of understanding who associates himself with everybody."

3. The third said: "Music coming from outside, moves the soul. Coming from inside, music moves the strings."

4. The fourth said: "The connection of tones in melodies is like the connection of air with air. But when one tone detaches

⁸⁵ Ed.: המוסיקא, which is evidently corrupt. Not much better is the reading of M, B: והתנועה תודיע, accepted, as it seems, in L.'s translation: "*Die Beweglichkeit zeugt von dem Mute.*" According to our emendation the text expresses the following idea: Wine is only an occasional cause of men's courageous acts; the real cause is the sublime form, the "idea" of courage, the Platonic "andria," aroused by means of musical rhythm.

⁸⁶ Ed.: תירא — תירא; cf. above: תולד צורה הגבורה.

⁸⁷ Ed. pr.: ברקות הכחות; ed. L.: ברקות הכחות. Our emendation is tacitly presupposed in L.'s translation: "... dass feine Luftkoerperchen ..."

itself, by being more or less than the other tones in pitch, there follows a disintegration, and it is like smoke and wind, moving right and left."

5. The musician was asked: "Why do the vibrations of the tones, the breaking of the notes, and their trilling in the throat render the recital sweet and pleasant, while something plainly told is not so pleasant?" He replied: "These breakings and vibrations make the recital acquire sweetness and grace, just as water that streams from the summits of mountains through the necks of rocks, tastes sweeter and is more refreshing than water that is gathered in the bowl of a lake or of a fountain."

6. One of the philosophers, whenever he was at a banquet, used to say to the musician: "Please move the soul toward its noble faculties, such as modesty, rectitude, kindness, courage, clemency, righteousness, and generosity." (Cf. Dieterici, pp. 146/3).

7. Once a philosopher went out for a walk accompanied by his disciple. They heard the voice of a guitar. The philosopher said to his disciple: "Let us approach the guitar; perhaps we can learn some sublime form" (Platonic idea). But as they came closer to the guitar, they perceived a bad tone and an inartistic song. The philosopher then said to his disciple: "The magicians and astrologers assert that the voice of an owl indicates death for man. Were this true, the voice of this man should indicate death for the owl." (Cf. Dieterici, pp. 146/5).

8. The fifth said: "Living in solitude, the soul sings plaintive melodies, whereby it reminds itself of its own superior world. The soul will then compose sublime compositions and rhythmical melodies. As soon as Nature sees this, and becomes aware of it, she presents herself, by all sorts of her images (sensuous beauties) introduced one by one, to the soul, until finally she succeeds in recapturing it. The soul will soon forsake that which constitutes its own essence, will be busy with the affairs of nature (worldly pleasures) and, unceasingly drawn away with Nature, will become with all of its faculties, entirely submerged in the ocean of nature." (Cf. *HUCA*, XVI, p. 285, n. 99.)

HONEIN, CHAPTER 19

At the time of Antophilus, an assembly of philosophers in great number met at the house of Favorinus the sage. The king sent his secretary to listen to the wise sentences of the sages and to collect and deposit those sayings in his treasury of wisdom.

1. Favorinus, the sage, said: "He who is capable of making such an accord between the motions of the soul and nature until they vibrate together like the accord of the motions of the four strings in a musical instrument — he will be the joy of the world, and its pleasures will be in harmony with his own pleasure. When he wishes to be joyful, his memory encompasses the pleasures of the world, pondering by what type he may obtain his desire."

2. The second said: "Melody possesses a sublime virtue; the dialectic faculty is inadequate to express it by means of dialectic terms. But the ear, as the natural organ of music, brings forth melody and, by its effect, brings the melody into the souls. These receive the melody from the ear by virtue of its specific nature. When the souls hear melody, they rejoice in it, so that as soon as the melody disappears, they remember it and yearn for it. They do not find rest until they have repeated the melody many times, by which repetition the soul finally finds rest, pleasantness, and relief."

3. The third said: "The rejoicing of the soul in a pleasant voice is of two sorts:

a) "Either the soul runs to and fro in search of the forms (Platonic ideas) out of its own essence, viz., the soul will submerge in its own ocean;

b) "or whatsoever of nature (the external world) may reach the soul, the latter will turn it into its own contents, will compare it with its own essence, and having achieved accord with it, the soul will rejoice in it, and will express it through a sublime form.

4. The fourth said: "The superiority of man over other animals consists in speaking and reasoning. A man, therefore, who remains silent and is without reason — becomes a beast."

5. Plato used to say: "Love between souls does not have to be restrained as does love between bodies."

6. He also used to say to the musician: "Show us the song of trees in their blossoms and the song of flower-beds in their various perfumes."

7. Plato used to say: "The swallow and all kinds of birds, as well as all kinds of horses and camels long and yearn for the voice of music."

8. King Alexander, the Great, did not drink much, and he seldom frequented banquets. Only when he was about to ponder a campaign against his enemies or an arrangement of his army for a battle, he would, as a rule, order that the strings of the harp be sounded. But as soon as his soul was submerged in the ocean of thought and meditation, he struck the shield between his hands with his sceptre.

He also said: "I found music useful in horse-racing, in arranging the shields, and in commanding the march of troops. I never stood in a battle without knowing by the rythm of my soul — viz., the harmony of its motions, on the one hand, and the rythm of my opponent on the other hand — whether I should win the battle or lose it."

9. Aristotle said: "These are the effects of music: It awakes the remote counsel, brings closer the stray thought, and strengthens the tired mind. Music, therefore, causes the return (to the soul) of that which was lost; it makes us pay attention to that which was neglected, and that which was turbid becomes clear. He who has been exposed to this beneficial influence participates in every counsel and opinion, and finds the right one without error. He also will fulfill his promises without delay."

10. Solon said: "I saw rams, during a song, blowing of trumpets, and dances, laying their heads low upon the ground, until they were asleep because of the pleasure that they felt in their soul."

11. Alexander, when he was a young man, sat once with his father and his courtiers in a tavern. A musician sang a song of love and coition, which led to the cohabitation of a courtier with a maid servant of the king. The king was angry, and said to the musician: "Do you not know that it is written: 'Bodies of free men shall not be coupled with the bodies of slaves, lest their offspring be bad ones'?" And it is also written: 'You shall not drink

wine, lest it alter your character and corrupt your mind.' " It was at that time that Aristotle said: "Were it not for his overwhelming magnificence of soul, we should say that the king were devoid of noble education accompanied by modesty. But we know that only the grandeur of his soul and the nobility of his spirit were the reason of his anger." The disciples then asked Aristotle: "Why was the king angry?" The master replied: "Because of the cohabitation between a noble person and a vile one, as well as because of the drinking of wine by a man who does not know its benefit and its danger."

12. Aristotle once heard a guitar player performing a melody, through which one could distinguish between virtues and vices. Aristotle then said: "How could nature possess the capacity to understand this, were it not for the soul?"

13. He also said: "Reasoning leads knowledge to a known object; but music leads to spiritual knowledge."

14. Titus (Suetonius?) reports that it was a custom of the Romans that, whenever the illness of a patient became aggravated, they would let him hear a melody, whereupon he would feel better.

15. Plato once said to a guitar-player who accompanied the music with his voice: "This voice is material, we do not need it." "Master," asked his disciples, "are you not material?" "Yes," replied Plato, "but my body is a servant of my intellect."

16. Plato said: "There are three sorts of pleasure. One of them consists in the sounding upon the harp which stirs up joy. The second pleasure is life which emanates from nature. The third is something intermediate between the previous two and consists in a movement toward (?) a living body. Before it is set in motion it remains a spirit (?) which belongs to the species of rest; but when it is set in motion, memory awakens it."

17. He also said: "Nature has to be under the leadership of the soul, for virtues and noble deeds belong to the soul."

18. He further said: "The form (idea) of evil, as long as it is moving hither but has not yet appeared, awakens fear. As soon as it becomes manifest, it awakens sadness. Likewise, the form of good, as long as it is moving hither but has not yet appeared, awakens joy. As soon as it becomes manifest, it awakens pleasure."

19. Aristotle once said to a pupil of his who was a musician: "Stimulate the form (disposition) of courage, do you understand?" Later, Aristotle said to him: "I see in you signs of understanding." "How then?" asked the pupil. "The proof of understanding," replied Aristotle, "is joy, and I see that you are joyful."

20. Plato said: "The happiness of the intellect consists in assiduous occupation with wisdom. The beatitude of the good person (*summum bonum*) consists, likewise, in conceiving of a multitude of the higher substances (the ideas). Always hold therefore to the conceptions of the intelligibles, and they will render intellect constant for you."

21. He also said: "Indication of the understanding of something is enjoyment. When connected with some sensations, such enjoyment becomes manifest."

22. Alexander asked Aristotle: "What may be the reason for my seeing men move in such accord through music that I cannot perceive any difference or division between them, nor will the movement of one precede that of the other?" Aristotle replied: "This is love (*eros*), namely its intellectual expression. For the intellectual lover does not need material expression to render sweet his words for his beloved object; but he will render sweet his heart, and he will signal to his beloved, by means of a smile on his lips or a wink of his eyes as well as by other invisible movements like those with the eye and the pupil and with hints. All of these are speaking interpreters but they are spiritual. The animal alone, in order to manifest his faint love, uses as his interpreter a material expression."

23. Plato said: "A man who is sorrowful and sad should listen to the melodies of a willing soul. For as soon as the soul becomes melancholy and sorrowful, its light goes out, but when the soul rejoices, its light shines and its brightness becomes visible. It (the soul?) will manifest affection in proportion to the receptive capacity of the recipient (of the melodies?), which capacity is according to his purity and to the extent that he is clean of adulation and resentment." (Cf. Dieterici, pp. 147/9).

24. Finally he said: "The professions are of three sorts: (1) Professions in which there is more speech than action;

(2) others in which there is more action than speech; (3) others again in which both speech and action concur in equal measure. A specimen of professions in which there is more speech than action, is the telling of stories and fables, which is accomplished by words and not by acts. The profession in which there is more action than speech is represented by the physician, whose deeds outweigh his speech. It is in the profession of music that action corresponds exactly to speech (sound). Music, therefore, is the best profession, since its speech (sounds) coincides entirely with its action, as in the case of a guitar player whose melody corresponds to his motions." (Cf. *supra* *HUCA*, XVI, p. 266.)

HONEIN, CHAPTER 20

1. Archytas said: "Truly we have made the strings of the lute four, corresponding to the natures (temperaments) of which man is composed, which natures are four. We have established that the *hissing* string (*Sorek*), termed "Zir," corresponds to courage, and courage corresponds to the yellow bile; that the *deutero* string (*Mishneh*), termed "Matnah," corresponds to justice, and justice corresponds to blood; that the *triple* string (*Mesulas*), termed "Matlat," corresponds to righteousness, and righteousness corresponds to the white humor (phlegm); that the *mute* string (*Illem*), termed "Bamm," corresponds to forgiveness and generosity (?), and forgiveness and generosity (?) correspond to the black bile (melancholy). From the second string follow gladness and joy; from the third string follow fear and cowardice; from the fourth string, corresponding to the black bile, follow sorrow. Sorrow and joy issue out of that which stirs up the respective temperament in the compound of the above mentioned natures. We have compared the *hissing* string and the third string to the yellow bile and the white humor, which correspond to the seasons of heat and of autumn, and are like courage and cowardice. We have further compared the second string and the fourth string to the blood and the black bile respectively, which are like the seasons of winter and spring, and they are like joy and sadness. For joy and sadness, like courage and cowardice, represent chang-

ing affections, as the fingers and the hands change their position on each of the strings of the guitar. To courage belong: Sovereignty, generosity, and kindness. To cowardice belong: Abasement, avarice, and vileness. To joy belong: Pleasure, love, and graciousness. To sadness belongs: Suspension of desire." (Cf. *HUCA*, XVI, p. 275/6.)

2. One of the sages said: "The apple of the eye is the mirror of the soul."

3. Another said: "A singer has to show by his song the essence of the soul; and a lute has to be attuned to a melody appropriate for it."

4. Euclid said: "Music is an art which connects every thing pertaining to the same species. Subduing the natures (temperaments), music stirs up that which is at rest, and brings to rest that which is restless."

5. Ephorus (?) mentioned a general principle derived from the experience of war, and said: "A warrior has to drink a strong drink when he reaches the battle line. If he has done so, he will be fit; if he does not do so, the fire in him will be extinguished, motion will stop, and the body will become cold to such an extent that he will appear like a man trembling and shivering. The channels (i. e., the bloodvessels) will be destroyed, and the warmth barred. But if he drinks and kindles ardor, that ardor will move by rhythm and burn. When rhythm has inflamed his ardor, the form (i. e., the Platonic "eidos") of courage appears. For the movement of war is conducted by the rhythm of music. This is a statement well known to the heroes of war, although not every brave warrior is able to explain it, unless he is acute and intelligent in the secrets of war. Many of the courageous men, therefore, used to drink a little wine when they came into the ranks, in order to stir up movement, and to get rid of fear and sorrow which they may have to meet. In this way, right at the beginning, as soon as they reach the battle line, they will be provided, by virtue of the heat resulting from wine, with the heat of the elements. Wine, therefore, is only an occasional cause, making it possible that the thought of the musician (i. e., the musical rhythm) should move him (the warrior) toward courage. But it is courage that moves the courageous man. For when the

mind has reached its final perfection, that sublime form becomes manifest."

6. He also said: "A small quantity of wine stimulates the mind (i. e., its rhythmical function), and causes pleasantness of speech as an effect of its rhythmical perfection; for every thing which is balanced is pleasant. But it may also be that the pleasantness of speech derives from the fineness of the assembled spirits."

B

SAADIA GAON

KITAB AL-AMANAT WA-L-ITIKADAT (Landauer, p. 317)

EMUNOT WE-DEOT, ed. Slucki, Leipzig 1864, p. 160

The passage in Saadia's *'Emunot we-De'ot*, dealing with music, came down to us in three different Hebrew versions: (1) In the well known translation of Judah Ibn Tibbon; (2) In the anonymous paraphrase of Saadia's work erroneously attributed to R. Berakya ha-Naqdan; (3) In a passage on music attributed to Abraham bar Ḥiyya in Jacob b. Hayyim's Commentary on the *Kuzzari*. It was Steinschneider's merit to have discovered that the passage is only another version, probably by Abraham b. Ḥiyya himself, of our Saadia passage (cf. *Hebraeische Bibliographie*, XIII, p. 36; I. Guttman's introduction to Abraham b. Ḥiyya's *Megillat ha-Megalle*, Berlin, 1924, p. 25; Malter, Saadia Gaon, p. 369).

The first version is given in several editions of Saadia's work, among which the ed. Slucki, Leipzig 1846, is that most frequently used for quotations. The third and second versions were published by Steinschneider in Graeber's *Bet Ozar ha-Sifrut*, Jaroslau 1887, p. XXX.

The text of Ibn Tibbon's version is given here according to the *editio princeps* (Constantinople 1562) which, in default of a critical edition, has to be regarded as containing the most nearly correct text. In our passage, especially, we avoid confusion by using the text of the ed. pr., reproduced correctly by the two

following edd., Amsterdam 1647 and Berlin 1789. The alteration of our text appears for the first time in ed. Fischel Leipzig 1859, followed by Slucki, 1864, and all the later editions.

Since Abraham b. Ḥiyya's version, except for a few variations, agrees almost entirely with that of Ibn Tibbon, it seemed to us improper to treat it here as an independent text. We preferred to indicate, in the notes to Ibn Tibbon's text, the variations of the third version. This method could hardly be applied to the second version, the paraphrase, the latter being essentially different from Ibn Tibbon's translation, in terminology as well as in arrangement. Moreover, the paraphrase version required special attention, since its text, published by Steinschneider is, as we shall see, in a badly mutilated state.

In the reconstruction of the paraphrase version given below, we were unable to use any Ms material, and must therefore rely entirely upon Steinschneider's mutilated text. Considerations of context and comparison with the other two versions have been our only critical instruments and resources.

Besides the three versions, there is a summary of our passage in Berakya ha-Naqdan's epitome of Saadia's work, included in *ספר המצורף*, published by H. Gollancz under the title *Ethical Treatises of Berachyah* . . . , London 1902. Our passage is epitomized in chap. 107, p. 98. A comparison with the three versions shows clearly that, in this segment at least, Berakya did not use the paraphrase, as is generally supposed, but partially copied the version attributed to Abraham b. Ḥiyya.

B 1

סעדיה גאון: האמונות והדעות, מאמר י'

וכן הקול הנפרד והנעימה הנפרדת והנגינה, לא יניעו ממדות הנפש כי אם דבר אחד בלבד, ופעמים יזיקוה. אבל המוגם ישוה מה שיראה ממדותיה וכחותיה. וראוי לך לדעת מעשיהם נפרדים עד שיהיה ⁸⁸[המזמור] כפיהם.

⁸⁸ Added according to the Arabic text, and Ibn Ḥiyya's version: כדי שיהיה המזמור על הענין ההוא (ההרכבה) (Cf. M. Ventura, *La Philosophie de Saadia Gaon*, Paris 1934, p. 327, who adds ההרכבה.)

ונאמר, כי הנגיות שמנה, לכל אחת מהם שיעור מהנעימות: הראשון מהם שיעור שלש נעימות סמוכות, אחת נעה ואחת נחה.⁸⁹ והשניה שלש נעימות [סמוכות],⁹⁰ אחת נחה ואחת נעה. ואלה השתי נגיות מניעים כח האדם (צ"ל: הדם),⁹¹ וכח המלכות והממשלה. והשלישית שיעור שתי נעימות סמוכות, אין ביניהם זמן נעימה, ואחת נחה; ובין כל השפל והגבה והשפל⁹² זמן נעימה. וזאת לבדה מעירה המרה האדומה והגבורה וחוק הלב ומה שדומה להם. והרביעית שיעור שלשה נעימות סמוכות, לא יהיה ביניהם זמן נעימה, וכן (צ"ל: ובין)⁹³ כל שלש ושלש זמן נעימה. וזאת לבדה מניעה הלחה הלבנה, ותראה מהנפש כח השפלות והכניעה והמורך והדומה לזה. והחמישית שיעור נעימה נפרדת, ושתי שונות זו מזו אין ביניהם זמן נעימה, ובין הגבה והשפל זמן נעימה. והששית שיעור שלש נעימות מתנועות. והשביעית שיעור שתי נעימות סמוכות, אין ביניהם זמן נעימה,⁹⁴ ובין כל שתי ושתי זמן נעימה. והשמינית שיעור שתי נעימות סמוכות, אין ביניהם זמן נעימה, ובין כל שתי ושתי זמן שתי נעימות. ואלה הארבע כולם מניעים המרה השחורה, ומראות מן הנפש מדות נחלקות, פעם

⁸⁹ So in ed. pr., and in the 2 following edd. (Ams. 1647, Berlin 1789). The later edd. have: שתיים סמוכות, ואחת נעה. Guttman's remark (p. 287, N. 1), that according to the Arab. text we have to read: שלש נעימות סמוכות, shows that he did not use any of the 3 earlier eds. mentioned above, when he was working on this difficult passage. On the other hand, there is still a discrepancy between our text and the Arabic at the end, because the latter has שלש נעימות סמוכות ואחת נעה, as it appears really in Ibn Ḥiyya's version: שלשה נגונים והא שוכנת. The reading of the later edd., accepted by Guttman: follows neither the Arabic text nor the other Hebrew versions, and must disappear in a critical edition.

⁹⁰ Added according to the Arabic text (Guttman, *ibid.*, N. 2).

⁹¹ According to the Arabic text; so also Ibn Ḥiyya's version: יעירו כח הדם והשולטנות. Incidentally, the use of שולטנות instead of מלכות, as well as the use of שוכנת instead of Tibbon's נחה (cf. note 2), may indicate Ibn Ḥiyya's tendency to cling to the Arabic sounds.

⁹² Despite the complete accord between the Hebrew and the Arabic text, Guttman suggests 2 emendations: 1. נחה instead of געה; 2. [והגבה]. שפל והגבה. But the 2 other versions have also שוכנת resp. שוכנת corresponding to שפל. The paraphrase has also שחיות ... והרמתו ושחיותו corresponding to שפל. Ibn Ḥiyya's version in this point is mutilated: והגבה; שוכנת (?). והשפלה כשיעור ...

⁹³ Cf. Guttman, N. 6. Ibn Ḥiyya's version sounds: שיעור שלשה וששית. Steinschneider's amendment הפסק is not satisfactory. I suggest the reading ש'יעור נ'נינה א'חת as abbreviation of שניא שיעור.

⁹⁴ Ibn Ḥiyya's text here has a lacuna or homoioteleuton, and probably read: שיעור ננינה אחת [ובין כל שתי ושתי שיעור ננינה אחת]. והשמינית שיעור בשתי נגיות זו אחר זו, אין ביניהם שיעור ננינה אחת [ובין כל שתי ושתי שיעור כשתי נגיות].

אל השמחה ופעם אל הראגה. וממנה המלכים למזוג קצתם עם קצתם עד שתשתייה, ויהיה מה שתגיענה ממדות, בשמעה אותם, כפי מה שיישיב נפשם להנהגת המלכות, ולא יוציאם אל הרבוי ברחמים או באכזריות, ולא בגבורה ולא במורד, ולא בתוספת ובחסרון בשמחה.

SAADIA GAON (IBN TIBBON)

Likewise an isolated (single) sound, an isolated tone (melodic unit), or isolated melody or mode moves but one of the dispositions of the soul, with the result that, through them, the soul may sometimes be exposed to danger. But a mixture of these sounds, tones, and the like will harmonize the manifestations of the soul's dispositions and powers (passions). It is needful to know the effects of these isolated modes in order to combine them properly.

We say that melodies (modes, *niggunim*) are of eight forms, each one of them having a certain number (measure) of tones (melodic units, beats, *ne'imot*). The first melody consists of three beats (tones) tied together (contiguous), one in motion and one at rest. The second mode consists likewise of three beats tied together, one resting and the other moving. These two modes stir up the ardor of the blood and consequently the passion for rulership and domination.

The third mode consists of two beats — one resting — tied together, between which there is no time for another beat. But between every low, high, and low, there is time for one beat. This mode is the only one that stimulates the bile and consequently awakens the virtues of fortitude, courage, and the like.

The fourth mode consists of three beats tied together, between which there is no time for a single beat; but there is time for a beat between every group of three beats. This is the only mode that stimulates the white humor (phlegm), and consequently makes manifest the disposition of vileness, servility, cowardice and the like.

The fifth mode consists of one single tone, and two different tones between which there is no time for a tone (beat). But, between the rising inflection (acuteness?) and the falling inflection (graveness), there is time for a tone (beat).

The sixth mode consists of three tones in motion.

The seventh mode consists of two contiguous tones (beats), without time for a beat (tone) between them; but with an interval of one tone between every two tones.

The eighth mode consists of two contiguous tones between which there is no interval of a tone but, between every two tones, an interval of two tones.

The last four modes affect the black bile and lead to the manifestation of various dispositions of the soul — at times to joy and, at other times, to sorrow.

Kings therefore have the custom of seeking, by means of a suitable intermingling of modes, to produce within themselves a harmonious balance; so that these melodies may stimulate such dispositions as kings find helpful, causing them to be neither too merciful nor too cruel, neither too aggressive nor too timid (weak), neither too much nor too little given to pleasure. (Cf. *supra* HUCA, XVI, p. 300–302.)

B 2

סעדיה גאון (תרגום קדום)

וכן נעימות⁹⁵ הניגון, כגון⁹⁶ שהזמר בניגון אחד וניעועה יבובה אחת, בעת ההיא יעורר⁹⁷ מן הנפש גילה אחת לבד, אבל כשימנו זה עם זה ויחברו זה עם זה, יתעורר⁹⁸ מן הנפש גילות ורגנות שוות⁹⁹ ומשובחות כהוגן וכשורה. וראוי שאפרש כמה הם אופני¹⁰⁰ הניגון, וחנוכיה¹⁰¹, והמחברים.

⁹⁵ Since the usual term for tone (melodic unit) in our translation is ניעוּעָה (about 17 times), I suspect that the term נעימה (only three times) is not authentic in this passage, and owes its insertion to the influence of Ibn Tibbon's translation, with which the copyist was acquainted.

⁹⁶ T. כיון, is hardly correct. The reading כדור — כלו is possible.

⁹⁷ T. יעורר, undoubtedly erroneous; יעורר corresponds to the following ויחברו, ימנו.

⁹⁸ T. יתעורר, certainly: יתעורר.

⁹⁹ T. I left the שוות, although I should prefer שונות "various," opposite to אחת, one or uniformity.

¹⁰⁰ T. אופנים מהננון, the reading אופנים is also possible.

¹⁰¹ T. והנעימתן, makes no sense. Our correction is based upon the context as well as upon the graphic affinity of the two words. The copyist was not acquainted with the terminology of our translator, and did not understand

ואומר: הניגון על ג' פנים, לכל אחד ואחד שיעור מבואר וניגון ידוע: הראשון יש לו שלשה נענועות,¹⁰² (וב' נעימות),¹⁰³ תכיפות מחוברות. והשני יש לו שלשה נענועות תכיפות מחוברות,¹⁰⁴ אחת שחוחה ואחת מנוענת. ושתי הנענועות הללו מעוררות¹⁰⁵ את הנפש ברוח¹⁰⁶ גודל ומלכות וגבורה. והשלישי (והד')¹⁰⁷ משני¹⁰⁸ נענועות תכיפות, ואין ביניהם ריוח כדי זמן יכיבה אחת, אלא שתיהן תכיפות ביחד, אחת שחוחה ושפלה. ובין שחוחות הניגון הרמתו ושחוחותו ריוח כדי זמן ניענועה אחת. והרביעי שיעורו שלשה נענועות תכיפות מחוברות, ואין ביניהם ריוח כדי זמן ניענועה אחת.¹⁰⁹ ואלו הניגונים מעוררים יכולת הלח והרוטב שבאדם; ובשעה ההיא תתעורר הנפש ברוח שחוח ותחנן והכנעה. והחמישי, ניגון ששיעורו ניענוע אחת ושתי יביבות מופרדות, אין ביניהם ריוח כדי זמן ניענוע אחרת. ובין שחוחות הקול והרמתו ושחוחותו ריוח כדי זמן ניענוע אחרת. והששי ניגון ששיעורו ג' ניענועות [מנוענות].¹¹⁰ והז', [ניגון]¹¹¹ ששיעורו שתי ניענועות תכופות זו עם זו, ואין ביניהם ריוח כדי ניענוע אחת; וואחר כל שתי ניענועות ריוח כדי ניענוע אחת.¹¹² והשמיני, ניגון ששיעורו שתי ניענועות, ואין ביניהם כדי ניענוע אחת; ואחר כל שתי ניענועות ריוח כדי שתי ניענועות יבובות שתיהן יחד. אלו הניגונים והניענועים מעוררים¹¹³

the term חינוך used here in the sense of habit, disposition. He confounded the word with the term נעימות, with which he was acquainted through Ibn Tibbon's translation (cf. note 1).

¹⁰² T. נענועים, but with the exception of נונים ונענועים our text constantly uses the fem. ending.

¹⁰³ T. נעימות. The term נעימות awakens the suspicion of later insertion (cf. note 95). I suppose that originally it was a marginal note וב', indicating that the *second mode* also consists of three contiguous tones. A later copyist, influenced by Ibn Tibbon's translation, read ושתי, adding נעימות.

¹⁰⁴ Missing in T. on account of homoioteleuton. Since the phrases תכיפות מחוברות, and אחת ניענוע אחת are repeated many times in this small passage, we need not wonder that a careless copyist, as the writer of Steinschneider's *Vorlage* seems to have been, frequently committed the error of homoioteleuton.

¹⁰⁵ T. מעורערת.

¹⁰⁶ T. ברוב, but a comparison with the following ברוח שחוח makes evident the validity of our correction.

¹⁰⁷ The word 'והד' seems to be a marginal gloss (cf. note 103).

¹⁰⁸ T. השני.

¹⁰⁹ Missing in T. (cf. note 104).

¹¹⁰ Corresponds with מתנועעות by Ibn Tibbon, cf. above מנוענת. The copyist, unacquainted with this form, believed he had a repetition of ניענועות and omitted it.

¹¹¹ Missing in T., but required by the context.

¹¹² Missing in T. (cf. note 104).

¹¹³ T. הנעדרים, makes no sense.

חינוכים¹¹⁴ הרבה, פעם לשמחה פעם לדאגה. לכך¹¹⁵ מנהג המלכים שהם מחברים הניגונים זה עם זה כדי שיהיו נעימות(?)¹¹⁶ הניגון שוים¹¹⁷, ויעוררו מחינוכי הנפש דברים משובחים ומהוללים, למען יצליחו בחינוכיהם, ותסור מהם הוות¹¹⁸ חינוך אחר, וימוש מלבם רוגז תאוה אחרת, ויעדה מהם יתרת חשק, אהבה, גילה, או יתרת¹¹⁹ תוגה.

B 3

סעדיה גאון, (מיוחס לר' אברהם ן' חייא), אוצר הספרות, גראבר, תרמ"ז

ויתכן לך לדעת מקום (צ"ל: מקורם) סימני הקולות המפורדים, כדי שתהיה המזיגה על הענין ההוא. ואלו התנועות הם שמונה, לכל אחד מהם שיעור הניגון. הראשונה, שיעורה שלשה ניגונים, שהאחד (צ"ל: והאחת) שוכנת (ונחה)^{119a}. והשנית, שלשה ניגונים, אחת שוכנת ואחת נעה. ואלו השתים יעירו כח הדם והשולמנות. והשלישית, שיעורה שתי תנועות, זו אחר זו, אין ביניהם אחרת, ואחת שוכנת; והגבהה (צ"ל: ובין הגבהה) והשפלה כשיעור נגינה אחת. וזה יניע המרה האדומה, והחזק והגבורה, ומה שהיה (צ"ל: שהוא) דומה להם. והרביעית, שיעורה שלשה ניגונים זה אחר זה, אין ביניהם הפסק; ובין כל שלשה ושלשה שיפת (צ"ל: ש' נ' א') – שיעור נגינה אחת. וזה יניע הליחה הלבנה, ויראה מן הנפש החולשה והבכי, ומה שהוא כיוצא בו. והחמישית, שיעורה אחת מופרדת ושתיים זו אחר זו, אין ביניהם הפסק; ובין השפלה והגבהה שיעור נגינה אחת. והששית, שיעורה שלש נגירות נחות ונעות (צ"ל: מתנועות). והשביעית, שיעורה שתי נגירות זו אחר זו, אין ביניהם נגינה אחת. ובין כל שתיים שיעור נגינה אחת. והשמינית, שיעורה שתי נגירות זו אחר זו, אין ביניהם שיעור נגינה אחת, ובין כל שתיים ושתיים שיעור כשתי נגירות. ואלה הארבעה כלנה יניעו המרה השחורה, ויראו מן הנפש עיניים מתחלפים, פעמים אל השמחה פעמים אל הדאגה.

¹¹⁴ is a well known term for education or exercise, and is frequently used in this sense by talmudic scholars, but it is almost unknown in philosophical circles in the sense of moral habit or psychological disposition, as is its use here. This proves that our translator belongs to the talmudic rather than to the philosophical circle.

¹¹⁵ T. וכן, but the context requires מן.

¹¹⁶ Cf. note 10.

¹¹⁷ Here too I should prefer שוים (cf. note 199).

¹¹⁸ הוה = danger, bad intention (cf. Ps. 38.13; 57.2).

¹¹⁹ T. תיגה, error caused by confusion with the following תוגה.

^{119a} ונחה is in all likelihood a later explanation of the term שוכנת.

ומנהג המלכים המזיג (צ"ל: למזוג) את אלו התנועות זו עם זו, כדי שיהיה מרצונם, בשמעם את הניגון השיעור מתג (צ"ל: בשיעור מזוג), להנהיג את ממלכתם במשקל, לא יהיו ביותר רחמנים ולא הרבה אכזריים, או למאד גבורים או יותר מדאי חלשים, ולא יחסר ששונם ולא הרבה (צ"ל: תרבה) דאגתם.

B 4

ספר החיבור וספר המצרף, עמ' 98:

וכן הקולות הנפרדים והנגינות ינועו מכח הנפש דבר אחד בלבד והרבה הוא מוֹק לאדם. אבל כשיתמזגו ויתערבו יראו לנפש תקון וחיוק. וכן התנועות שהם מן הקולות מזיגתם על הענין ההוא לפי שיעורם מן הניגון, ולפי נוחם וניעתם ינועו המרות והדם והמלכות והשלטנות, פעמים אל הגבורה ופעמים אל השפלות, ופעמים אל השמחה ופעמים אל האנחה. ומנהג המלכים להמזיג את אלו התנועות זו עם זו, כדי שיהיה מרצונם בשמעם את הניגון להנהיג את ממלכתם במשקל, ולא יהיו ביותר רחמנים ולא הרבה אכזריים, או למאד גבורים ולא יותר מדי חלשים, ולא יחסר ששונם ולא ירבה דאגתם.^{119a}

C

MOSES MAIMONIDES

Scattered remarks relating to music can be found in almost all of his philosophical works, beginning with the earliest treatise, *Millot ha-Higayon*, down to his most mature *Moreh Nebukim*. In fact, in the classification of sciences outlined in the fourteenth chapter of the *M.H.*, mention is made of "the science of the composition of melodies, called music"; and in the *M.N.*, as is generally known, an entire chapter (II, 8) is devoted to the refutation of the theory of "*musica mundana*." But, as was to be expected, Maimonides' attitude toward music found its expression chiefly in his ethical work, the Commentary on Tractate *Abot* (I, 15). Repeating his thought, Maimonides developed it in a *responsum* which we reproduce as our first Maimonidean item.

^{119a} The underscored terms and sentences are identical with the corresponding terms and sentences in the third version (cf. above).

I. Although no date is given, it is certain that the *responsum* was written after 1190, since it quotes the last part of the *Moreh Nebukim*.

The Arabic text with a German translation was published for the first time in 1873 by Goldzieher (*MGWJ*, 1873, 174/184). A. Schmiedl made a Hebrew translation, and published it together with the Arabic original in Graeber's "*Beth Ozar ha-Saphruth*," I, 1887, pp. XXVII-XXIX. Schmiedl's Hebrew text is reproduced in חשבוות הרמב"ם, ed. Freimann, Jerusalem 1934, N. 370, pp. 338 ff. For other references, see Freimann ad loc., and Boaz Cohen, *The Responsum of Maimonides Concerning Music*, N. Y., 1935.

II. The second Maimonidean item is taken from the *Eight Chapters* ed. Corfinkle, 30/31 (Heb.), 69/70 (Engl.) which includes a statement in certain respects supplementary to that contained in the previous item.

Since both items are accessible to scholars in good critical editions and are also reproduced almost entirely in English translation in our study above (*HUCA*, XVI, pp. 313-315), we think it superfluous to publish them here again.

D

FALAQUERA, SHEM-TOB BEN JOSEPH

(Spain, about 1225-1295)¹²⁰

This prolific author, "a living encyclopaedia of the sciences of his time" produced, among several philosophical treatises, two compendia of science and philosophy:

The first, composed in his youth (about 1250), entitled: ראשית חכמה¹²¹ (*Introduction to Science*) contains, in the second part, dealing with the "Number of the Sciences" (במספר החכמות),

¹²⁰ About Falaquera, see: Munk S., *Melanges etc.*, Paris 1839, 494 ff.; Steinschneider M., CB, 2537 ff.; *Die hebr. Uebersetzungen etc.*, pp. 37 ff.; Graetz (Hebrew), V, 206 ff.; Guedemann M., *Das juedische Unterrichtswesen waehrend der spanisch-arabischen Periode*, Vienna 1873, 155 ff.; Malter H., Shem Tob ben Joseph Palquera, in *JQR* (1910-1911), 151 ff.

¹²¹ Critical edition, by Dr. M. David, Berlin 1902.

a handbook of the sciences which is almost a literal translation of Al-Farabi's *Ihsa al-ulum* (*Classification of the Sciences*).¹²²

The second, composed in his more mature age (1264), entitled המבקש¹²³ (*The Seeker*) contains an outline of the principles of the sciences in form of a *maqama*, in which F. lets the seeker arrange a series of interviews with the outstanding representatives of the various sciences, asking each of them for information in his special field.

In both treatises, the science of music has its place after astronomy with the difference, however, that in his earlier work, F. follows entirely, almost verbatim, Al-Farabi while, in his later work, F. uses, in addition, other Arabic and Hebrew sources and follows chiefly the *Ikhvan es-Safa*.

Thanks to the excellent publication of Al-Farabi's text by Farmer,¹²⁴ we are fortunately in a position to establish the relationship between Falaquera and the various Arabic texts designated by Farmer W, X, and Z, as well as the relationship between Falaquera and Joseph Ibn Aqnin, pupil of Maimonides, who in the 27th chapter of his *Tabb al-Nufus* has also copied Al-Farabi.¹²⁵ We were able to obtain the following results:

Falaquera follows almost verbatim the Escorial Ms (W) which can be considered typical for the *maghribi* (western, Spanish) redaction of Al-Farabi's treatise, while Ibn Aqnin follows almost entirely the Constantinople Ms (Z) and Al-Irfan (X), both representing the eastern redaction of the same treatise. No wonder, therefore, that in our notes to the texts, we shall often

¹²² Cf. Efros I., Palquera's *Rešit Hokmah* and Alfarabi's *Ihsa al-Ulum* (*JQR*, Vol. 25, pp. 227 ff.); Straus Leo, *Eine vermisste Schrift Farabi's* (*Mntschr.* Vol. 80, 96 ff.).

¹²³ Ed. pr. Hague 1778. We used the second ed. Aleppo 1867.

¹²⁴ Farmer H. G., *Al-Farabi's Arabic-Latin Writings in Music*, Glasgow 1934.

¹²⁵ Ibn Aqnin's Arabic text was published in Hebrew letters by Guedemann as an Appendix to his above mentioned work; pp. 32-33 contain the section referring to music. A facsimile from the unique Oxford MS (Cod. Hunt 318) of the pages containing the musical section is added to Farmer's work. That Falaquera and Ibn Aqnin used a common source, was pointed out by Guedemann and Steinschneider, but the latter alone recognized Al-Farabi as the common source.

have occasion to point out the agreement between Falaquera and the Latin translation of *Ihsa al-ulum*, published by Farmer since, like Falaquera, the Latin translators certainly used the *maghribi* text.

D 1

שם טוב נ' פלקירא

ראשית חכמה, ברלין תרס"ב, עמ' 46-47

הפרק החמישי. בחכמת הנגון: וחכמת הנגון נחלקת לשני חלקים: האחד חכמת הנגון המעשית: והשני חכמת הנגון העיונית. וחכמת הנגון המעשית היא, אשר דרכה שתמצא מיני הנגונים מורגשים בכלי זמר אשר להם, בטבע או במלאכה. והכלי הטבעי הוא הגרון, ואברי הפה, ומה שהוא סמוך להם מה אף: ¹²⁶ והמלאכותי: כמו הכינורות והנבלים וזולתם. ובעל חכמת הנגון המעשית יצייר הנעימות והנגונים וכל השגותיהם ¹²⁷ מצד שהם בכלים, אשר הורגלו ללקחם מהם. והעיונית ¹²⁷ תתן ידיעתם, והן סבות ¹²⁸ מושכלות, ותתן סבות כל מה שיתחברו ממנו הנגונים, לא מפני שהם בחומר אלא על דרך כלל, ומצד שהם מופשטים מכל כלי ומכל חומר; ותקח אותם מצד שהם נשמעים על דרך כלל, מאיזה כלי שיוזמן ומאי זה גוף יוזמן.

וחכמת הנגון העיונית נחלקת אל חלקים גדולים חמשה. האחד, המאמר בהתחלות, וההתחלות (= והן ההתחלות) ¹²⁹ אשר דרכם שימשו אותה (אותן?) בהוציא זו החכמה, ¹³⁰ והיאך הדרך בשמוש ¹³¹ אלו

¹²⁶ Fal. paraphrases the Arabic text which reads: "Natural instruments are: the larynx, and the uvula, and what is in them, and then the nose" (s. Farmer, p. 14, and n. 2).

¹²⁷ We have here an allusion to the definition of music, given by Arist Quintilianus (Jahn, p. 3): "*μουσική ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη μέλους καὶ τῶν περὶ μέλους συμβαίνοντων*".

¹²⁸ The word *sebab* does not appear in any Arabic text, and seems to be an explanatory addition of Fal., alluding to the known definition of "episteme" as knowledge based upon "logos" (reason=intelligible cause). One Latin text (D) has also: "et (dat) *rationes*" (F. 14, 25).

¹²⁹ The Arab. text is uncertain. W. followed by Ibn Akin reads (ואלאקאוויל) "opinions"; but Fal., like the Latin texts (F. 26), follows X and Z: "and the fundamentals", interpreting it: "namely such principles" (s. Farmer, 15, n. 1).

¹³⁰ Cp. Lat. (A): "in inventione"; F. translates "in elucidation"; all texts have: "what is *in this science*" (*eius quod est in hac scientia*).

¹³¹ Ed.: בשמש.

ההתחלות, ובאיזה דרך תחודש זו המלאכה,¹³² ובאי זה דבר מן הדברים, ומכמה דברים תשלם, והיך צריך שיחקור האדם אותם.¹³³ והשני, המאמר¹³⁴ בשרשי זו המלאכה, והוא המאמר בהוציא הנעימות, וידיעת מספר הנעימות¹³⁵ וכמה מיניהם; ויבאר ערך קצתם לקצתם, והראיות בכל זה, והמאמר¹³⁶ במיני הנחותיהם וסידוריהם, אשר בהם תהיינה ממוצעות,¹³⁷ למען יקח הלוקח מהם מה שירצה וירכיב מהם הנגונים. והשלישי, המאמר בהסכמת מה שיתבאר בשרשים, במאמרות ובראיות על מיני כלי המלאכה, אשר יזכרו להם, והמצאתם כלם בהם, והנחתם בהם על השעור והסדר המבואר בשרשים.¹³⁸

והרביעי, המאמר במיני הנגונים¹³⁹ הטבעיים, אשר הם משקלות הנעימות. והחמישי, בחבור הנגונים השלמים,¹⁴⁰ והם המונחים במאמרות השיריות, המחבורות על ערך וסדר, ואיכות מלאכתם,¹⁴¹ כפי כל כוונה וכוונה מכוונות הנגון, ויודיע¹⁴² הנגונים,¹⁴³ אשר בהם תהיינה מופלגות ונמרצות, בהגיע אל הכוונה, אשר בעבודה נעשו.

¹³² F. translates here also "elucidated"; all Lat. texts have "inventa."

¹³³ So the Lat. texts B and F: "et qualiter oportet inquiri." Farmer follows Lat. A: "et qualiter oportet ut si inquisitor."

¹³⁴ Ed.: במאמר.

¹³⁵ So the Lat. texts B and F: "et cognitione numerum . . ." The Arab. text has: "and the knowledge of the constitution of the notes and their number" (Farmer, 15, n. 2). In Ibn Akin's text, there is a homoioteleuton here: פי אסתכראו אל נום [ומערפה אל נום] כם ה'.

¹³⁶ We follow here the reading of C: והמאמר (ed.: והמאמרות) in correspondence with the Arabic and Lat. texts.

¹³⁷ ממוצע means equidistant from the two given extremes (cp. Maimonides, Eighth Chapters, chap. IV: המעשים . . . הממוצעים). Neither "facilitated" nor "concordant" (Farmer, 15, n. 3) is exact.

¹³⁸ Like the Lat. texts, P. follows X and Z (Farmer, 15, n. 5).

¹³⁹ The arab. texts, including Ibn Akin, have: "Iqaat," and accordingly the Lat. texts: "casus." נגונים means also here probably not "melodies," but "rhythms."

¹⁴⁰ The Arab. text reads: "composition creating of the melodies in general and with the creating of the perfect . . ." The passage left out by homoioteleuton is also missing in Ibn Akin's text, where it was supplemented by a latter hand on the margin. The passage is also missing in two of the Lat. texts (Farmer, 30).

¹⁴¹ Like all the Lat. texts, Fal. follows here W (cf. Farmer, 16, note 1).

¹⁴² Here too, P. has a common text with the Lat.: "docet" (cf. Farmer, 16, n. 2).

¹⁴³ Follows W. Since we have seen (above, n. 139) Fal. using the term נגונים in the sense of *rhythm* or *beats*, it is probable that here also the term is used in this sense. Lat. texts have: "dispositiones" (cf. Farmer, 16, n. 2).

SHEM-TOB FALAQUERA (circ. 1225–1290)

RESHIT ḤOKMAH, Berlin 1902, pp. 46, 47

Part II, Section 6, Chapter 5

Concerning the Science of Music

The science of music is divided into two parts. The first of these is the science of practical music, while the second is the science of theoretical music.

The science of practical music performs the task of devising various kinds of melodies perceptible through musical instruments suitable for those melodies either by nature or by artifice. Natural instruments are the throat and *the organs of the mouth and the adjacent part of the nose*. Artificial instruments are such as guitars (כינורות) and flutes (ובלים) and the like. The practical musician devises the tones (notes) and the melodies and all of their accessories (accidents), in so far as these reside in the instruments customarily employed in their performance.

Theoretical music provides the knowledge of notes and melodies, that is to say, the awareness of their intelligible causes. It discloses the sources of everything out of which melodies are composed; not insofar as these melodies exist in a certain piece of matter, but considered generally and in abstraction from any instrument or material object — contemplated from the general angle of being heard and as separate from any instrument or body whatsoever.

The science of theoretical music is divided into five major parts:

The first of these parts deals with the principles which have to be applied if the science of music is to be utilized. Theoretical music also indicates in what *way* these principles have to be used, in what way the art (of music) arises, and from what things and from how many things it is constructed, and how it has to be investigated by man.

The second part deals with the art's rudiments. That is to say, it treats the derivation of the tones (notes), together with the numbers of the tones, their species and the proportions (ratios) that obtain between them. For all of this, it also supplies

the proofs. It further embraces discourse about the various positions which tones occupy and about the arrangements by which they can be tempered, in order that a person might take from those tones what he desires and combine them into melodies.

The third part treats the compatibility of the rudiments with that which the rudiments explain. It embraces propositions and demonstrations with regard to the different types of musical instruments prepared for those rudiments. It considers the invention of instruments with reference to those rudiments and the setting of the rudiments with reference to the instruments — all according to the measures (ratios) and the arrangements explained in the part dealing with the rudiments.

The fourth part deals with the various kinds of natural melodies (rythms) by which the tones (notes) are measured.

The fifth part deals with the composition of melodies brought to perfection, namely, those set to poetical verses (speeches), according to order and proportion; the verses corresponding, in the manner of their technique (art), with the respective aims (intents) of the melodies. This part also makes known the melodies and rythms by means of which the verses become more impressive and effective, as they attain the object for which they are devised.

D 2

שם טוב ו' פלקירא

ספר המבקש, ארם צובא, תרכ"ז, דף ל"ט, ע"ב-מ', ע"א

ויהי כאשר כלה המבקש לדבר עם בעל חכמת הכוכבים, הלך לדרוש חכם בחכמת הגנון, וימצא איש מתבודד לדעת עיקר זאת החכמה, והיה אבי כל תופש כנור ועוגב.¹⁴⁴ ויאמר לו המבקש: אדוני, המשמח אלהים ואנשים¹⁴⁵ בכלי זמר, אחלה פניך, שתודיעני עיקר זאת החכמה, ומה תועלתה? ולמה דקדקו בה אנשים חכמים וידועים?

השיב הגנוני: דע, בני! כי אחת מהסבות שהמצא¹⁴⁶ החכמים חכמת הגנון,

¹⁴⁴ Gen. 4.21.

¹⁴⁵ Jud. 9.13.

¹⁴⁶ Ed.: שהוציאו.

מפני שהם היו משמשים אותה בהכלי עבודותיהם,¹⁴⁷ כשהיו מקריבים קרבנותיהם, והיו מזמרים¹⁴⁸ גנונים בתפלותיהם, ובשבח הבורא יתברך ויתעלה. מהם, גנון ייגה הלב עד שיבכה¹⁴⁹ שומעו ויתנחם מחטאיו וישוב מהם; והמציאו גנון אחר, יחזק הלב במלחמה ויזהיר על הגבורה;¹⁵⁰ והמציאו גנון אחר, ינגו אותו בבתי החולים, יקל החולים כוּבֵר חלים,¹⁵¹ וכן מינים אחרים מהגנון. וזו החכמה נחלקת לשני חלקים:¹⁵² האחד, חכמת הגנון המעשית, והיא תמצא מיני הגנונים מוחשים בכלי זמר, ככנורות והנבלים וזולתם. והשנית, חכמת הגנון העיונית, והיא תודיע הגנונים בכלל, ומופשטים מכל כלי ומכל חומר, ותעיין בהם מצד שהם נשמעים מאיזה כלי שיוזמן, ותבאר כמה מיני הנעימות, וערך קצתם לקצתם, ואיך יתחברו הגנונים. והגנון¹⁵³ הוא נעימות זו אחר זו בלי הפסק. והנעימות קולות שוות. והקולות שני מינים: יש מורים, כד יבור¹⁵⁴ האדם, ומהם שאינם [מורים], כשחוק והבכי. והקול הוא הכאת הגופים אלו לאלו, תתחדש באויר מהקול. וביאור

¹⁴⁷ The significance of music in religious worship, is also pointed out by Ibn Akin (Guedemann, 89) who, however, can hardly be considered as a source of Falaquera. The same thought is to be found, in an incidental remark on this subject, in the Arabic introduction to Honain's "*Kitāb 'Adab al-Falasifa*" (s. Merkle, pp. 39, 51). Loew's doubt (p. 35) whether Fal. used the Arabic text of Honain's work, is devoid of any warrant. Obviously, the main source seems to be the Encyclopedia of the *Iḥwān al-Ṣafā* (cf. Dieterici, p. 102).

¹⁴⁸ Ed.: אומרים.

¹⁴⁹ Ed.: שיפנה.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Honain (text A), chap. 20, #5 *Iḥwān es-Ṣafā* (Dieterici, p. 104).

¹⁵¹ Cf. Honain, chap. 19, #14, and the sources cited by Loew., 81, n. 1. Ibn Aqin mentions music as medicine only for "diseases of the soul" (Guedemann 98), in accordance with his great teacher, Maimonides (s. text C, 2). The whole passage, indicating the advantage of music in worship, in war, and in therapy, shows a striking analogy to Gundissalinus, *De divisione philosophiae* (ed. by Baur L., Muenster 1903), p. 101: "... sicut enim in veneratione divina hymni.... In preliis quoque... Unde et utilis est ad salutem corporis..." Gundissalinus' sources for this passage are, according to Baur, Isidor, *Etymologiae*, and Al-Farabi, *De Ortu Scientiarum*. Did Falaquera use Latin sources? We have no reason a priori to exclude that possibility. In all likelihood, however, Gundissalinus as well as Fal. depend upon "Iḥwān es-Safa" (cp. Dieterici, pp. 102/3). (Cf. *supra*, *HUCA*, XVI, p. 272, n. 62.)

¹⁵² Ll. 12-17 are almost a literal recapitulation of Fal.'s own exposition in his earlier work *חכמה ראשית*.

¹⁵³ The definition of melody, tones, as well as the description of the voice as a physical phenomenon, is taken from the *Iḥwān es-Safa* (Dieterici, pp. 104-105), and from Avicenna. Here too, the question of Latin sources has to be investigated.

¹⁵⁴ Ed.: בדבור.

זה, כי האויר לחזק דקותו, וקלות עצמותו,¹⁵⁵ ומהירות תנועתו, הוא נכנס בכלל הגופים כלם, וכשיכה גוף לגוף אחר, ידלג אותו האויר מביניהם, והוא נדחה לכל הפאות,¹⁵⁶ ויתחדש מתנועתו תבנית כדורית, ויתרחב כמו שיתרחב כלי הזכוכית מפניחת הזגג, וכל מה שיתרחב אותו התבנית תחלש תנועתו, ומי שיהיה¹⁵⁷ קרוב לו מבעלי חיים, יכנס אותו האויר באזניו, וישמע תנועתו. וכל י¹⁵⁸ הגנון הטבעי הוא הגרון.

אמר לו המבקש: ומה תועלת זאת החכמה? ומה כונת החכמים בה? השיב הגנוני: מפני שהחכמים נסו בחכמתם, כי יש לאלו הגנונים – כשהיו ביחס השלם – רשומים בנפשות השומעים, כרשומי המרקחות שעושים אותם לחולאים; ומפני שאמרו, כי יש לגלגלים והכוכבים בתקופותיהם נעימת משמחים וגנונים ערבים;¹⁵⁹ ושהנפש, כשתשמע גנון שווההחבור ושקול בשקל ישר תתענג בו ותשמח, ותשתוקק ליוצרה, ותתאו להגיע אליו, ויקלו בעיניה התלאות ופנעי זה הזמן, ותסתכל בעולם העליון.¹⁶⁰ וזו היתה כונת החכמים בעלי הגנון.

אמר לו המבקש: רצוני שתשיב לי על ארבע שאלות. ויען הגנוני: שאל. שאלה א: היאך מקצת בעלי חיים, יתנו קול, ואין להם ריאה וגרון? תשובה: קולות בעלי חיים שאין להם ריאה, כמו הדבורים והצרעה וזולתם, כי הם מניעים האויר בכנפיהם במהירות וקלות,¹⁶¹ ויתחדשו מזה קולות משונים, כמו שיתחדשו¹⁶² מהנעת מתרי הכנור. ויהיה שנוי קולותיהם כפי דקות כנפיהם, ועבים, וארכם, וקיצורם, ומהירות תנועתם.

שאלה ב: מהו כלי הגנון המשובח אצל בעלי הגנון? תשובה: הוא הכנור. ואמרו,¹⁶³ שיהיה ארכו כרחבו, ועמקו כחצי הרוחב, וצוארו כרביעית.

¹⁵⁵ Ed.: עצמו = עצמו. (Cf. Dieterici, 104: "... von leichter Substanz").

¹⁵⁶ Ed.: הבאות. Cf. Dieterici, l. c.: "... und wogen nach allen Seiten hin."

¹⁵⁷ Ed.: שהיה.

¹⁵⁸ Ed.: וכי, cp. ראשית חכמה. (Cf. above note 126.)

¹⁵⁹ One of the few allusions, in Jewish philosophical circles, to the "*musica mundana*," which plays an essential role in the musical theories of Latin authors. In the above mentioned Gundissalinus (101), we read: "*que celum sub armoniaca modulatione dicitur revolvī, que est musica mundana.*" For earlier sources, cf. Baur, p. 241, n. 3. See Dieterici, p. 146. (Cf. *supra*, *HUCA*, XVI, p. 288–292.)

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Honein, chap. 18, #1; chap. 19, #3. See also Dieterici, l. c.

¹⁶¹ Ed.: קלות. Perhaps וקלות (cf. Dieterici, 107: "... mit ihren leichten schnellen Fluegeln").

¹⁶² Ed.: שיחדשו.

¹⁶³ Cf. Dieterici, 117: "Das vollendeste Instrument ... ist das Instrument "Laute." Dieselbe hat einen Leib, bei dem ... Laenge zur Breite — 1:½. Breite zur Tiefe — 1:½, Laenge zur Tiefe — 1:¼. We suppose that we should correct our text accordingly: רחבו (or כפול = כ') ועמקו כחצי הרוחב, וכרביעית האורך.

שאלה ג: ולמה אמרו, ¹⁶⁴ שצריך [שיהיו] יתרו ארבעה, כל אחד עב מהאחר, כי אז יהיה על היחס המעולה?

תשובה: אמנם עשו זה, כרי שתחזק נעימות כל אחד מהם לכל אחד מהחלטים הארבעה. והאחר, הוא הנקרא א"ל-ב"ם, הוא מארבעה וששים חוטים משי, ונעימתו תחזק החלט השחור לגסותו. והשני, והוא הנקרא א-ל-מת"ל"ת, הוא ממ"ח חוטים, ונעימתו תחזק החלט הלבן. והשלישי, מל"ו חוטים, והוא הנקרא א-ל-מתני; ונעימתו תחזק הדם. והרביעי, מכ"ו חוטים, ונקרא א-ל-זי"ר; ונעימתו תחזק המרה הירוקה לדקותה.

שאלה ד: היאך אמרו, ¹⁶⁵ כי עשו זה להתמשל בטבע, וזה כמו כן נמצא ביסודות? תשובה: לא ידעתי.

ויקרא המבקש עם החכם ¹⁶⁶ בחכמת הנגון ששה חדשים. אחרי כן רצה להפרד ממנו, ללכת לדרכו, אמר לו: אדוני החכם, צוני! ויאמר לו החכם: השתדל, שתהיה כונתך בנגונך לשמח הלב ולהסיר האנחה, למען תעבוד את ה' בשמחה. וילך המבקש לדרכו, והחכם ישב במקומו.

SHEM-TOB FALAQUERA

HAMMEBAKEŠ, Aleppo, 1867, pp. 39b-40a

As the Seeker finished his discussion with the astronomer, he proceeded to inquire of a man who was an expert in the science of music. He found one who had retired to a place of solitude, in order to gain a thorough knowledge of this science. This man was also outstanding as a practical musician, "the father of all such as handle the harp and pipe." The seeker said to him: "I beg you, my lord, who delight God and man with musical instruments, to teach me the principles of this science and to indicate to me what is the advantage thereof, and why wise and famous men paid so much attention to it."

The Musician answered: "Know, my son, that one of the reasons why wise men invented the science of music is that they

¹⁶⁴ The passage is taken from Honein, chap. 20, #1; Dieterici, 126 ff. Cf. also Saadia Gaon, above.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Dieterici, l. c.: "Nicht weniger und nicht mehr (als vier), damit ihr Werk den Dingen der Natur aehnlich sei." See also Dieterici, 141-146, of which Fal. made no use to answer the last question.

¹⁶⁶ Ed.: בחכמת הנגון עם הנגונים.

made use of it in their temples of worship when they brought their offerings. They also used melodies in their prayers and in their praises of the Creator. Some of these melodies affected the heart in such wise that whoever heard them was moved to tears and repentance and turned away from his sins. Then they invented a kind of melody in order to inspire courage during battle, emphasizing heroism. Yet another melody was invented to be sung in hospitals to bring the sick relief from suffering. There were still other kinds of melodies.

"This science is divided into two parts. One is the science of practical music which invents the species of melodies accessible to sense through musical instruments such as the lute, the flute, and the like. The other is the science of theoretical music which teaches us about melodies in general, abstracted from any instrument or material object. Theoretical music ponders melodies insofar as they are audible through any instrument whatsoever. It sets forth how many species of tones (*ne'imot*) there are, what the relationship is between them, and the way in which the melodies are constructed.

"The melody (*niggun*) itself consists of a series of tones (*ne'imot*) succeeding one another without interruption. The tones are composed of equal sounds (*kolot*). There are two kinds of sounds. By some of them, such as human speech, something is indicated. Others, such as laughter and weeping, do not indicate anything. Sound arises from the striking of two bodies against one another, as a result of which something audible forms itself in the air. The explanation of this phenomenon is as follows: The air, by virtue of its extreme fineness, the lightness of its substance, and the celerity of its motion, penetrates the pores of all bodies. When one body strikes against another, the air leaps from between them and is thrust equally in all directions so that, by its movement, a round figure arises which constantly becomes larger, as glass-work enlarges at the blowing of the glass worker. The more this figure enlarges, the more its motion decreases. Whatever living object happens to be close to this configuration is subject to the penetration of air into the ears, so that one hears its motion. The natural musical instrument is the throat." (Cf. *HUCA*, XVI, pp. 272/3.)

The Seeker rejoined: "What is the benefit of this science, and what is the aim of the sages in cultivating it?"

The Musician answered:

"1. The sages, in their wisdom, have proved by experience, that these melodies, when they are in perfect proportion, exercise a beneficent influence upon the souls of their hearers, similar to the influence of medicines (perfumes) designed to cure diseases.

"2. Moreover, they assert that the celestial spheres and stars, performing their revolutions, produce joyful tones and delightful melodies.

"3. They assert also that, as soon as the soul hears a melody of balanced composition and rhythmic measure, it rejoices and finds delight therein and yearns for its Creator, longing to reach Him. Consequently, the soul contemns the miseries and the accidents of the temporal world and meditates upon the upper world. Such is the aim of the music performing sages."

The Seeker then said to him: "Would you like to answer four questions?"

"Ask," replied the Musician.

"First question: How can some animals, though devoid of lungs and throat, produce tones?"

Answer: "The sounds of animals devoid of lungs, such as wasps and hornets, have to be ascribed to the fact that they agitate the air with their wings, at a certain speed, by which various sounds are produced, in the same way as they are produced by vibrating the strings of a guitar. These creatures produce different tones according to the fineness or thickness of the wings, according to the length or shortness of the wings, and according to the rapidity of their movement."

"Second Question: What musical instrument do the musicians consider to be the best?"

Answer: "It is the *Kinnor*, the lute. Musicians say that its length has to be equal to its breadth, its depth has to be half of its breadth and a quarter of its length, and its neck a quarter of its breadth." (Cf. note 163).

"Third Question: Why did the musicians say that a *Kinnor*, in order to be of excellent proportion, must have four strings, each of them thicker than the other?"

Answer: "They did it in order that the tones of each of the four strings might strengthen one of the four humors. One of the four strings, called '*Al-Bam*,' consists of 64 threads of silk. Because of the string's thickness, the tone of this string invigorates the black humor. The second string, called '*Matlat*,' consists of 48 threads. The tone of this string invigorates the white humor. The third string, called '*Matnit*,' consists of 26 threads. The tone of this string invigorates the blood. The fourth string consists of 27 threads, and is called '*Zir*.' Because of its fineness, this string yields a tone that invigorates the yellow bile."

"Fourth Question: Why did they say that this instrument is made that way in order to resemble nature, and that this (proportion of the four strings) is to be found also in the four elements?"

Answer: "I do not know."

E.

ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM IBN LATIF

A philosopher with cabalistic tendency in the 13th century (about 1220–1290). See Graetz (Hebrew) VI, pp. 180 ff. The item is taken from his *גנוי המלך*, chapter 15, ed. Jellinek (כוכבי יצחק, N. 31, p. 9), supplemented by Steinschneider in the "Hebraeische Bibliographie," VIII, 36–37.

E 1

יצחק בן לאטיף

גנוי המלך (הוצ' ילינק, כוכבי יצחק. חוב ל"א, עמ' 9)

ואחריה חכמת הנגון שהיא העצה (צ"ל: הצעה), משרת אל תיקוני המדות הנפשיות ואל השגת קצת החכמות השכליות העליונות, כמו שנודע בעניין אלישע ע"ה, באמרו: קחו לי מנגן. וכן היא הצעה משרת לחכמת תכונת הגלגלים. וביאור זה הוא, שחכמת הנגון מסודרת אל שמונה מיני זמר, משתנים זה מזה בכלי הנגון מצד ההמשך וההתקבץ, וההגבה והנמיכות ושאר השינויים. (והזמר השמיני מסודר כמין סוג כולל את שבעת המינים הנשארים. זה אמרו: למנצח על השמינית). וכבר

העיר עליו ג"כ הערה נעלמת במספר הקולות שבמזמור הבו לה' בני אלים, ו. כולו אומר כבוד" הוא הקול השמיני הכולל. ואיני יכול לפרש. ואשוב לכוונתי ואומר, שחכמה זו מעירה אל שינוי התנועות הגלגליות, ר"ל תשעת (צ"ל: שבעת ?) כוכבי לכת, ותנועות (צ"ל: ותנועת) הגלגל השמיני הכולל. וההערה היא מצד שינוי הזמר אל שינויי התנועות בפאות שונות, ובמהירות ואיחור, וגוירות לאחר, וגויות לצדדין משתנים, ובקרבם ורחקם מן המרכז, ושינוי פעולות כוכביהם. ובכל זה עניין דק ועמוק, נמשך בחבלי שתי החכמות, אינו מושג כ"אם אצל הבקאים בשתיהם. והדעות המחייבות קולות לתנועות הגלגלים כערך, גיעת (צ"ל: גניות) המוסיקא נמשכות קצת המשך אחר הערתנו זאת.

ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM IBN LATIF

After the science of Geometry, follows the science of Music which is a propaedeutic one, leading to the improvement of the psychological dispositions as well as to the understanding of some of the higher intellectual doctrines. This was manifest in the case of Elisha when he said: "But now bring me a minstrel" (2 Ki. 3.15). Moreover, this science is also propaedeutic to the science of Astronomy, the explanation of which is as follows: The science of Music envisages eight modes of melodies which differ from one another because of the expansion and the contraction, the height and the depth and other differences in musical instruments. The eighth mode functions as a genus which comprehends the other seven modes, and this is the meaning of "For the Leader, on the Sheminith" (Ps. 12.1). The Psalmist has alluded to this cryptically by means of the number seven in the repetition of the word *Kol* characterizing the Psalm, "Give unto the Lord, O ye sons of might" (Ps. 29.1), while the phrase, "All say, 'Glory'" (Ps. 29.9) alludes to the eighth tone which comprehends all of the others. I can not explain any further. Returning to my task, I say that this science, Music, relates to the various movements of the spheres, that is, to the nine (seven?) planets and to the movement of the all comprehending eighth sphere. The relation arises from the analogy between the various tones in the various spherical movements, involving as these do, direction, speed, retardation, withdrawal, deflection sideward, approach to the center and removal from the center and involving also the various activities of their respective stars. In all of this, there is a

subtle and profound analogy linking the two sciences. Only by those who are well acquainted with both of these sciences, can this analogy be grasped. Those who affirm the existence of heavenly tones corresponding to the musical tones partly follow our suggestion. (Cf. *HUCA*, XVI, p. 290.)

F.

MOSES ABULAFIA — ABU AMRAM MUSA IBN AL-LAWI —

A physician (?) of the 13th century (about 1250). See Steinschneider M., *Hebraeische Uebersetzungen*, pp. 410, 689. See also his "Miscellen" (No. 18) in "Monatschrift," Vol. 37 (1893), p. 317.

The passage is quoted by Shem-Tob ben Isaac in his commentary on Avicenna's Canon, and was published by Steinschneider from a Munich MS in "Hebraeische Bibliographie" XIX, p. 45.¹⁶⁷

The last two items, F and G, dealing exclusively with the mathematical aspect of music, are given here without English translation, because I do not consider myself competent in the matter. Some specimens of Engl. translation are to be found in our study above (*HUCA*, XVI, p. 317).

F 1

משה אבולעפיא אברעמרם מוסי'ן אללאוי

(המוזיקר, כרך י"ט, עמ' 45)

פירש החכם אבוי'ערם (עמרם) מוסי'ן אללאוי, שבחכמת המוסיקא יתבאר שכאשר יהיו ב' קולות מתחלפות, בכבודות או בחדות, רוצה לומר שהא' יהיה יותר חד או יותר כבד מחברו כפלים, יקרא יחס אשר בכל,¹⁶⁸ והוא יחס האחד אל השנים.

¹⁶⁷ We expected to find a correct text, or at least to find the obscurities pointed out. But strangely enough, Steinschneider indicated chiefly such passages as offer no serious difficulty, while leaving without comment passages which are undoubtedly incorrect.

¹⁶⁸ = Octave. The term אשר בכל is a literal translation of the Greek term: diapason — through the whole (W.).

וכאשר יהיה הא' כמו האחר ויותר המחצית – יקרא יחס אשר בחמשה,¹⁶⁹ והוא הג' לב'. וכאשר יהיה הא' מוסיף על חברו שליש יקרא היחס אשר בד', והוא יחס הד' לג'.

והתחברות הנעימות הוא בירידתם על השמע, אם שיהיו נמשכות, כמו שנכה במתר (במיתר) אחת, וכאשר נשלם זה הקול נכ ה¹⁷⁰ בחרת, ואז יבא קול אחר,¹⁷¹ ואם ממוגות, רוצה לומר, למשל, שנכה בב' מיתרים יחד ויצא משניהם קול אחד מזוג, כמו שיעשה בכלי הנקרא¹⁷² אביב (אבוב).

ויש שמה ה' ¹⁷³ מיני יחסים מספרים: האחד יקראהו ¹⁷⁴ המוסיף כפל או כפלים, והוא יחס הא' לב'. והשני יקראהו ¹⁷⁴ מוסיף חלק, כמו יחס הג' אל הב', שהג' מוסיף על הב' חצי, שהוא חלק מהב'. והשלישי יקראהו יחס המוסיף ב' חלקים, כמו יחס הה' לג', לפי שהה' מוסיף על ג' ב' שלישיות. והרביעי יקראהו ¹⁷⁵ יחס הכפל והכפלים והמוסיף חלק, כמו יחס הה' לב', שהה' כפל הב' וחציו עוד, וכמו הו' לב', שהו' הוא כמו ג' פעמים ב' וחציו עוד. והחמישי יקראהו יחס הכפל או הכפלים והמוסיף חלקים, והוא כמו יחס הח' ¹⁷⁶ לג', שהח' כמו כפל לג' ושני שלישיות ממנו עוד. וכמו הי"א לג', שהי"א הם ג' פעמים ג' וב' שלישיות עוד.

ויקראו ג"כ יחס מחובר כאשר יוכו נקדמות היחסים א"מ = אחת מהם באחרת ואחר יוכו נמשכי היחסים א"מ = אחד מהם באחר,¹⁷⁷ הנה היחס אשר יש בין היוצא מהכאת הב' נקדמות¹⁷⁸ עם היוצא מהכאת הנמשכים יקרא יחס מחובר מהב' היחסים המונחים. המשל,

¹⁶⁹ = Quint.

¹⁷⁰ St. has יבה; but our reading is validated by the preceding and the following נבה.

¹⁷¹ St.: אחד.

¹⁷² St.: הנקיא.

¹⁷³ St.: 'ושמה' (1). The exclamation after ויש is probably misplaced, and should stand after 'שמה' which makes no sense. Our reading, separating ה' from שמה, is clearly indicated by the following enumeration of five proportions. The phrase יש שם (שמה) for "there is," is a well known Arabism, and is used by Maimonides at the beginning of his code: מצוי שיש שם צדיק.

¹⁷⁴ St.: (so) יקראו.

¹⁷⁵ St.: יקראוהו.

¹⁷⁶ St.: 'הה'.

¹⁷⁷ St.: 'יורו הקדמות א"מ באחרת' (so) ואחר יורו אל נמשכי היחסים א"מ. The whole passage is devoid of sense. From the following term הכאה, we see that multiplication is here expressed by the verb נכה. (Cp. Gandz S., the terminology of Multiplication in *HUCA*, vol. VI, 254.) Thus our reading יוכו instead of יורו seems assured. נקדם or נקדמה for the preceding numerator as well as נמשך for the following denominator are well known terms.

¹⁷⁸ St.: 'הקדמה'.

כשרצינו שנחבר יחס הכפל, א' ו ב',¹⁷⁹ ליחס המוסיף חצי, והם ג' ו ב', נכה נקדמת¹⁸⁰ הכפל, והם הב', עם נקדמת¹⁸⁰ המוסיף חצי, והם הג', – יצא לנו ו'. ואחר נכה הנמשך ליחס הכפל, והוא הא', אל הנמשך ליחס המוסיף, והם ב', יהיה היוצא ב'. והנה היחס המתחבר בין שני אלו היחסים הוא יחס הו' לב', והוא יחס הג' לא'¹⁸¹.

G.

ISAIAH BEN ISAAC

A physician of the 14th century. See Steinschneider, *Hebraeische Uebersetzungen*, pp. 687–688.

The passage was published by Steinschneider from a Munich MS containing Isaiah's commentary on Avicenna's *Canon*, in Graeber's *אוצר הספרות* I, (1887), p. XXXI.

The quotations from Avicenna's *Canon* have been partially supplemented, in brackets, by us from the ed. Naples 1492 in the Hebrew Union College Library.

G 1

ישעיה בן יצחק (אוצר הספרות. I, גראבר,

תרמ"ד, עמ' xxxi)

ואבן סיני, קאנון, ספר א', אופן ב', למוד ג', כלל א', פרק א', מאמר כללי בדופק (קונט' ה', דף ד', ע"ב.)

אמר: וראוי שתדע שיש בדופק טבע מוסיקי נמצא, וכמו שמלאכת המושיקא תתו¹⁸² בחבור הנעימות¹⁸³ ועל היחס ביניהם בחדות והכובר, בהקפים נגוניים בשעורי הזמנים אשר בינות הבאותיהם, כן ענין הדפק [...] הפירוש: הנני מיוחד לזה הענין מאמר בעצמו ... גם כי כונתי להאריך בביאור זה הטבע המוסיקי הנמצא בדפק אשר להבנתו צריכות (!) הקדמות

¹⁷⁹ St.: בשני, makes no sense. Our reading is based upon the parallelism with the following ו ב' נ'.

¹⁸⁰ St.: הקדמת.

¹⁸¹ St.: ד מ ש ה, makes no sense. The copyist confused 'א' with 'ז' which looks similar in script, and read ד מ ש instead of א ח ד.

¹⁸² So ed. Naples 1492. Steinschneider: חשלים.

¹⁸³ St. has: וכו'; we have completed the text from ed. 1492.

מחכמות המוסיקא, נביאם עתה הנה, כדי שיתבארו דברי המחבר לכל מעיין בפירושו זה בנ"ה. ונאמר כי כונת מלאכת המוסיקא בכלל היא חבור הלחנים והוא נגונים בלשון ערבי, מש"ש.¹⁸⁴ והדברים אשר מהם יחוברו הלחנים הם נחלקים דרך כלל אל שני חלקים: אחד מהם היא הנעימות, ומדרגתו אל הלחן מדרגת החומר, והשני הוא החבור, ומדרגתו אל הלחן מדרגת הצורה. ואל זה כיון המחבר באמר: 'שמלאכת המוסיקא תשלם בחבור הנעימות'. והנה הנעימות יחלקו אל חלקים מוסיפים קצתם אל קצתם¹⁸⁵ בגודל או נחסרים קצתם מקצתם בקוטר, וכל אחד מאלה החלקים יותך אל מה שאי אפשר בו שיחלק, מצד היותו היותר קטן שאפשר להיות בחלקים. והנעימה היא קול מתעכב¹⁸⁶ שיעור זמן מורגש על יחס מן הכובד והחדות; והכובד והחדות יתחלפו בקול חלוף אי אפשר לנו הנבלתו משני צדי התוספת והחסרון. וסבות כובד הקול: רחב ההלל בגרונות הזמרים,¹⁸⁷ ואורך המיתרים, ורכותם, ושעירותם, ועבים, ורפיונם. וארכם ורחבם מסוג הכמות, ושעירותם ורכותם מסוג האיכות. וסבות חדות ושל הקול: הן הפכיות לסבות כבדות, ר"ל שהן קוצר המיתרים, וחלקותם,¹⁸⁸ וקשים ומתיחתם.¹⁸⁹ והנה בתוספת החדות או הכובד ושיעור אורך זמן הנעימות וקיצורו הוא היחס אשר בין הנעימות בחדות ובכובד, בסיבובי נפילת שעורי הזמנים אשר יותכו באותיהם.

ואמר: 'וכמו שזמני הנגון¹⁹⁰ ושיעורי הנעימות לפעמים יהיו מסכימים ולפעמים¹⁹¹ בלתי מסכימים'.

[הפירוש]: השעורים המסכימים בנעימות הם אשר יהיה יחס שיעור אחד משתי נעימות, בכובד וחדות, אל האחרת כיהם מספר אל מספר. ובעלי חכמת המוסיקא רובם מסכימים שהשעורים המסכימים הם אשר יהיו קצוותיהם על יחס הדמיונים או הדמיון המוסיף חלק, אשר נבאר ענינים אחר זה בזה המאמר.

ואמר: 'גאלינוס יראה¹⁹² וכי השעור המוחשי מיחשי האזון הוא מה שיהיה על אחד מאלה היחשים המושיקים הנז' או הבלתי נזכרים. אמנם הנז' על יחס הכל והחמשה, והוא על יחס שלשה כפלים, כי הוא יחס הכפל מחובר ביחס הנוסף חצי, והוא אשר יאמר לו היחס אשר בחמשה; ועל יחס אשר בכל, הוא יחס הכפל; ועל יחס אשר בחמשה, והוא הנוסף חצי; ועל יחס אשר בארבעה, והוא הנוסף שלישי; ועל יחס הנוסף רובע, ואחריו לא יחש'....

¹⁸⁴ Note of St.

¹⁸⁵ St.: קצת = קצתם.

¹⁸⁶ St.: מעמב, makes no sense. The same definition, we find literally in Menahem Bonafos' ספר הגדרים, Berlin 1798, 61a: נפיש (נעימה היא קול נפיש (=מתעכב) שיעור זמן מורגש על יחס מהכבדות והחדות).

¹⁸⁷ St.: והזמרים.

¹⁸⁸ St.: וחלוקתם.

¹⁸⁹ St.: ומתיחתם, but evidently as the opposite of רפיונם.

¹⁹⁰ So ed. 1492; St.: הנפילה.

¹⁹¹ So ed.; St.: ובלתי מסכימים.

¹⁹² St. has: 'וכי'; we have completed the text from ed. 1492.

[הפירוש]: ועתה נבאר לך כל אחת מאלה החלוקות כפי מה שהתבאר בחכמת המוסיקא, והוא שנשים דמיונו בביאורם על קו אחד מתארך בין שתי נקודות

אב, והוא זה: א—^ה $\frac{1}{4}$ —^י $\frac{1}{3}$ —^ג $\frac{1}{2}$ —^ט $\frac{2}{3}$ —^ד $\frac{3}{4}$ —ב. הנה נחלק זה הקו לשני שעורים שוים על נקודת ג, ונחלק כל אחד משני אלה השעורים לשני חלקים שוים. והנה נחלק אג על נקודת ה' וג"כ על נקודת ז'; עוד נחלק קו א"ב לשלושה שעורים שוים, ויהיה השליש האחד על נקודת ז'. עוד נחלק קו ג"ב לשליש על נקודת ט'. הנה קו א"ב כלו הוא כפל קו ג"ב, ותהיה א"כ נעימת קו א"ב כפל נעימת קו ג"ב; וזה היחס נקרא היחס אשר בכל שהוא הכפל, והוא מן השעורים המסכמים.....

והנה מפני שקו א"ב כלו שלשה דמיוני ט"ב, כי ט"ב הם שתי שלישיות ג"ב, שהוא חצי א"ב; ומה שהוא שתי שלישיות החצי הוא שליש השלם. הנה תהיה כל נעימת כל קו א"ב שלשה דמיוני נעימת ט"ב. וזה היחס נקרא יחס הכל והחמשה, מפני שהוא מחובר מיחס הכל שהוא הכפל, אשר קדם באורו, ומיחס הנוסף חצי, הנקרא היחס אשר בחמשה, אשר ביאורו הוא זה שאומר לך עתה. והוא, כי מפני שקו א"ב דמיון א' וחצי ז"ב; וזה כי חצי קו ז"ב הוא שליש כל א"ב, ולכן יהיה שעור כל א"ב כשעור ז"ב 193 וז"ב וחצי ו"ב שהוא א"ב. הנה תהיה שעור נעימת קו א"ב בשעור נעימת קו ז"ב וחצי נעימת ז"ב. ונקרא יחס אשר בחמשה, מפני היות זה היחס עצמו במספר חמשה. כי מספר חמשה הוא כמו שלשה ושליש—שערכו אל מספר חמשה ערך קו ז"ב אל קו א"ב, — (194) ושליש ושל חמש [?] שהוא אחד וחצי אחד וחצי שליש וחצי, ושעורו חצי, ויהיו חמשה. והנה יחס הכל והחמשה הוא מחובר מיחס הכפל, אשר קדם ביאורו, ומוזה היחס אשר בחמשה; כי שלשה דמיוני ט"ב הם כפל ג"ב ו' א' 195 [?] וחצי ז"ב, שהוא ט"ב.....

ומפני שקו א"ב שיעורו כשיעור ה"ב ושלישיתו, שלישית ה"ב, שהוא א"ה, שהוא רביעית א"ב; ומה שהוא רביעית השלם, הוא שליש השיעור שהוא שלשת רביעיות השלם. הנה תהיה נעימת קו א"ב דמיון נא' 196 [?] ושליש נעימת ה"ב. וזהו אשר קראו המחבר הנה היחס אשר בארבעה, והוא הנוסף שליש. ונקרא כן, מפני כי זה היחס בעצמו הוא מספר ארבעה, כי שיעור ארבעה הוא כשעור מספר שלשה ושלישיתו, שהוא אחד. הנה יחס מספר שלשה אל 197 מספר ארבעה הוא יחס קו ה"ב אל קו א"ב.

193 St.: בשער.

194 St.: [ששעה] ושליש.

195 'א added by us.

196 'א added by us.

197 St.: או.

APPENDIX I

THE SOURCES OF HONEIN-ALHARIZI'S MAXIMS
OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

STEINSCHNEIDER frequently expressed the wish for a new critical edition and translation of Honein's work, one taking into consideration the translation of Alharizi.¹ Soon afterward, two scholars supplied this desideratum, Loewenthal from the Hebrew, and K. Merkle from the Arabic point of view.² Supplementing the achievements of these scholars by some additional notes on the three chapters devoted to music, we attempt to shed new light upon the amazingly interwoven Greek, Latin, Syrian, Arabic, and Hebrew sources. Since the essential facts about the history and the background of the Arabic original can be found in the volumes by Loewenthal and Merkle, we limit ourselves to some historical and critical remarks.

Being a member of the Baghdad *Bait al Hikma*, Honein was probably familiar with Greek theory through the works of his forerunners and contemporaries, such perhaps as Al-Kindi.³

¹Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebersetzungen*, §§197–202, and ZDMG XXXI, p. 149.

As I bring this article to a conclusion, I am reminded of Ackermann's extensive and significant study of Jewish musical literature in Vol. III (pp. 447 ff.) of *Literaturgeschichte der Juden* by Winter and Wuensche. Having read this article years ago, I perused it once more and became aware that Ackermann deals, by and large, with material which is basic to our own study. Fairness requires our stressing that Ackermann's failure to pursue his research beyond the purely philological domain arose from defects of knowledge occasioned, at that time, by the inaccessibility of data on the musical theory of the Arabs. While Ackermann's ideas about ancient and mediaeval Jewish music may have been superseded by later findings of musical science, his article continues, as a guide to the most important source materials in the field of Jewish musical literature, to be of distinct value.

² K. Merkle, *Die Sittensprüche der Philosophen*, 1921.

³ Baumstark, (*Aristoteles bei den Syrern*, pp. 32–33) disagrees with Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebers.*, § 197, and notes 639, 640. He attempts to trace the origin of Honein's work back to Ps.-Plutarch's *περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων φιλοσόφους* which Honein is said to have revised and translated into Arabic. He refers to *Fihrist* I., 254. Cf. the opposite opinion of Brockelmann, *Arab.*

Although Honein's work is not meant to be a translation, it is easily recognizable as a mere mosaic, composed of many materials. Of these, Knust in his discussion of the Spanish version of the book, quotes the following: *Ali's One Hundred Proverbs*, *The Golden Testimony of Pythagoras*, Xenophon's *Apology of Socrates*, Plutarch's *De Garulitate*, the "*Vitae*" of Diogenes Laertius, and Stobaeus' *Florilegium* and *Vita Aristotelis*.⁴ This list is incomplete inasmuch as, in the Spanish version of the Arabic book, the three chapters on music are lacking. Besides those ancient authors, mentioned above, there are also biblical elements which have been traced by A. Mueller.⁵ But Mueller had to admit that "the borrowing must have been of a rather indirect nature. Comparatively rare are the instances in which it is possible to trace back maxims or anecdotes directly to the Greek."

Furthermore, he points out that both Syrians and Arabs did their utmost to aggravate the confusion⁶ — a statement corroborated by Baumstark with particular emphasis on the Syrians.⁷ In general, scholars agree as to the dominant influence of the late Aristotelians and Neoplatonists upon Honein's book.⁸ While favoring the late Greek origin of our three chapters on

Literatur, Suppl. I, p. 368. On Honein see also Farmer, *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, pp. 272-76. On Al-Kindi see Lachmann's edition of a Berlin Ms. of Ishaq Al-Kindi, *Ueber die Komposition von Melodien*. With O. Ursprung's theories, as expressed in his article "*Ueber die Frage nach dem arabischen Einfluss auf die abendländische Musik des Mittelalters*" in *Zeitschrift fuer Musikwissenschaft* XVI, (1934) pp. 129-141 we disagree entirely; for his constant minimizing of all asiatic cultural influences in favour of an oddly idealised Hellenic-Aryan culture, smacks too strongly — in the face of all contrary evidence — of racial theories.

⁴ Knust, *Mitteilungen aus dem Escorial*, pp. 525 ff.

⁵ ZDMG XXXI, p. 506, (Mueller's article).

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ In Baumstark's opinion (*op. cit.*, pp. x and 167) neither Ammonius nor Olympiodorus had any direct influence upon the Arabic tradition. He stresses, instead, Johannes Philoponus as the intermediary between late Aristotelianism and Syrian literature. "He is, since Galen, the most important Greek figure for Syrian-Arabic science." (*Ibid.*)

⁸ L. Baur, *Gundissalinus, De Divisione Philosophiae*, in *Beitraege zur Philosophie des Mittelalters* IV, p. 96 ff.)

music, Loewenthal is unable to put his finger on definite borrowings. Nor was he very successful in identifying some of the proper names occurring in the text; otherwise the correct interpretation of פורינוס = *Favorinus* would not have escaped him.⁹ In our opinion, it is quite characteristic that, at the beginning of the musical chapters, there is to be found the name of Ammonius, to whom Honein appears to have been heavily indebted. This philosopher, Ammonius Hermiae, a disciple of Proclus, "did important work in commenting on the categories and the isagogues" (Baumstark).

As to the form of Honein's representation, it seems as if he were familiar with the journalistic secret of the effective and intriguing "lead." In his *maxims* he placed the most celebrated names at the heads of his paragraphs. The proper names in the *Lemmata* of Honein will be discussed below. In general, the sources of the *anecdotes* are different from those of the more pretentious *maxims* which are deeply rooted in the old and new Pythagorean philosophy.

The following are the older authors who appear to have served as Honein's sources, directly or indirectly.

Ch. XVIII.

¶ 2 Boethius, *De Musica* I, 1.

Isidorus Hispalensis, in *Patrol. Lat.* LXXXII, 163-4.

4 Pseudo Aristotle, *Problems*, XIX, 20.

6 Ptolemy, *Harmonics*, III, ch. 5 and 6.

8 Aristides Quintilianus, *De Musica*, (ed. Meibom, p. 103-104, also F. Rosenthal in *HUCA* 1940, pp. 464, 468.

Ch. XIX.,

¶ 2 Ptolemy, *Harmonics*, III, ch. 7.

3 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, XI, 112-120¹⁰

Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, XIV, 3.

Pseudo Aristotle, *Problems*, XIX, 5, 40.

5 Aristotle, *Politics*, I, 1.

⁹ Not *Purinus*, as Loewenthal has it.

¹⁰ Cf. Bapp, *De fontibus quibus Athenaeus usus sit*, (in *Leipziger Studien zur klassischen Philologie* VIII, p. 152.)

- 7 Cicero, quoted by Aristides Quintilianus *De Musica*, ed. Meibom, p. 71.
Thucydides, quoted by Gellius in *Noctes att.*, I., 11.¹¹
- 8 Polybius, quoted by Athenaeus, XIV, 626/27.
Herodot, quoted *ibidem*.
Athenaeus, XIV, 629.
Pseudo Aristotle, quoted by Gellius, *Noctes Att.*, I., 11.
- 10 Diogenes Laertius in Burney, *History of Music* 153.
- 11 A similar story in Athenaeus, XIII, 603.
- 15 Plato, *Timaeus*, 67 B.
Gellius, *Noctes Att.*, V, 15.
- 22 Athenaeus, XIII, 561.
Aristotle, quoted by Athenaeus, XIII, 564.
- 24 Aristotle, *Politics*, V., 1341 b 32.
Pseudo Aristotle, *Problems*, XIX, 29.

Ch. XX.

- ¶ 1 Aristides Quintilianus, *De Musica*, ed. Meibom, pp. 137/8/
Ptolemy, *Harmonics* III, ch. 5, 6, 7.
- 4 Nicomachus Gerasenus, in *Musici Scriptores Graeci*, ed.
v. Jan, p. 262.
- 5 Gellius, *Noctes Att.*, I., 11.
Plutarch, *Quaestiones convivalium*, III, qu. 8; VII., qu. 5.
Al-Kindi in Ibn Djezzar's *Viaticum* In Steinschneider,
MGWJ, XXXVIII, p. 182.

* * *

PROPER NAMES

Significantly enough, all of the proper names quoted in the chapters on music, occur, in similar arrangement, in Plutarch's *Scripta Moralia* and some of them in Diogenes Laertius, Athenaeus, and Gellius. It seems as if a certain tendency prevailed in the choice of these names. Were they meant to represent

¹¹ The Hebrew text (להניף סיחרי הכנור) apparently refers to an instrument which is held horizontally, like a zither. This is the only reference in our texts to the *kinnor*.

various philosophical schools, or did Honein slavishly follow a tradition of handing them down as authorities? It will be difficult to give a definite answer to these questions as long as the works of the late representatives of the Athenian school continue inaccessible, and important Arabic sources remain in dusty archives, unpublished.¹²

In the following, we give all the proper names of the three musical chapters according to their major occurrence in the literature of late antiquity. Several of these names, used by Honein as his mouthpieces, are *personae dialogi* in Plutarch also, viz. הרקל = Heracleo, אנטופיאול Autobulos (?), פורינוס = Favorinus. Ammonius is mentioned by Plutarch as his own master, although I suspect it was not the same Ammonius whom Honein had in mind.¹³ The following list is not supposed to give the only possible interpretation of all the names, but represents merely a hypothesis, supported by our sources.¹⁴

אמוניוס — Ammonius: Ath. XIII, 567 et pass.; Plut. M 70, 410, 384, 788.

הרקל — Heracleo: Plut. M 410. (*persona dialogi*.)

אנטופיאול — Autobulos (?): Plut. M 748, 959, (*persona dialogi*.)

¹² Cf. A. Mueller, *loco cit.*, also Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. x.

¹³ Athenaeus' and Plutarch's Ammonius are not identical, the first being Ammonius Sakkas, an Alexandrian philosopher, the other a member of the Academy and Plutarch's teacher. We suppose, however, that Honein did not mean either of them, but had in mind Ammonius Hermiae, the head of the Athenian school, (ca. 500 A. D.). About the influence of Ammonius Hermiae on Syrian and Arabic literature see L. Baur, *op. cit.*, p. 177, and Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 183.

¹⁴ Our abbreviations of the authors:

Ath. — Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*, ed. Gulick, Havard Univ. Press.

G — Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, in Loeb's classics.

Plut. — Plutarch, *Scripta Moralia*, ed. Duebner, Paris 1877.

Ps.-Pl. — Pseudo-Plutarch, ed. Duebner, 1877.

Diog. — Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae*, in Loeb's classics.

v. J. — C. v. Jan, *Scriptores Musici Graeci*.

L — Lucian, *De saltatione*, ed. Amsterdam.

S — Sextus Empiricus, ed. Henricus Stephanus.

Ar. — Aristotle, Works, Cambridge edition.

Ps. Ar. — Pseudo-Aristotle, *Problems*, in v. Jan's *Scriptores*.

- פּוֹרִינוֹס — Favorinus: Plut. M 270/1, *quaest. conviv.* VIII, 10, (pers. dial.) G, Ath., Diog. Throughout¹⁵
- אַפֿלטון — Plato: Plut. throughout, G, Diog., Ath. likewise.
- אַלכסנדר — Alexander the Great: Plut., G, Diog., Ath. throughout.
- אַריסטוטלס — Aristotle: Plut., G, Diog., S, Ath., throughout.
- סוֹלון — Solon: Plut. throughout, (pers. dial.) Ath. XIV 632, G throughout.
- קִיטוֹס — Archytas(?) or Quietus(?): Ath. XIII, 600; v. J. 130; Plut. *De Musica* M 1147.¹⁶
- אַקלידס — Euclid: Plut. throughout.
- אַפֿרוֹס — Ephoros(?): Plut. M 84 et pass.; G III, 11, Ath. XIV, 626; Ath. IV, 182; Diog. I, 40, 96, 98; S (*advers. musicos*, under Solon's name), L *De Saltatione*, p. 790.¹⁷

¹⁵ Steinschneider in ZDMG XXX, p. 149. Gellius, who stresses Favorinus to the utmost writes: "Apud mensam Favorini in convivio familiari legi solitum erat aut vetus carmen melici poetae aut historia partim Graecae . . ."

¹⁶ קִיטוֹס or טִיטוֹס — Quietus, the Moorish general of the Roman army in Palestine at the time of Trajan. More acceptable than this version is the emendation to Archytas (of Tarent), the great Greek musician and theorist. About Archytas similar stories are told by Athenaeus, IV, ch. 84. On Quietus cf. Krauss, *Griechische Lehnwoerter*. (קִיטוֹס), and Th. Reinach, *Texts d'auteurs Grecs et Romains relatifs au Judaïsme*, p. 197, where Quietus is called Lusius.

¹⁷ Loewenthal's conjecture of "Orpheus" is untenable for numerous reasons. For one thing, many anecdotes are ascribed to Orpheus, but hardly any maxims. Furthermore, long before Honein, ancient authors had doubted the very existence of Orpheus. Cicero, *De natura Deorum*, I, sec. 38, quotes Aristotle from his (now) lost third book of his poetics as saying: "*Orpheum poetam Aristoteles nunquam fuisse.*"

The name Ephoros, on the other hand, occurs very frequently as author of maxims concerning music. Moreover, we do not need any emendation of the text if we accept Ephoros. Cf. Polybius IV., 20, 5-21, 9, and *Fragmenta Hist. Graecor.* I., 234, J II 45.

On this occasion the authors express their gratitude to Dr. Franz Rosenthal for his assistance and suggestions concerning Arabic terms and names.

APPENDIX II

CONCERNING THE TREATISE *De Numeris Harmonicis*
BY GERSONIDES

A

Coussemaker and Riemann still use the name Leo Hebraeus as that of the author of that work. Into the matter of identifying the author, neither of these scholars probed very far, although reference to a Jewish encyclopedia would fully have cleared up the question.¹ Their remarks, moreover, betray woefully inadequate ideas regarding the treatise's contents. Both scholars labor under the impression that the work discusses the calculation of intervals; but such is, by no means, the case.

These misconceptions were eventually dispelled by Joseph Carlebach in his book *Levi ben Gerson als Mathematiker* (Berlin 1910). This work, which presents the text of the treatise in the original Latin, identifies anew and beyond peradventure of a doubt, Leo Hebraeus with Gersonides.² The Carlebach edition is based on the manuscript "*De Numeris Harmonicis*" in Cod. Basiliensis F II. 33. In a brief introduction (p. 127) Carlebach advances the view that the author undoubtedly composed his work in Hebrew and then had it translated into Latin for Bishop Philipp de Vitry. Carlebach was further of the opinion that Gersonides was too scantily conversant with Latin to bestow upon the translation any kind of supervision.³

While Riemann, like other scholars who were misled by the title and by lack of intimate knowledge, supposed the work to be one dealing with the calculation of musical intervals, Carlebach

¹ E. v. Coussemaker, *Scriptores medii aevi etc.*, III., X. H. Riemann, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, pp. 235 ff.

² Cf. Renan-Neubauer, *Les écrivains juifs françaises*, p. 296. Steinschneider, *Hebraeische Uebersetzungen*, p. 66. Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 94, furthermore Joseph Carlebach, *Levi ben Gerson als Mathematiker*, p. 96 ff.

³ Cf. Carlebach op. cit. p. 97. Against this assumption it must be stated, that Gersonides seems to have known a good many works of his contemporary fellow-scholars.

candidly admits: "I am unable to conjecture the bearing of the thesis (which follows) upon mediaeval musical theory."⁴ The more recent of the major publications that concern themselves, even if cursorily, with Leo Hebraeus, (for instance Besseler's *Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters* or Reese's *Music in the Middle Ages*) likewise say nothing about the significance of his work for mediaeval musical theory in general or about its importance for Philipp of Vitry in particular.⁵

And yet, to Philipp, the treatise of Gersonides must have been of great consequence. The treatise opens with the statement:⁶ "In Christi incarnationis anno 1342 nostro opere mathematico iam completo fui requisitus a quodam eximio magistrorum in scientia musicali, sc. a magistro Philippo de Bitriaco de regno francie, ut *demonstrarem unum suppositum in predicta scientia* sc: omnium numerorum armonicorum quilibet 2 numero distinguuntur praeter istos 1 et 2, 2 et 3, 3 et 4, 8 et 9. Armonicum autem numerum sic describit: armonicus numerus est, qui et quilibet eius pars praeter unitatem per equa 2 vel 3 continuo vel vice versa usque ad ipsam unitatem findi potest" . . . "Sunt igitur continui: 1, 2, 4, 8, et 1, 3, 9, 27, et vice versa 6, 12, 18, 24 etc."

Translation: "In the year 1342 of the incarnation of Christ, my work on Mathematics having been completed, I was requested by the noted master of musical theory, Master Philipp de Vitry, to demonstrate a certain postulate of that science. The postulate is this: All pairs of harmonic numbers are mathematically distinguishable except the following: 1 and 2, 2 and 3, 3 and 4, 8 and 9. We mean, by a harmonic number, every number which is itself divisible and subdivisible down to unity not only by 1 but also by either 2 or 3 or by any combination of 2 and 3, (and whose factors are similarly divisible and subdivisible down to unity). Examples of harmonic numbers are: 2, 4, 8, 9, 12, 27, 18, 24 etc."

⁴ Carlebach, op. cit., p. 142, n. 3.

⁵ Besseler, *Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters*, I. II, in *Archiv fuer Musikwissenschaft* VII, p. 181 ff. and VIII p. 196 ff. Also G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, p. 346, not mentioning Leo Hebraeus.

⁶ Carlebach, op. cit., p. 129.

Thus it is clearly stated (1) that Gersonides was requested by Philipp de Vitry to provide a certain desired proof, (2) that the thesis to be demonstrated was a *suppositum in predicta scientia* (musical theory), and (3) that *numerus harmonicus* is, in this presentation, a mathematical concept which has nothing to do with the calculation of musical intervals although, from that calculation, the phrase itself may originally have been derived.⁷

The following questions accordingly arise: What is the connection between the work of Gersonides and the projects of Philipp? To what extent is the thesis of Gersonides a *suppositum* of mediaeval musical theory? For this thesis with its mathematical formulation, what is the musical background? Was Gersonides acquainted with contemporary works which similarly handled musical problems *more mathematico*?

To disentangle this snarl, it is essential that we first understand something about Philipp's aims and achievements. A comparison of Philipp's musical theories with the exposition of Gersonides will furnish us the clue.

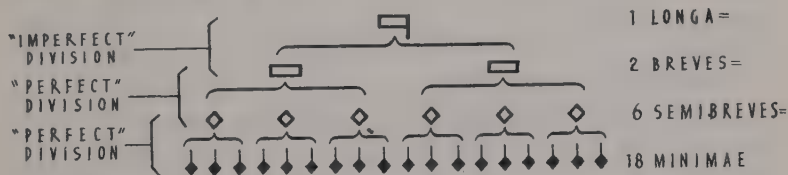
B

Of Philipp de Vitry's theoretical works, we possess only one whose authenticity is undisputed, namely his *Ars Nova*. This is confirmed by Anonymus VII (Coussemaker, Script. III, 408 a) and by a treatise emanating from the school of John de Muris (ibid. 107a), one of the leading musical theorists of his time. This treatise, incidentally, mentions only *one* tract as attributable

⁷ About the term *numerus harmonicus* see Carlebach, op. cit. p. 142, n. 4., referring to the expression ערך הנניות with Abr. Ibn Ezra. Cf. also *HUCA* XVI, p. 260, n. 36. Prof. Barnett, of the University of Cincinnati, to whom I am indebted for several interesting ideas in connection with this problem, points out that the term *numerus harmonicus* in our sense is created either by Philipp or Gersonides and does not occur elsewhere in mathematics. He is convinced, furthermore, that the restriction of the theorem to the characteristic numbers of musical division, 2 and 3, indicates clearly its purely musical implication. I venture, therefore, the hypothesis, that *numerus harmonicus* is nothing but a wrong translation of the Hebrew ערך הנניות — meaning *numerus musicae*.

to Philipp of Vitry.⁸ The novelty about Philipp's work was the reform he effected in the domain of musical notation, especially by his revolutionary systematization of time divisions (*mensura*). Though technical details might lead us too far afield, it might not be amiss to dwell briefly here upon the problem and Philipp's solution.

Philipp systematized the musical notation of his time in accordance with two principles which he consistently observes. (1) While the preceding period treated the various note-values, *maxima*, *longa*, *brevis*, *semibrevis*, *minima*, etc., as diversified and exceedingly individualized, Philipp insisted upon a homogenous treatment and upon subdivision of the note-values down to the *minima*. His age recognized rhythms of two beats and rhythms of three beats. In contrast with modern practice, all note-values could be two-beat and three-beat at one and the same time. Thus a *longa*, according to Philipp could be subdivided in the following manner:



also *longa* = 2 *breves* = 4 *semibreves* = 12 *minimae*
or *longa* = 3 *breves* = 9 *semibreves* = 27 *minimae* etc.

On ecclesiastical dogmatic grounds, a threefold division of a

⁸ Bessler, *op. cit.*, p. 181. The problem of the personality and the work of John de Muris can finally be considered as solved since Bessler's studies. Without any doubt, we know that the musical theorist John de Muris was identical with the mathematician of the same name. This fact became evident through the MS f lat. 72811, f 159' of the Bibl. Nat., Paris. In his brief review of the personality of John de Muris, Bessler writes: "He belonged to the same generation as Pierre Roger, afterward Pope Clement VI, who is said to have been a friend of his youth; to the same generation as Philipp de Vitry together with whom he is twice mentioned in the motets; and to the same generation as Leo Hebraeus (born 1288) his mathematical colleague." He is not identical, however, with Julianus de Muris, a chancellor of the Sorbonne about 1350, as formerly assumed.

note-value is "perfect," while a twofold division is "imperfect." Conversely, "perfectio" is applied to an aggregation of three notes of equal value, and "imperfectio" to an aggregation of two notes of equal value which, by their combination, produce a superior value. Philipp lets the two-part time take its place on an equal footing alongside of the older three-beat time which had thus far been the only one deemed acceptable.⁹ One can readily see that the largest possible number of *minimae* (as subdivisions of a *maxima*) is $81 = 3^4$; the smallest number is $16 = 2^4$; between them lie numbers like 18, 24, 27, 36, 54, etc., *multiples of the basic numbers 2 and 3 and their powers*. (For instance $36 = 2^2 \cdot 3^2$, $54 = 2^1 \cdot 3^3$ etc.)

(2) A second notable innovation was the use of points as attachments to the notes. While the *Ars Antiqua* employs points only to indicate the limits of bars or measures, points now acquire, as *puncti divisionis*, *perfectionis*, *imperfectiois*, *alterationis*, and *syncopationis*, manifold and confusingly varied functions. For the problem before us, the only note-points which are of importance are the *puncti perfectionis* and the *puncti alterationis*.

The *punctus perfectionis* originally had the effect of transmuting a note of two beats into one of three beats. This is the only use that has persisted to our own time. We can perceive how the use of the *punctus perfectionis* or *additionis* permits the derivation of the above mentioned numbers. (For instance $54 = 36 + \frac{36}{2}$, $81 = 54 + \frac{54}{2}$, $36 = 24 + \frac{24}{2}$, etc.)

Alteration is, in certain cases, a possible doubling of a briefer note-length because of its position between two greater note-lengths, for instance:

$$\square \diamond \overline{\square} \square = \text{IN MODERN SCRIPT: } \circ \cdot | \text{d} \overline{\text{d}} \text{d} | \circ \cdot$$

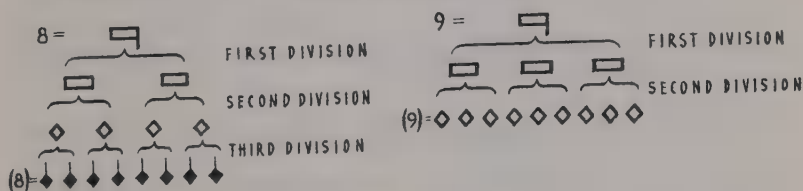
The second semibrevis is here extended to a doubling of its length so that the sum-total of the basic units is, because of the alteration, increased by 1.

We now recall the thesis which Gersonides was to demon-

⁹ Cf. J. Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, pp. 331-342.

strate at Philipp's request. It had to be shown that, with the exception of the pairs 1 and 2, ($=3^0$ and 2^1), 2 and 3, ($=2^1$ and 3^1), 3 and 4, ($=3^1$ and 2^2), 8 and 9, ($=2^3$ and 3^2) that is, the several powers of two and three and their corresponding products, the so-called harmonic numbers, differ from one another by more than unity.

If Philipp wished to place his system upon a solid foundation, his theory was obliged, by the demands of his age, to observe the following conditions: 1.) The perfect or the imperfect mode of division had to be extended quite generally over the entire number system, (i. e. beyond the previously accepted limit $3^4=81$), without modification or confusion; 2.) Those differences in the modes of division might not be canceled by such division changes as *perfectio*, or *punctus additionis* or *alterationis*; 3.) If the ultimate sum of the tiniest units differed by so much as 1 — as in 1 and 2, 2 and 3, 3 and 4, 8 and 9 — that final sum had to be related to *differing modes of division* as their resultant. For instance:



Philipp, to generalize his system of division completely, needed proof that *except for the pairs of numbers instanced, no pair of multiples or of powers of 2 and 3 differed by so much as 1*. For Philipp's purpose, this mathematical presupposition was indispensable, the reason being this: One could readily perceive that, up to 9, confusion of the modes of division was, by no means, possible; that, in other words, the pairs of numbers which differed only by 1 must, up to 9, belong to divergent modes of division. But it would have been stupendously difficult to demonstrate this as a *general theorem*. Such demonstration, however, becomes superfluous if all we need is proof that, in no other case, do multiples of the powers of 2 and 3 differ by so much as 1.

Such proof meanwhile satisfies all of the above mentioned conditions:

1. By and large, Gersonides' demonstration that, beyond the numbers 8 and 9, all multiples of the powers of 2 and 3 differ by more than 1 removes all limits to the possibilities of generalizing the divisions and the subdivisions; as John de Muris had still maintained, when he said: "*non est autem multum possibile voci ulterius pertransire*" (*beyond the minima*). This was likewise because of practical considerations involved in the technique of singing, where the smaller the time values, the greater the required degree of skill.¹⁰

2. Division changes like *alteratio*, *perfectio*, or *Punctus additionis* invariably change the number of minimae by *more than unity*. For instance the alteration:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{A. } \begin{array}{c} \square \square \overline{\square} \square \\ \text{(ALTERATED)} \end{array} = \frac{\square}{9} + \frac{\overline{\square} + \square \square}{9} \mid \frac{\square}{9} = 27 \text{ MINIMAE} \\
 \begin{array}{c} \square \square \square \square \\ \text{(NOT ALTERATED)} \end{array} = \frac{\square}{4 \text{ or } 6} + \frac{\overline{\square} + \square}{4 \text{ or } 6} \mid \frac{\square}{4 \text{ or } 6} = 12 \text{ OR } 18 \text{ MINIMAE} \\
 \text{B. } \begin{array}{c} \square \diamond \diamond \square \\ \text{(ALTERATED)} \end{array} = \frac{\square}{6} + \frac{\square}{2} + \frac{\diamond}{1} + \frac{\overline{\square} + \diamond}{3} \mid \frac{\square}{6} = 21 \text{ MINIMAE} \\
 \begin{array}{c} \square \diamond \diamond \square \\ \text{(NOT ALTERATED)} \end{array} = \frac{\square}{4 \text{ or } 6} + \frac{\square}{2} + \frac{\diamond}{1} + \frac{\square}{3} \mid \frac{\square}{4 \text{ or } 6} = 14 \text{ OR } 18 \text{ MINIMAE} \\
 \text{C. PUNCTUS ADDITIONIS} \\
 \text{a) IN 2 BEATS: } \frac{\square}{6} \mid \frac{\square}{2} \mid \frac{\square}{4} = 12 \text{ SEMIBREVES} \\
 \text{b) IN 3 BEATS: } \frac{\square}{9} \mid \frac{\square}{3} \mid \frac{\square}{6} = 18 \text{ SEMIBREVES}
 \end{array}$$

The final results of our division changes are, in our necessarily simple examples, 27, 12, (18), 21, 14, (18), 12, 18. In a more extensive series of examples, the differences become appreciably broader.

3. Up to the number 9, the sum-totals differing by 1 are always the outcome of *different modes of division*. The need of examining every subsequent case separately ceases after it has been demonstrated that multiples of the powers of 2 and 3 differ from one another by more than unity. That is, speaking mathematically: the inequality

$$3^m + 1 \neq 2^n, \text{ whereby } m, n \neq 1, 2.$$

¹⁰ Actually, the later development, by introducing Semiminimae, Fusae, and Semifusae, went beyond the old boundaries.

is valid.¹¹ Precisely this is what Gersonides proves, thereby supplying Philipp with the desired *suppositum* of musical theory. Gersonides demonstrates that the results of ever so many divisions and subdivisions can not be confused; which yields the consequence in each case that, from the sum-total of the smallest units, *one and only one* basic mode of division can be mathematically deduced.

C

If Gersonides, in order to familiarize himself with the *suppositum*, consulted the works of contemporary musical theorists — which was, by the way, neither necessary nor very probable — the only author that comes into consideration would be his mathematical colleague, John de Muris, who had expounded the entire of the musical theory of his time in strictly mathematical style. Among John's writings, the second part of his *Ars Novae Musicae* approaches nearest to Gersonides' problem. From a purely mathematical standpoint, John determines the relations of note values to one another. Accepting the traditional "perfect" division, he obtains, by raising to powers his basic number 3, the limiting value of $1:3^4 = 1:81$, i. e. the relationship of the *minima* to the *triplex longa* (*maxima*). Quite unmistakable is John's opposition to the *Ars Antiqua* in an unusually striking passage which may have afforded the immediate occasion of Philipp's assignment to Gersonides: "It is necessary to take caution against the example adduced by those with whom we take issue in this work. There are those who believe that, since the point is the sign of perfection, they can easily, by means of the point, change all imperfect notes into perfect notes. Nonetheless, when the point of the imperfect *longa* is appended in the form of a *semibrevis*, it remains by no means clear whether the arrangement involves a perfect *longa* of three *breves* or of two *breves*. If now the *Ars Antiqua* to which we stand opposed insists nonetheless that the resultant is a perfect *longa* of three *breves*, it would then also have been possible

¹¹ The exact mathematical discussion of the problem in Carlebach, op. cit., p. 62 ff.

to deduce this perfect *longa* from the *prolatio* of two *breves*. Before the addition of the point, the *longa* was doubly imperfect; it contained a total of 5 *semibreves*. By the addition of the point, the *longa* becomes doubly perfect, containing 9 where it should contain but 6 *semibreves* . . . But this chain of reasoning is invalid."¹²

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{LONGA} \quad \text{SEMIBREVIS} \quad = \quad \text{O O } \underline{\text{d}} = \underline{\text{d d}} \underline{\text{d d}} \underline{\text{d}} \quad = 5 \text{ SEMIBREVES} \\
 \\
 \text{LONGA} \quad \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{PUNCTUS} \\ \text{ADDITIONIS} \end{array} \right) = \text{a) } \text{O O O} = \underline{\text{d d d}} \mid \underline{\text{d d d}} \mid \underline{\text{d d d}} \mid = 9 \text{ SEMIBREVES} \\
 \hspace{15em} \text{PERFECT DIVISION} \\
 \hspace{15em} \text{b) } \text{O O O} = \underline{\text{d}} \underline{\text{d}} \mid \underline{\text{d}} \underline{\text{d}} \mid \underline{\text{d}} \underline{\text{d}} \mid = 6 \text{ SEMIBREVES} \\
 \hspace{15em} \text{IMPERFECT DIVISION}
 \end{array}$$

If Philipp would achieve real clarification and unification, as he undoubtedly intended, this ambiguity of the *Ars Antiqua* had to be unconditionally removed. It was Gersonides who, in this situation, accomplished the final step thereby deciding the question in favor of the *Ars Nova*.

Through all of these illustrations, we sense the rational, mathematical spirit of the *Ars Nova* which must have exerted a powerful appeal upon such a mathematician and naturalist as Gersonides. The data are dissected into rigidly bounded units and these are then linked with one another by logical abstractions.¹³ This new, mathematically grounded theory of musical measurement proved serviceable to the hitherto blocked development of musical notation.

¹² "Cavendum tamen ab instantia tam solemnī, quam faciunt, contra quos in hoc opere disputamus: omnia imperfecta perfici per punctum, cum punctus sit signum perfectionis, infallibiliter existimantes. Si enim addatur punctus notulae per semibreve imperfectae, quae longa est, an sit perfecta trium aut duarum brevium ignoratur. Cum tamen dicat ars antiqua cui volumus obviare, quod perfecta trium erit, licet fuisse possibile eam ex valore duarum brevium protulisse. Ante additionem puncti prima erat imperfecte imperfecta, valens quinque semibreves; per additionem vero puncti redditur perfecta perfecte, valens novem semibreves, cum non deberet valere nisi 6." (Johannes de Muris, *Musica practica*, in Gerbert, *Scriptores* II, p. 299)

¹³ Cf. Bessler, op. cit. (*Archiv fuer Musikwissenschaft* VIII, pp. 197 ff.)

ERRATA IN
THE PHILOSOPHY AND THEORY OF MUSIC IN
JUDAEO-ARABIC LITERATURE

ERIC WERNER and ISAIAH SONNE

in Volume XVI of the Hebrew Union College Annual

- p. 255, line 6, *for* המות *read* המלוח
- p. 255, line 7, *for* הנהוגית *read* הנהוגות
- p. 258, note 27, *for* עילו *read* עליו
- p. 258, note 27, *for* ל"אבד *read* לאב"ד
- p. 260, note 36, *for* ארך *read* ערך
- p. 294, line 17, *for* בכול *read* בכל
- p. 297, note 151, *for* עליעור *read* אליעזר
- p. 298, line 3, *for* Astonomy *read* Astronomy
- p. 307, line 2, *for* הגבחה *read* הגבהה
- p. 307, last line, *for* מחומר *read* מחובר
- p. 309, lines 7 and 8, *for* מלאת *read* מלאכת

בצרורות דעלמא (שוהו עפ"י הרא"ה תוכן קושיה הגמרא: ולימא מר הלכה כסומכוס ולימא מר הלכה כרבנן) יש להוכיח דלא פליגי אלא מר אמר חדא ומר אמר חדא.

אמנם לפי מה שהוכחנו מסוגית הגמרא והראינו שהתוספתא והאמוראים מדור הישן תפסו את דין צרורות כתולדה דקרבן משום דמשונה הוא, מסתבר לאמר דהא דתני רמי בר יחזקאל בא ללמדנו שתרגול שהושיט ראשו לאויר כלי ותקע בו ושברו משלם נזק שלם משום דאין זה משונה, ואין דינו בצרורות בעלמא שהוא משונה אלא דינו כרגל כי אורחיה בכך. והא דבי רב בא ללמדנו שסוס שצנף וחמור שנער ושבר את הכלים משונה הוא ומשלם חצי נזק כדין צרורות בעלמא. ולפי זה אין כאן מחלוקה אלא כל אחד ואחד בא להשמיענו דין מיוחד, ושניהם על בסיס אחד הם עומדים דצרורות דעלמא משונה הוא ודינו בחצי נזק כתולדה דקרבן. ויש להוכיח מן הירושלמי שתפסו דין זה של הא דתני רמי בר יחזקאל שהוא לדעת כולם ואינו תלוי במחלוקת של סומכוס ורבנן כמו שאמרו בבבלי, וכן גם היה ברור לחכמי הירושלמי שאי אפשר לאמר שדין זה של רמי בר יחזקאל נאמר רק כשהועד לכך, וכמו שרצו בבבלי להביא ראיה מהא דתני רמי בר יחזקאל דיש העדאה לצרורות. וז"ל הירושלמי סוף הלכה ב' פ"ב: "תרגול הפורח ממקום למקום והזיק בגופו משלם נזק שלם ברוח שבין כנפיו משלם חצי נזק סומכוס אומר נזק שלם נפח בכלים ושברו משלם נזק שלם". דין זה של נפח בכלים ושברן הוא אהוה הדין של רמי בר יחזקאל בתרגול שהושיט ראשו לאויר כלי ותקע בו ושברו, ודין זה נאמר בירושלמי על יד המחלוקת של סומכוס ורבנן, משמע מזה שהוא לדעת כולם; ואפילו רבנן האומרים שמשלם חצי נזק כשהזיק ברוח שבין כנפיו, מודים שמשלם נזק שלם בנפח בכלים ושברם. אין זאת אלא משום שנחשב כתולדה דרגל כי אורחיה בכך. ואעפ"י כשמוזק ברוח שבין כנפיו נחשב לקרבן לשיטת רבנן, אבל נפח בכלים ושברם תולדה דרגל היא ומשלם נזק שלם. ואין לאמר שהוא חייב נזק שלם בנפח בכלים ושברם רק כשהועד בכך, וכמו שרצו לאמר בבבלי, שכן דין זה נשנה על יד דין מוזק ברוח שבין כנפיו, שמשלם חצי נזק לדעת רבנן, ואם כשהועד בכך ויש העדאה לצרורות, הרי גם בהזיק ברוח שבכנפיו צריך היה לשלם נזק שלם. אמור מעתה שמחלוקתם של רבנן וסומכוס היא רק כשהזיק ברוח שבין כנפיו, אם משונה הוא ומשלם חצי נזק או אורחיה הוא ומשלם נזק שלם, אבל בנפח בכלים ושברם גם רבנן מודים דמשלם נזק שלם.

דין זה של נפח בכלים ושברם משלם נזק שלם מובא גם בירושלמי שבת פ"ב ח"ה, וז"ל שם: "הבעיר וכבה בנפיחה אחת חייב שתיים א"ר אבדימי אחוי דרבי יוסא הרה אמרה נפח בכלים ושברן משלם נזק שלם". גם מזה משמע שדין זה של נפח בכלים ושברם משלם נזק שלם הוא לדעת כולם, שכן הביאו דין זה בקשר עם דין של המבעיר וכבה בנפיחה אחת שחייב שתיים, שאין מחלוקה בו. ומעתה מוכח שדברי הגמ' "ובהא קמיפלגי מר סבר יש העדאה וכו' ובפלוגתא דסומכוס ורבנן קמיפלגי" יסודם בתקופה מאוחרת כשקבלו את שיטת רבא בצרורות להלכה.

בצרורות כרבנן או כסומכוס. ו"ל הגמ' 'ת"ש בהמה שהטי'ה גללים לעיסה רב יהודה אומר משלם נזק שלם ור' אלעזר אומר חצי נזק מאי לאו כגון דעבד תלתא זימני ובהא קמיפלגי מר סבר יש העדאה ומר סבר אין העדאה לא בחד זימנא ובפלוגתא דסומכוס ורבנן קמיפלגי וכו' ול'מא רב יהודה הלכה כסומכוס ול'מא ר' אלעזר הלכה כרבנן'. ואם נאמר שרמי בר יחזקאל ואמרי בי רב חולקים בפלוגתא דסומכוס ורבנן, הרי יש לשאול אותה הקושיא עצמה גם כאן: ול'מא רמי בר יחזקאל הלכה כסומכוס ול'מא רב יוסף אמרי בי רב הלכה כרבנן.

מיהו לפי פירוש רש"י (ד"ה דרחיק), שמפרש שר"א הוא ר"א בן פדת ולא רבי יהודה אלא רב יהודה גרסינן ואמוראים הם, שפיר שאלה הגמ' 'ול'מא רב יהודה הלכה כסומכוס ול'מא ר' אלעזר הלכה כרבנן', אבל בענין דין דהא דתני רמי בר יחזקאל והא דאמרי בי רב ברייתות הן אין להקשות, ול'מא רמי בר יחזקאל הלכה כסומכוס וכו' ", כי אין דרך התנאים לחלוק בלשון זה. שכן הוא דתני רמי בר יחזקאל נראה שברייתא היא, ומסתבר שבכל מקום שהביאו בגמ' הלכה בלשון תני רמי בר יחזקאל היא ברייתא שהביא רמי בר יחזקאל מא"י. וכן מה שאמר רב יוסף אמרי בי רב מסתבר שהיא ברייתא שהיתה שנוייה בבית מדרשו של רב (נאמנם הרשב"א כתב: דאמרי בי רב משמיה רב אמרו ליה ורב תנא הוא ופליגי). ומאחר שדברי תנאים הם משו"ז לא הקשו בגמ' 'ול'מא הא הלכה כסומכוס ול'מא הא הלכה כרבנן' כמו שהקשו בסוגיא דבהמה שהטי'ה גללים.

אמנם לא כל הראשונים הם בדעה אחת עם רש"י שמפרש שר"י ור"א אמוראים הם. ו"ל הרא"ה בשטמ"ק לפ' שור שנגח, דף ל"ו ע"ב, בד"ה במאי, 'וכדמרינן בפ' כיצד ול'מא מר הלכה כסומכוס ומר הלכה כרבנן ולא דווקא דהא גבי תנאים אמר לה ול'מא דמימר הכי אלא הכי קאמר כיון דבפלוגתא דסומכוס ורבנן פליגי אמאי איפלגו בגללים ה"ל לאיפלוגי בשאר צרורות דעלמא ובפלוגתיהו דסומכוס ורבנן'. לפי דברי הרא"ה האלה קושייתנו במקומה עומדת, כי אם הא דתני רמי בר יחזקאל והא דאמרי בי רב חולקים בפלוגתא דסומכוס ורבנן, למה לא שנו את דבריהם בצרורות בעלמא ומה ראו על ככה לצייר דין צרורות בתרנוול שתקע לתוך הכלי או בסוס שצנף. וכמו ששאלה הגמ' לעיל בענין גללים 'ול'מא ר"י הלכה כסומכוס ור"א הלכה כרבנן', שלפי הרא"ה השאלה היא 'אמאי איפלגו בגללים ה"ל לאיפלוגי בשאר צרורות', ככה יש לשאול גם בענינינו 'ל'מא רמי בר יחזקאל הלכה כסומכוס ול'מא בי רב הלכה כרבנן', כלומר למה לא חלקו בשאר צרורות בעלמא. ועוד אף זאת: אם שניהם לדבר אחד נתכוונו אלא שזה סובר הלכה כסומכוס וזה סובר הלכה כרבנן למה שנו את דבריהם באופנים שונים, אחד בתרנוול שהושיט את ראשו לאויר כלי זכוכית והשני בסוס שצנף וחמור שנער, הלא מוטב היה לשנות את דבריהם באופן אחד, מאחר שכל עיקר כוונתם היא להשמיענו שהלכה היא כסומכוס או כרבנן. ומתוך ששנו את דיניהם כל אחד באופן מיוחד מסתבר שאינם חולקים כלל וכלל, וגם מתוך שלא שנו את דבריהם

9 עי' כתובות כ"א ע"א, ס' ע"א, ע"ו ע"ב, ק"א ע"ב. ועי' היימאן: תולדות תנאים ואמוראים, ובאכער: Tradition und Tradenten, S. 518.

לית היא פליגא, ועי"ש מה שנדחק הפ"מ לבאר את דברי הירושלמי. אמנם אם נניח שר' זעירא הוא האומר אינה מקבלת העדאה ור' אילא הוא המקשה עליו מן המתניתא של שור שנתחכך בכותל וכו', פירוש הירושלמי פשוט הוא לאמר, ואפילו כר' אילא לית היא פליגא ולמה פטור ממיתה, כלומר הרי גם לר' אילא האומר מקבל העדאה יש להקשות ולמה פטור ממיתה, ועל כרחק שפליגא גם על ר' אילא. ומתרץ, בשוועדה להיות מפלת את הכתלים וכו', כלומר יש לבאר את הטעם למה פטור ממיתה כגון שהפילה את הכותל שלא בכוונה, אבל ממה שחייב בכופר על כרחק עליו לומר שהועדה ומכאן קשיא על ר' זעירא האומר אינה מקבלת העדאה.

ונראה עוד ששיטת החכמים בירושלמי שסברו צרורות כותלדה דרגל הוא ואעפ"כ משלם חצי נוק הוא לא משום דהילכתא נמירי לה כרבא, כי לא הזכירו כלום מזאת, אלא שסברו דכוחו לאו כגופו דמי לחייבו נוק שלם, ולא כרבא ששאל אי כגופו דמי כולה נוק בעי לשלם ואי לאו כגופו דמי חצי נוק נמי לא לשלם (דף י"ז ע"ב). חכמי הירושלמי סברו דמאחר שההיזק נעשה בעזרת דבר הנמצא מחוץ לגופו אינו כגופו לשלם נוק אבל אין גם לפוטרו לגמרי, כי יש לדון את בעל הבהמה כאילו יש לה שותף – מזיק, ועל כן עליו לשלם את חלקו בלבד והיינו חצי נוק. וז"ל הירושלמי, אמר ר' אלעזר כל דבר שהוא חוץ לגופה לא חלקו בו חכמים בין ברה"י בין ברה"ר לחצי כופר⁸. מבטוי זה, כל דבר שהוא חוץ לגופה נראה ברור שסברו דכוחו אינו כגופו לחייבו נוק שלם, אבל אינו לאו כגופו לפוטרו לגמרי. והרמב"ם בפי' המשניות הדגיש את אפיו המיוחד של צרורות, שבא ממנה באמצעות מעשה אחר ולא היתה הבהמה היא הפועלת אותה הפעולה פועל ראשון על זה יתחייב חצי נוק וזה הוא החצי נוק המחייב בצרורות הניתנים מתחת רגליה. וכנראה שדברי הירושלמי, כל דבר שהוא חוץ לגופה וכו' היו לפני עיני הרמב"ם בהגדירו את עצם דין צרורות, שהוא היזק הבא ממנה באמצעות דבר אחר.

מתוך מה שנתבאר לנו עד הנה נעמוד על תכנון ועל כוונתן של הברייתות המובאות בגמרא (דף י"ח ע"ב). ח"ל הגמ' שם: ת"ש דתני רמי בר יחזקאל תרגול שהושיט ראשו לאויר כלי זכוכית ותקע בו ושברו משלם נוק שלם ואמר רב יוסף אמרי בי רב סוס שצנף וחמור שניער ושבר את הכלים משלם חצי נוק מאי לאו כגון דעבד תלתא זימנא ובהא כמיפלי מר סבר יש העדאה ומר סבר אין העדאה לא בחד זימנא ובפלגונא דסומכוס ורבנן קמיפלגי. דברי הגמרא, שמחלוקתן של הא דתני רמי בר יחזקאל ואמרי בי רב היא היא בזה אם הלכה כרבנן או כסומכוס, הם קשים מאד, שהרי ניתנת לשאול כאן אותה הקושיא עצמה ששאלה הגמרא לעיל על שרצו לאמר שרב יהודה ור' אלעזר חולקים בזה אם הלכה

7 עי' דיננער שם, עמ' 128, שמציע לגרוס בירושלמי: ואפי' כר' זעירא לית היא פליגא. אבל לדעתי יותר נכון לאמר שמוחלפת השיטה ודברי ר' ירמיה עולים בקנה אחד עם דבריו בבבלי.

8 עי' טשרנוביץ, שם עמ' 36, שמציע לגרוס: לחצי נוק, ומתוכו מוכח שהדבר כן הוא.

אמנם זה אינו נכון, שהרי מצאנו שר' זירא עלה מבבל לא"י וחזר בו מדעתו שבבבל (עי' ב"מ פ"ה ע"א; ב"ב קנ"ח ע"ב). ולפי"ז כשאנו מוצאים סתירה בין דברי ר"ז בבבלי לדבריו בירושלמי, צריכים אנו לאמר שדעתו האחרונה היא זו שבירושלמי. ומעתה דעתו הראשונה היתה, לפי דבריו בבבלי, שצורות הוא תולדה דרגל, אבל דעתו לבסוף היא כמו שאמר בירושלמי, מקבלת העדאה" שצורות תולדה דקרן הוא. ונראה שבירושלמי דנו את דין צורות כתולדה דקרן דפריך שם בראשית הסוגיא: ואין דרכה להתיז צורות? א"ר יוסי כשהיה כלי נתון בידי אדם, אם היה מונח ברה"ר וכו' פטור". ומסתבר לפי"ז שדין צורות כתולדה דקרן הוא ואינו אלא כשאין דרכה בכך. אמור מעתה שדנו את דברי המשנה: היתה מבעטת או שהיו צורות מנתזין מתחת רגליה וכו' " כדין אחד שנשנה בשני אופנים, דאו לאו לחלק בא. ונוטה היה ר' זירא לבכר את ההלכה הירושלמית על ההלכה הבבליית כדמוכח מדבריו בב"ב דקנ"ח ע"ב.

אולם יש עוד אפשרות לאמר שר' זירא לא חזר בו מדעתו הראשונה, אלא להניח ששנייה נפלה בירושלמי והשיטה מוחלפת, ובמקום ר' איצא צריך להיות ר' זעירא, ולהיפך. ואם ר' זעירא הוא האומר, אינה מקבלת העדאה דבריו יתאימו למה שאמר בבבלי "מסתברא תולדה דרגל הוא". ור' איצא האומר "מקבלת העדאה" סובר דצוררות תולדה דקרבן הוא ונעשה מועד על ידי חזרה של שלוש פעמים. ולפי"ז ר' איצא שהיה תלמידם של ר' יוחנן וריש לקיש עודנו עומד על הבסיס שצוררות תולדה דקרבן הוא.

ויש להביא ראיה על זה, שהשיטה מחלפת, מסוף הסוגיא שם. ח"צ הירושלמי שם: "מהו שתקבל העדאה בדבר שהוא חוץ לגופו ר' זעירא אמר מקבלת ר' אילא אמר אינה מקבלת אמר ר' זעירא מתניא פליגא עליו שור שמתחכך בכותל ונפל על האדם והרגו חייב בכופר ופטור ממיתה וכי יש כופר בתם ואפילו כר' אילא לית היא פליגא ולמה פטור ממיתה בשוועדה להיות מפלת את הכתלים כשהפילה את הכותל לא היה אדם שם". ודברי הירושלמי קשים הם שהרי ר' זעירא הוא שהקשה על ר' אילא מן המתניא, ואיך בא לתרץ בהקשותיו. ואפילו כר' אילא

■ עי' ח. טשנובוויץ: שעורים בתלמוד, צד 35 וכו'. ועי' גם הנהגות הרי"ץ דיננער, עמ' ס"ד, שכותב: „דפשיטא להו לבעלי סוניין (של הירושלמי) דצורות גם ברה"ר חייב חצי נוק”.

הנכונה, שכן אם נגרוס בגמרא רבא, תהא סתירה בין דבריו שאמר צרורות תולדה דרגל הוא ובין דברי הבעיא: יש העדאה לצרורות או אין העדאה לצרורות, כי אם צרורות תולדה דרגל הוא אין מקום לומר שעל ידי העדאה תשלם נוק שלם. והנה גם בירושלמי דנו בשאלה זו, אם יש העדאה לצרורות או לא, אבל בצורה לשונית אחרת, וז"ל הירושלמי: „מהו שתקבל העדאה בדבר שהוא חוץ לגופו ר' זעירא אמר מקבלת ר' אילא אמר אינה מקבלת". ונראה שר' זעירא ור' אילא דנים באותה השאלה עצמה שדנו בה בבבלי: יש העדאה לצרורות או אין העדאה לצרורות. ואם נגרוס כגמרא הרי"ף, שרבה ולא רבא שאל בבבלי את הבעיא הזאת, יוצא ששניהם רבה ור' זעירא, שהיו חברים, (עי' לדוגמא שבת ע"ד ע"ב, ע"ה ע"ב, קל"ח ע"א; ור' זירא בבבלי הוא ר' זעירא בירושלמי) דנו בדבר זה. ומה שהיה ברור לר' זעירא שצרורות מקבלת העדאה, היה ספק לרבה ובעי: יש העדאה לצרורות או אין העדאה לצרורות.

אמנם אם נאמר דבעיא זו תלויה בשאלת עצם דין צרורות ומהותה, אם צרורות תולדה דקרבן או תולדה דרגל הוא, תהא סתירה בין דברי ר' זעירא בירושלמי האומר מקבלת העדאה לבין דבריו הוא בבבלי. ח"ל הגמרא דף י"ט ע"א: בעא מיניה ר' ירמיה מר' זירא היתה מהלכת ברה"ר וכו' מהו לקרבן מדמינן לה וחייבא או דילמא תולדה דרגל ופטורה, א"ל מסתברא תולדה דרגל הוא. עפ"י תשובת ר' זירא לר' ירמיה בבבלי שצרורות תולדה דרגל הוא צריך שיהא הדין דאין העדאה לצרורות, וכמו שאמרנו לעיל, ובירושלמי הוא סובר שצרורות מקבלת העדאה, שכן אם צרורות תולדה דרגל הוא, איך אפשר שתקבל העדאה ויהא חייב נוק שלם ברה"ר כשהועדה בכך. עליו איפוא לאמור שר' זעירא בירושלמי סבר כדבר וודאי שצרורות תולדה דקרבן הוא, וכמו שהראנו לעיל שזו היתה הדעה הקדומה בהתפתחות הלכת צרורות; אולם כשהשיב לר' ירמיה בבבלי ואמר „מסתברא תולדה דרגל הוא" כנראה שחזר מדבריו הראשונים ושינה את דעתו בזה.

אמנם אפשר אולי היה ליישב את הסתירה שבדברי ר' זירא בבבלי על דבריו בירושלמי באופן אחר, והוא: שאם נאמר אפילו שבפעם הראשונה אורחה להתין צרורות ותולדה דרגל הוא, היינו משום שלפעמים יקרה שצרורות נופלות מתחת רגליה, אבל כשהחזרה בזה שלוש פעמים, הדבר מוכח שלא מתוך מקרה הוא, אלא בכוונה נעשה הדבר וכוונתה להזיק, ומקבלת העדאה משום שסופו מוכיח על תחילתו שגם בפעם הראשונה לא מתוך מקרה נפלו צרורות אלא כוונתה היתה להזיק, ועל ידי חזרה של שלוש פעמים נעשה מועד. אולם אם אנו תופסים דין צרורות שניתנו בפעם הראשונה כתולדה דרגל, לא יהא נעשה מועד על ידי חזרה של שלוש פעמים אלא רק לשיטה אחת בגמרא, כי דין זה יהא תלוי בעצם דין העדאה, אם הוא ליעודי תורה או ליעודי גברא (עי' בכיצד הרגל כ"ד ע"א, ובשור שגנח מ"א ע"א). ולמ"ד ליעודי גברא לא יהא נעשה מועד באופן כזה. לפיכך

פטורה (משום שרגל ברה"ר פטורה) ועל האחרון חייבת חצי נזק (משום דצוררות תולדה דקרן הוא). ומעתה גם דברי התוספתא הזאת יסודם בהשקפה שצוררות תולדה דקרן הוא.

על יסוד האמור לעיל תתבאר לנו אל נכון שאלת הגמרא בדף י"ח ע"ב, **א** יש העדאה לצוררות או לאו, שנתקשו בה הראשונים לפרשה, ח"ל הגמרא שם: בעי רבא יש העדאה לצוררות או אין העדאה לצוררות לקרן מדמינן ליה או דילמא תולדה דרגל הוא. ועיי"ש מה שכתב רש"י לבאר את הגמרא בשני אופנים. ראשית בצוררות על ידי שנוי, אם שינה בהם ועשה על ידי שינוי ג' פעמים מי אמרינן כיון דשינוי הוא נפקא מדין צוררות דרגל וחל עליו דין קרן וכי אייעד משלם נזק שלם. ושנית בצוררות, כי אורחיהו אם עשאן שלוש פעמים מי אמרינן כיון דבזמנא קמיתא משלם חצי נזק כקרן לקרן מדמינן ליה. וכן הראב"ד בפירושו מפרש בצוררות כי אורחיהו ובלא שינוי: שני הפירושים האלה קשים הם, כי איך אפשר לומר ששאלת רבא היתה בצוררות באופן מיוחד, כגון על ידי שינוי, והרי בגמרא לא הוזכרו כלום מזה, אלא בצוררות סתם שאלו את שאלתם. היתכן שישאלו את שאלתם בצוררות באופן מיוחד ולא יזכירו זאת. ועל הפירוש השני שהשאלה היא בצוררות כי אורחיהו כבר הוקשה לרש"י: כיון דמעיקרא הוה אורחיה ואפ"ה חצי נזק משלם מה לי חד זימנא מה לי מאה פעמים.

ונראה לי לבאר את הבעיא שבגמרא בזה ששאלו על עצם מהותו של דין צוררות: אם כל צוררות (אפילו כי אורחיהו) תולדה דקרן הוא כי אין דרך הבהמה להתיז צוררות, ולפי זה אם הועדה בכך יש העדאה לצוררות ומשלמת נזק שלם, או דילמא צוררות תולדה דרגל הוא ודרכה בכך, ומה שמשלמת חצי נזק הוא משום דכוחו לאו כגופו הוא לשלם עליו נזק שלם, או משום דהלכתא גמירי לה, ואם כן אין העדאה לצוררות, דכיון דאורחיה הוא אין להבחין בין פעם ראשונה לפעמים רבות ובכולן משלמת חצי נזק.

ברם לכאורה אי אפשר לבאר באופן זה את שאלת רבא, אם יש העדאה לצוררות או אין העדאה לצוררות, שהרי רבא בעצמו סובר (שם י"ז ע"ב) דכוחו כגופו דמי והצי נזק צוררות הלכתא גמירי לה ולא משום דצוררות תולדה דקרן הוא, ולפי זה מוכרח הוא שדעת רבא היא דאין העדאה לצוררות. כי מאחר שכוחו כגופו דמי וצוררות תולדה דרגל הוא וכדברי הגמרא דף ג' ע"ב: לרבא אמאי קרי לה תולדה דרגל לפטורה ברה"ר. מה לי פעם ראשונה ומה לי אם הועדה בכך. ומעתה אי אפשר לומר שרבא מסופק היה בכאן בעצם דין צוררות, אם הוא תולדה דרגל או תולדה דקרן.

אמנם הרי"ף גרס בדברי הגמרא שלנו: בעי רבא יש העדאה לצוררות וכו' ולא רבא. וכן בעל דקדוקי סופרים מביא הגרסא רבא ולא רבא. ולפי זה יש לבאר את הבעיא שבגמרא כדברינו, כי רבא עוד מסופק היה בדין צוררות, אם הוא תולדה דקרן או תולדה דרגל. ומכאן תהא ראייה שגירסת הרי"ף היא

שהתיוה ברה"ר והזיקה ברה"ר חייב משום דצוררות תולדה דקרבן הוא, וכמו שאמר ר' ירמיהו בשאלתו: „מאי לאו תתיה ברה"ר והזיקה ברה"ר". הרי רק משום שהברייתא כפשוטה מתנגדת לדעת ר' זירא, התופס את דין צוררות כתולדה דרגל, נדחק לבאר את הברייתא: „כשהתיוה ברה"ר והזיקה ברה"ר" ולחייב באופן כזה ולשנות מדעתו שאמר בראשונה: „עקירה אין כאן הנחה יש כאן". ובאמת אם צוררות תולדה דרגל הוא, אם כן הרי דרכה בכך ואינו מסתבר לחלק בין התיוה ברה"ר והזיקה ברה"ר ובין התיוה ברה"ר והתיוה ברה"ר ובשניהם יש לפטור. צא וראה באיזו קושיים נסתבכו האמוראים, שתפסו את דין צוררות כתולדה דרגל, לישב את הסתירות להשקפתם מן הברייתות העתיקות שיסודן בדעה שצוררות תולדה דקרבן הוא.

וכן גם בברייתא השנויה על המשנה: „דרסה על הכלי ושברתו ונפל השבר על כלי אחר ושברו על הראשון משלם נזק שלם ועל האחרון משלם חצי נזק", אמרו: „במה דברים אמורים בהשוות הנזק אבל ברה"ר על הראשון פטורה ועל האחרון חייבת". הרי גם בזה חכמי הברייתא הביאו לידי בטוי מפורש שצוררות חייב ברה"ר ודינו כקרבן. ורק בדוחק נדחק גם בזה ר' זירא לפרנס את הברייתא באופן שאינו הולם את לשונה: „כשהתיוה ברה"ר והזיקה ברה"ר".

ודבר זה יוצא גם כן מן התוספתא פ"ב ששנו: „היתה מהלכת (כתיקון מג"א, ע"ש הערה י"ז) ברשות הרבים וניתנו צוררות מתחת רגליה ונפל על הכלי ושברתו משלם חצי נזק". הרי מפורש לנו בזה דין צוררות כדין קרבן שחייב עליה חצי נזק ברה"ר. והנה בתוספתא שאחריה נאמר: „היתה מהלכת כדרכה ברשות הרבים ודרסה על הכלי ושברתו וניתנו הימנו חרס ונשבר כלי אחר על הראשון משלם נזק שלם ועל האחרון משלם חצי נזק". דברי התוספתא האלה בלתי מובנים הם, שהרי כשהלכה כדרכה ברה"ר „רגל" הוא ולמה חייב נזק שלם על הכלי הראשון. ונראה ששגיאה נפלה בדברי התוספתא, או בראשיתה או בסופה. ואם נתקן את הרישא צריך לגרוס: „היתה מהלכת כדרכה ברה"ר וכו', על הראשון משלם נזק שלם ועל האחרון משלם חצי נזק". ואם נתקן את הסיפא צריך לגרוס: „היתה מהלכה כדרכה ברה"ר וכו' על הראשון פטור ועל האחרון משלם חצי נזק". לפי תיקוננו זה בדברי התוספתא, שנראה לנו כהכרח משום שבאופן אחר אי אפשר להבינה, דברי התוספתא האלה יתאימו לדברי הברייתא שהביאו בגמרא על המשנה: „דרסה על הכלי ושברתו ונפל השבר על כלי אחר ושברו על הראשון משלם נזק שלם ועל האחרון משלם חצי נזק, ותני עלה במה דברים אמורים ברשות הנזק אבל ברשות הרבים על הראשון פטורה ועל האחרון חייבת". ומסתבר הדבר שהתוספתא הזאת לפי תיקוננו וביאורנו שימשה יסוד לברייתא שהביאו בגמרא: „במה דברים אמורים ברשות הנזק אבל ברה"ר פטור", כי בלשון זו כמו שנתנסחה הברייתא בגמרא אין בתוספתא. אמנם מן התוספתא שהבאנו, בין אם נתקן את הרישא ובין אם נתקן את הסיפא עפ"י הצעתנו, יוצא דין זה של הברייתא שבגמרא שדווקא ברשות הנזק על כלי הראשון משלם נזק שלם ועל האחרון חצי נזק (משום שהכלי הראשון ברגל והשני על ידי צוררות שהוא קרבן), אבל ברה"ר על הראשון

לאמר שכל דברי הגמרא מת"ש ואילך הם מתקופה מאוחרת של האמוראים, ואולי מרבנן סבוראי, מתקופה שדברי רבא נתקבלו דצורות הם תולדה דרגל ואין דינם בחצי נוק אלא משום דהילכתא גמירי לה; ואחרי שהוסיפו בהבעיא את הדברים: „ורבנן היא – או סומכוס היא“, רצו להוכיח מסיפא דמשנתנו שאי אפשר לאמר דמשנתנו כסומכוס היא. אמנם יש לבאר את הגמרא גם באופן זה, שהראיה מסוף המשנה מוסבת היתה למקור הבעיא שנשאלה לא אם משנתנו כרבנן או כסומכוס (וכדברי התוס' שהבאנו לעיל שהש"ס הוסיף מדעתו: „ורבנן היא – או סומכוס היא“), אלא אם צורות כאורחיהו ורגל הוא ואעפ"כ משלם חצי נוק, או צורות מחמת ביעוט וקרן הוא אז משלם חצי נוק, אבל צורות כאורחיהו משלם נוק שלם. כי באמת יש לפשוט מסוף המשנה את הבעיא כמו שנשאלה במקורה, אם צורות משלם חצי נוק רק כשניתנו ע"י ביעוט, או אפילו בצורות כאורחיהו משלם חצי נוק. שהרי מתוך דברי הסיפא: „דרסה על הכלי ושברתו ונפל השבר על כלי אחר ושברו על הראשון משלם נוק שלם ועל האחרון חצי נוק“, יש להוכיח שאין לאמר שדין צורות דמשלם חצי נוק הוא בצורות שבאים מחמת ביעוט, ומשלם חצי נוק משום דשינוי הוא, כי אז צריכה היתה המשנה לחייבו גם על הכלי הראשון לא יותר מחצי נוק, כי מאחר שבעטה שינוי הוא. ומכיון שעל הכלי הראשון הוא משלם נוק שלם, אמור מעתה שלא ע"י ביעוט נשבר ואעפ"כ על הכלי האחרון משלם חצי נוק, שמע מינה שצורות כאורחיהו משלם חצי נוק. וזו היתה, לפי דעתי, עיקר ראית הגמרא מסוף המשנה טרם שנוספו הדברים בהבעיא: „ורבנן היא – או סומכוס היא“. אבל אחרי שהוסיפו בהבעיא את הדברים האלה, מוכרחים היו גם לשנות את הראיה מסוף המשנה ולהוסיף את הדברים: „ואי סומכוס היא מי אית ליה חצי נוק“.

לתקופה זו בהתפתחות הלכת צורות, שהיו מסופקים בדבר מהותה אם היא תולדה דקרן או תולדה דרגל, שייך האמורא ר' ירמיהו מא". כי ר' ירמיהו שאל את ר' זירא (שם י"ט ע"א): היתה מהלכת ברה"ר והתיוה והזיקה מהו לקרן מדמינן לה וחייבת או דילמא תולדה דרגל הוא ופטורה. ור' זירא השיב לו: „מסתברא תולדה דרגל הוא“, רק מתוך הסברא בלבד החליט שהוא תולדה דרגל. ונוטה היה ר' זירא לומר הואיל ואורחיה הוא שיהא פטור גם כשהתיוה ברה"ר והזיקה ברה"י, כי מאחר שהתיוה ברה"ר שהיא מקום פטור, יהא פטור גם על ההיזק שנעשה ברה"י שהיא מקום חייב, „כי עקירה אין כאן הנחה יש כאן?“ אמנם מתוך הקושיות שהקשה עליו ר' ירמיהו מברייטות שונות מוכרח היה ר' זירא לחזור בו ולחייב בהתיוה ברה"ר והזיקה ברה"י. וז"ל הגמרא שם: „איתיביה היתה מהלכת בדרך והתיוה בין ברה"י בין ברה"ר חייב מהו לאו התיוה ברה"ר והזיקה ברה"ר לא התיוה ברה"ר והזיקה ברה"י והאמרת עקירה אין כאן הנחה יש כאן א"ל הדרי ב". ביאורו זה של ר' זירא, שהברייטא דנה בהתיוה ברה"ר והזיקה ברה"י, הוא נגד משמעות הדברים; אולם רק משום שהוא סובר דצורות תולדה דרגל הוא, ומן הברייטא נראה דצורות תולדה דקרן הוא, מוכרח היה לפרש פירוש המתנגד לפשטות הדברים. שהרי בברייטא אמרו סתם: „בין ברה"י בין ברה"ר חייב“, ומסתבר

מדעתו את הדברים: „ורבנן היא או סומכוס היא“. חכמי התוס' הוכרחו לאמר שבמקור הבעיא לא היו הדברים „ורבנן היא או סומכוס היא“, מתוך שרב אשי מפרש את הבעיא בזה, אם יש שינוי לצרורות לרביע נזק או לא, ועל פי דעת רבנן שסוברים צרורות כאורחיהו משלם ח"נ, ועיי"ש. על יסוד דברי התוס' שהדברים: „ורבנן היא – או סומכוס היא“ הוספה מאוחרת היא, ולא נאמרו במקור הבעיא, נראה לי לאמר שעיקר שאלתם היתה בזה, אם צרורות משלם חצי נזק דוקא כשבאו ע"י ביעוט שיש בו משום כוונה להזיק ושינוי הוא, או דילמא אפילו צרורות כאורחיהו שלא מחמת ביעוט נ"כ משלם חצי נזק. ואפשר לבאר את הבעיא בשני אופנים: ראשית, שהיו מסופקים בזה אם צרורות תולדה דקדן הוא, וע"כ הוא חייב חצי נזק דווקא כשניתנו הצרורות ע"י ביעוט, או גם צרורות כאורחיהו, אע"פ שתולדה דרגל הוא, משלם חצי נזק משום דהילכתא גמירי לה. ושנית אפשר שהיו מסופקים בזה, שאולי היסוד לדין צרורות כאורחיהו משלם חצי נזק הוא לא משום דהילכתא גמירי לה, אלא משום דכחו אינו כגופו בקנינו של אדם שהזיק לחייבו נזק שלם, ואינו לאו כגופו לפטרו לגמרי, וע"כ הוא משלם חצי נזק. ולא סבירא להו לפי"ז כדעת המקשה בנמרא י"ז ע"ב: „אי כגופה דמי כולא נזק בעי לשלם ואי לאו כגופו דמי חצי נזק נמי לא ישלם“, אשר על יסודה מוכרח היה רבא לאמר: „חצי נזק צרורות הילכתא גמירי לה“. עכ"פ דעת החכמים האלה ששאלו בעיא זו אינה כדעת החכמים הראשונים כמו ר' אבא בר ממל ור' אמי, שתפסו את דין צרורות כתולדה דקדן משום שמחמת ביעוט הם באים, ולא כדעת האמוראים האחרונים כמו רבא שתפסו את דין צרורות כרגל ואינו משלם חצי נזק אלא משום דהילכתא גמירי לה, אלא היו מסופקים בדין צרורות ומהותו.

אמנם בתקופה מאוחרת כשקבלו את דעת רבא כדבר ודאי דצרורות אינו משלם חצי נזק אלא משום דהילכתא גמירי לה, אי אפשר היה להם לתפוס את דברי הבעיא שמסופקים היו בזה, אם דין צרורות משלם חצי נזק הוא רק כשניתנו הצרורות מחמת ביעוט או אפילו צרורות כאורחיהו משלם חצי נזק. וע"כ כשהביאו את הבעיא של החכמים הראשונים, הוסיפו את הדברים: „ורבנן היא – או סומכוס היא“, כדי להתאימה מתוך כך עם דעתם שדין צרורות דמשלם חצי נזק הוא משום דהילכתא גמירי לה. לפי שאי אפשר לפי דעתם שהחכמים הראשונים יהיו מסופקים בדבר אחר מלבד זה, אם משנתנו היא כרבנן או כסומכוס.

על יסוד דעה זו של חכמי התוס', שהדברים: „ורבנן היא – או סומכוס היא“ הוספה מאוחרת היא, מוכרח הוא שגם בדברי הגמ' שפשטו את הבעיא מסוף המשנה חלו בהם שינויים. וז"ל הגמרא: „ת"ש מסיפא דרסה על הכלי ושברתו ונפל השבר על כלי אחר ושברו על הראשון משלם נזק שלם ועל האחרון חצי נזק, ואי סומכוס מי אית ליה חצי נזק“. והנה אם נאמר שבמקור הבעיא לא היו הדברים: „ורבנן היא – או סומכוס היא“, מן ההכרח לאמר שגם בפתרון הבעיא לא היה במקור הדברים המאמר: „ואי סומכוס מי אית ליה חצי נזק“. ורק אחרי שהוסיפו בדברי הבעיא את הדברים: „ורבנן היא – או סומכוס היא“, הוסיפו גם לראית הגמרא מסיפה דמשנתנו את הדברים: „ואי סומכוס מי אית ליה חצי נזק“. והנה יש מקום

לה אורחיה הוא" ובין אם נאמר, השתא מיהא מחמת ביעוט קמנתוה צרורות" לא ישלם אלא חצי נוק. ועיין ברש"י שהתקשה בפירוש הבעיא ומבאר אותה בשני אופנים: עפ"י האופן הא', שאלת ר' אבא בר ממל תלויה בשאלת ר' אשי, אם יש שינוי לצרורות לרביע נוק; ועפ"י האופן הב' הבעיא של ר' אבא בר ממל נשאלה כשהועדה בכך, כלומר אם, אורחיה הוא וצרורות ניהו ותולדה דרגל אפילו אייעד בביעוט והתויה והזיקה הא לא משלם אלא חצי נוק וכו' או דילמא מחמת ביעוט אתי ואם הועדה בכך משלמת נוק שלם דכיון דמשונה הוא הוי תולדה דקרן. כל מעיין יראה כמה דחוקים הם פרושי רש"י, כי קשה לומר שר' אבא בר ממל ור' אמי, האמוראים של הדור השני לאמוראי ירושלמי, גם הם מסופקים היו באותן השאלות שנתחבטו בהן האמוראים האחרונים הבבליים, כגון רב אשי. וגם קשה לאמר ששאל את הבעיא באופן מיוחד כגון שהועדה. והראב"ד בפירושו ל"ב"ק מפרש את הבעיא של ר' אבא בר ממל עפ"י סומכוס שסובר צרורות נוק שלם משלם.² אבל גם זה קשה שר' אבא בר ממל שאל את שאלתו עפ"י שיטת סומכוס שלא נתקבלה להלכה. ועל כל הפירושים האלה יש להקשות שהם מבארים את הבעיא עפ"י שאלה אחרת, כגון זו של רב אשי, או עפ"י שיטה אחרת, זו של סומכוס, או באופן מיוחד, כגון שהועדה, ובתוך דברי בר אבא בר ממל לא נזכר כלום מזה. ועל כן נראה לי לאמר, שנקודת המוצא של ר' אבא בר ממל ור' אמי היתה שצרורות הן תולדה דקרן, כי אין הבהמה מנתות צרורות כשהיא הולכת כדרכה, אלא מחמת ביעוט הם באים. ומעתה יש לחקור ולשאל מהו הדין כשהלכה במקום שא"א לה אא"כ מנתות והצרורות היו מנתזין גם ע"י היזוכה בלבד, אבל היא בעטה והתויה והזיקה, כיון דאי אפשר לה ובלאו הכי היו צרורות מנתזין, וע"כ אורחיה הוא ויש לדין אותה כרגל, או דילמא השתא מיהא מחמת ביעוט קמנתוה צרורות וככל צרורות דינה שהם תולדה דקרן. וברור הוא שזהו פרוש שאלתו של ר' אבא בר ממל. אמור מעתה שהאמוראים האלה תפסו דין צרורות כתולדה דקרן.

בניגוד לשיטת האמוראים הראשונים, שתפסו את דין צרורות כתולדה דקרן, האמוראים האחרונים של אמוראי בבל תפסו את דין צרורות כתולדה דרגל, ואינו משלם אלא חצי נוק משום דהילכתא גמירי לה מאחר שלא הזיק אלא בכחו. אמנם במשך ימי התפתחותה של ההלכה – הלכת צרורות – מן ההשקפה הראשונה העתיקה אל ההשקפה המאוחרת, יש לקבוע בינתים תקופה בה היו החכמים מסופקים בדין צרורות ומהותן.

על דברי המשנה: היתה מבעטת או שהיו צרורות מנתזין מחמת רגליה וכו', שינוי בנמרא דף י"ט ע"א: "איבעיא להו היכי קאמר היתה מבעטת והזיקה בביעוטה או צרורות כאורחיהו משלם חצי נוק ורבנן היא או דילמא היתה מבעטת והזיקה בביעוטה או צרורות מחמת ביעוט משלם חצי נוק הא כי אורחיה משלם נוק שלם ומני סומכוס היא". חכמי התוס' (בד"ה רב אשי) הוכיחו שהבעיא במקורה היתה רק אם מתניתין איירי בצרורות כי אורחיה או ע"י שינוי ותו לא. והש"ס הוסיף

2 עי' חידושי הראב"ד עפ"י כת"י שיצא לאור על ידי, לונדון ת"ש, עמ' ל"ח.

וצרורות, ושנתה אותם יחד. ועוד הרי מבעטת דמשונה היא יאה חייב ברשות הרבים כתולדה דקרבן, וצרורות פטור ברה"ר כתולדה דרגל, וכמו שאמרו בגמרא שם, דף ג' ע"ב: "ואמאי קרי לה (צרורות) תולדה דרגל לפוטרה ברשות הרבים", ולמה כללה המשנה שני הדינים האלה יחד כאילו שוים הם זה לזה בתנאי החיוב וכאילו ההיזק נעשה במקום אחד, והרי בביעוט חייב על ההיזק שנעשה ברה"ר (ולר"ט אינו חייב חצי נזק אלא ברה"ר בלבד, שכן הוא מחייב נזק שלם ברשות הניזק), ובצרורות אין חייב אלא רק על היזק שנעשה ברשות היחיד כדן "רגל". אמנם סדר ההלכות במשנה עולה יפה כשאמר שצרורות משונה הוא ותולדה דקרבן, כי אינה רגילה להתין צורות כשהיא הולכת כדרכה וצרורות אין מנתזין אלא כשבעטה בראשונה. ומשום כך כללה המשנה שני האופנים יחד: "היתה מבעטת או שהיו צורות מנתזין מתחת רגליה ושברה את הכלים משלם חצי נזק", כי שניהם תולדה דקרבן הם. כל עיקר כוונת המשנה היא לבאר שכל היזק הנעשה ע"י היזוכה של הבהמה כדרכה "רגל" הוא. וכדי להבליט שרגל אין פירושו כל היזק הנעשה ע"י הרגל בלבד, אלא עיקר התנאי של "רגל" הוא אם ההיזק נעשה כשהבהמה הולכת כדרכה, מוסיפה המשנה לצייר אופנים שונים של היזק הנעשה ע"י הרגל, שאינם נכנסים לתוך סוג של "רגל", אלא נחשבים כתולדה דקרבן בשל חוסר התנאי של היזוך כדרכה, והיינו: מבעטת או שהיו צורות מנתזין מתחת רגליה. ומתוך כך, כלומר ע"י הדגשת עיקר התנאי של "רגל" שהוא בדרך היזוכה, יוצאת ההגדרה – הגדרת מהותה של "רגל" – שלמה וברורה.

ולפי"ז נראה לאמר שדעת רבא, כי צרורות תולדה דרגל היא וחצי נזק דצרורות היזכרתא גמירי לה (דף י"ז ע"ב), אינה אלא דעת יחיד, ובעקבותיו הלכו איפוא האמוראים האחרונים כגון רב אשי. אבל יש להזכיר שהאמוראים הראשונים באמת תפסו את מהותו של צרורות כתולדה דקרבן. בדף י"ט ע"א: "בעי מיניה ר' אבא בר ממל מרבי אמי ואמרי לה מרבי חייא בר אבא היתה מהלכת במקום שאי אפשר אלא א"כ מנתות ובעטה והתזיה והזיקה מהו כיון דאי אפשר לה אורחיה הוא, או דילמא השתא מיהא מחמת ביעוט קמנתה צרורות, תיקו". והנה אם נאמר שצרורות תולדה דרגל היא ומשלם חצי נזק משום דהיזכרתא גמירי לה, שאלת ר' אבא בר ממל בלתי מובנת היא, כי מאחר שכל צרורות אורחיה הוא, וצריך היה באמת לשלם נזק שלם ומשלם חצי נזק רק משום דהיזכרתא גמירי לה, למה ישתנה דינו כשהלכה במקום שא"א לה א"כ מנתות, וצריך היה לשאל את שאלתו סתם: כשהלכה ובעטה והתזיה והזיקה מהו. ועוד בין אם נאמר "כיון דאי אפשר

ו ועי' ברשב"א ובתוס' (דף י"ז ע"א ד"ה מבעטת) שהקשו למה תנא במשנתו דין מבעטת הא תנא לה בפ"ק הבהמה אינה מועדה לבעוט. ונדחקו בתוס' להשיב. אנב דשוה לצרורות נקט לה הכא. ר"ל שבאמת המשנה שלנו דנה רק בדיני רגל וצרורות מקומה כאן כתולדה דרגל, אבל המשנה הוסיפה לשנות גם "מבעטת" משום דמינה לצרורות בתשלומי חצי נזק. אולם מאחר שתנאי החיוב שלהם ודיניהם שונים תכלית שינוי, אין בצד השוה שבהם לענין תשלומי חצי נזק משום ביאור מספיק לחזור ולשנות. מבעטת' במשנתו הדנה ברגל ולערב דין מבעטת בדין צרורות ולשנותם יחד.

להתפתחות הסוגיא וההלכה

מאת

שמואל אטלס

בית המדרש לרבנים בסינסינאטי

לכשנסתכל בעין בקורת בסוגיות הש"ס וברוח המשפט שבהן נמצא לפעמים שהתפתחות הסוגיא יסודה בהתפתחות ההלכה. חלקי הסוגיא הקודמים בזמן ראיתם נעוצה בהלכה קדומה, וכשפשטה ההלכה צורה ולבשה צורה נוספו לסוגיא דברים כדי להתאימה עם ההלכה המחודשת. אבל לא נאמרו הדברים כהוספה שכל קורא יכיר בהם שמקורם בזמן מאוחר, אלא נשנו כמשך הדברים הראשונים וכאילו ראשית הדברים וסופם מקור אחד להם ומבית מדרש אחד יצאו. ונמצא שהדברים של תקופה מאוחרת בתלמוד נכנסו לתוך גוף הדברים שנשנו לפניהם ולא נודע כי באו אל קרבם. מפרשי הש"ס לא הכירו עפ"י רוב בהתפתחות ההלכה והסוגיא וע"כ התקשו לפעמים בבאור דברים בש"ס משום שראו את הסוגיא כחטיבה אחת וחשבו את כל חלקי הסוגיא כאילו יסוד אחד להם; ומשום זה נוטים היו לפרקים לבאר את חלקי הסוגיא העתיקים בזמן עפ"י דברים שנשנו אחריהם, וכן גם לפרש דברים של תקופה מאוחרת ברוח הדברים שנשנו לפניהם. אחת המטרות של מדע התלמוד היא לגלות את המסך מעל פני הסוגיא ולהראות על תולדות התפתחותה וביחוד עם זה לעמד על טיב המחשבה התלמודית ותולדות ההלכה. אין מגמתנו בזה אלא לדון בסוגיא אחת בש"ס שתשמש דוגמא להתפתחות ההלכה והסוגיא כאחת; ומתוך הפרט הזה יש לעמד על הכלל כלו, כלומר מתוך נתוח הגיוני ובקרתו של סוגיא אחת יש לעמד על אפיו המורכב ועל טיב התפתחותן של סוגיות הש"ס בכלל.

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במשנה הראשונה של הפרק כיצד הרגל ב"ק שנינו: „היתה מבטת או שהיו צרורות מנתזין מתחת רגליה ושברה את הכלים משלם חצי נוק". עפ"י שיטת חכמי התלמוד (שם דף ג', ע"ב; י"ז, ע"ב) שדין צרורות כתולדה דרגל הוא, דברי המשנה האלה קשי הבנה הם, כי מה ענין צרורות לביעוט, שהרי צרורות „רגל" הוא ואינו דינן של צרורות בחצי נוק אלא משום דהילכתא גמירי לה, וביעוט משונה הוא ומשלם חצי נוק כתולדה דקרן; ולמה ערבבה המשנה שני אלו הדינים, מבטת

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